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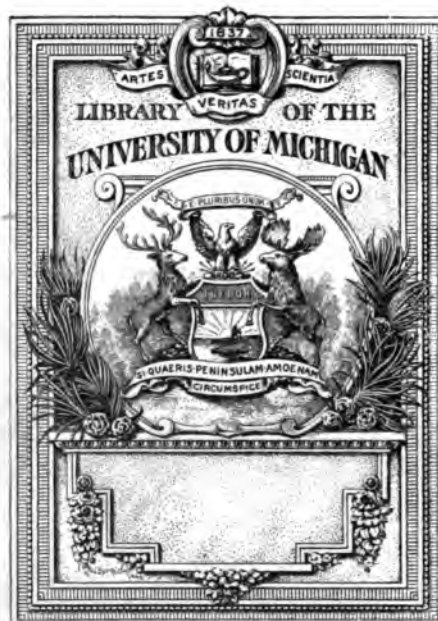
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At home and abroad the year opened with symptoms rather of languor than of tranquillity. In England, the strife of tongues, which had raged with little intermission since Parliament had adjourned, showed signs of temporary abatement; the rumours of gathering armies in Eastern Europe were disappearing before more accurate information, and friendly explanations were passing between the capitals of the great military Powers. In Ireland, Mr. Balfour was steadily applying the Crimes Act, with which he had been entrusted, in spite of the warnings and menaces of the Nationalists and their English allies; and if that country gave no proof of more ready acceptance of the conditions of its government, acts of overt hostility and crimes of violence were becoming less and less frequent. The schism between the two sections of the Liberal party was becoming more marked, in proportion as the more advanced section allied itself daily more closely and more openly with the Irish Nationalists. In speech and in counsel the Unionists maintained their independence, but it was not difficult to foresee the time when they would have to abandon their anomalous position, in order that the mass of the electors might vote as heretofore on the party lines of Liberals and Conservatives. The success of the Conservative candidate

(Mr. Moss) at Winchester (Jan. 5), although by a greatly increased majority, in no way proved that he had received the support of any fraction of the Liberal voters, for his opponent (Mr. Vanderbyl) polled a considerably larger number of votes than had been recorded for the Gladstonian candidate in 1886, when the Home Rule question was first put before the electorate.

The position of the Unionist party, moreover, was ably sustained by Sir Henry James at Glasgow (Jan. 9), who claimed for it the honour of having rescued England from a great danger. He defined the ruling principle of the Liberal party as the principle that had struggled to obtain for every person in the realm "equal rights and equal protection under equal laws," which implied at once a struggle to get laws made equal for all men—as, for instance, when the Irish Church was disestablished—and still more a struggle to prevent arbitrary and lawless interference with the operation of equal laws. Liberals opposed Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill because it would have thrown into the hands of men who had shown themselves arbitrary and tyrannical the power both to make unequal laws in Ireland, and to enforce unequally the laws which had been made. Sir Henry James then went on to insist on the proposal to establish an Irish Legislature, as one totally new in the history of our relations with Ireland: "When one of the most eminent and most eloquent of the Irish patriots who opposed the Union of 1800—when Mr. Plunket made one of the most eloquent speeches that any subject of this realm has ever made—when he was opposing the Act of Union he maintained that there was sufficient unity between the two countries, and he dwelt upon the fact that the unity that existed, the unity of the Executive, the unity of interest, the unity of the resemblance rather of the Constitution, effected sufficient union, though there was no legislative union. And so strongly was the necessity of maintaining this Executive union felt that in 1834, when Mr. O'Connell brought forward the first motion ever moved in the House of Commons for the repeal of the Union, he never would suggest that there should be a separate Executive, but he admitted the fact that, unless there was to be entire separation, you were bound to have but one Executive, though he sought for two legislative Chambers; and now, for the first time, putting on one side the arguments of those who were opposing the Act of Union of 1800, forgetful of the position that even Mr. O'Connell himself desired to assume in respect to the two considerations of the repeal of the Union as distinguished from total separation, Mr. Gladstone after some six weeks for reflection, was willing, not only to give a separate and independent representative Chamber without safeguard and without checking its power, but was willing for the first time to propose that the executive power should entirely separate, as I believe, from England, and should be given alone into the hands of the Irish majority in the Iri

Parliament. The draftsman who prepared that Bill knew that if a majority of the Irish Parliament chose to come in conflict with the views of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord-Lieutenant would have to give way, and would be helpless and powerless. If he chose, he could dissolve the Parliament, which was a remedy which would afford redress to no one concerned."

Sir Henry James, after replying to Sir William Harcourt's attacks, and exposing the rapid changes which that statesman's opinions had undergone, indicated the course taken by the Liberal Unionists with regard to the Crimes Act; and added that, however much they might regret the stringency of some of its provisions, they were forced to admit its necessity.

Nor were Mr. John Bright's views of the dangers of the situation created by Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy less strongly expressed. The state of his health prevented the "Tribune of the People," as he was wont to be called, from attending public meetings, and making speeches as of old; but his pen was still vigorous, and frequently turned to account. To the Handsworth Radical Union, a meeting of which he had been invited to attend, he wrote: "Many of our opponents condemn us because we have not blindly followed Mr. Gladstone as they have done, and that we have not sacrificed our principles in order to maintain unity in the Liberal party. If the Unionist section of the Liberals in the session of 1886 had supported the Irish Bills of Mr. Gladstone, his Irish Government Bill in some shape would probably have passed. We should, I suppose, by this time have seen an Irish Parliament sitting and debating and legislating in Dublin, and we should also have seen Privy Councillors and Cabinet Ministers of the Queen in their high offices in connection with the Dublin Parliament. Would the Dublin Parliament differ materially from the eighty-six Irish members now sitting in Westminster? Look over the names of some of these men. Begin with Mr. Parnell, and then go on to O'Brien, and Dillon, and Healy, and O'Connor, and Harrington, and Biggar, and possibly we might add to them some of the Irish patriots who collect funds for the Irish revolution, but who now prudently keep the Atlantic between them and the Irish courts of law. Out of these, and such as these, without doubt, the Queen would have had to select her confidential advisers. One of them, and not the least important of them, is reported to have said: 'When we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation, and let us not forget that this is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.' . . . What, then, has the Unionist section of the once honoured and powerful Liberal party done? It has saved the nation from a great peril, and it has

saved the Sovereign of the three kingdoms and of a wide empire from the terrible indignity to which the passion of a statesman, aged and most eminent, and the credulity of a rash and unthinking party would have subjected her."

The attitude thus defined by the Liberal Unionists enabled Lord Salisbury, at Liverpool (Jan. 11), to speak with confidence as to the course of the coming session, and of the prospects of the Conservative party. Turning to the Irish question, he declared that every effort was being made by the Nationalists to show that without Home Rule Ireland was ungovernable. "It has been said, in spite of the highest legal authority, that we have placed new crimes on the statute book. We have the best authority for stating that that allegation is absolutely false. We introduced new machinery for punishing the crimes the law had already denounced, but our opponents well knew that this was a critical matter, and that if our new legislation succeeded, their argument about Home Rule would make small impression even upon the most indifferent part of the English people, and therefore from the first they have strained every nerve that the law should not be obeyed in Ireland. They have sent over English agitators to urge the Irish to break the law, and I am glad to say that some at least of these English agitators have been punished." Lord Salisbury then went on to explain away the hopes he had held out, at Newport in 1885, to the Irish people that some measure of Home Rule might be extended to their country. He declared positively that no member of the Tory Cabinet of 1885, excepting Lord Carnarvon, had ever expressed himself in favour of Home Rule in Ireland. And that for himself, however gladly he would have welcomed a belief in such a policy, he held no such belief at that nor at any other time. He vindicated the Conservative party from the charges made against it by Mr. Gladstone, at Dover, in the matter of Free Trade, and declared that however much he might dislike some of the fiscal doctrines which sheltered themselves under its broad mantle, it was no part of the Conservative programme to disturb the existing fiscal system.

Lord Salisbury, at West Derby, maintained the truth of his historical examples as to the government of related nationalities. "You will come in the long run to the determination that consolidation, and consolidation alone, is the remedy for the evil under which Ireland suffers. Then why do I press this case upon you? Because I feel that whatever you do you should do it quickly. The real cruelty that you can inflict upon Ireland is to allow your decision to be for generations in abeyance. Generations—aye, and for longer—your decision has been in abeyance. I have heard much of the crimes of England to Ireland. I do not deny there is foundation for the bloody past history, and for many a reproach for one community to address to its neighbour, but the great crime England has committed against Ireland has been the crime of vacillation. Again

again they have seen the necessity of taking a resolute course. They have acted on it again and again, and sometimes—happily in far distant years—their decision has been stained by cruelty of an appalling character; but then when the cruelty was done, all the evil which it could inflict and all the disgrace it could incur was finished, they have fallen back into indifference and have allowed years of inaction to destroy all the advantages that blood-stained effort may have wrought. That is the real crime which England has committed against Ireland, and it is a crime which I entreat you not to repeat.”

The Prime Minister, in his speech on the following day at a grand banquet given in his honour, dealt with the more delicate question of the relations between the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives. He warned his hearers against disappointment, if it should prove that the measures about to be presented to Parliament had some of the Liberal tone about them. Lord Salisbury then turned to the present position of political life, and expressed his conviction that “the English Parliament had succumbed to the disease by which sooner or later all representative bodies are affected—the disease of grouping instead of being divided into parties.” There were more than one or two, there were in fact four parties in the House of Commons, “and the House is so divided that no one party is strong enough to outweigh the other three.” This state of things, Lord Salisbury went on to say, was perfectly consistent with the fact that the patriotic spirit of the Liberal Unionists—“guided by one of the most disinterested men who ever lived”—had made comparatively easy for the Government a task which under ordinary circumstances would have been impossible. “But still,” said the Prime Minister, “we are not in the same position as a Government possessing a preponderant party of its own; and I exhort you, when the session comes and our acts are subjected to your judgment—(and I may say that it is only to the judgment of Conservatives that I attach any importance)—to remember that there are two consequences which follow from the peculiar condition of the House of Commons which should modify any censure you may be disposed to pronounce upon us. We exist, and we maintain the Government, for the sake of the great and supreme object of upholding the Union. We do it by the support of the Unionist party, and the inevitable result of that circumstance is that our measures must bear to a certain extent the colour which the support of the Unionist party lends to them. If, then, for the sake of a great public object, an object transcending all other objects, you are maintaining the Government on the support of that which is not a coalition, but is an alliance, you must not wonder, you must not blame us, if to a certain extent the colour of the convictions of the Unionist Liberals joins with the colour of the convictions of the Conservative party in determining the hue of the measures that are presented to Parliament.”

From this point Lord Salisbury's language became even more significant. Still addressing the Conservative rank-and-file, for whom this portion of his speech was intended, he reminded them that according to a fixed maxim of the British Constitution, when the House of Commons expresses distinctly its want of common confidence in the Government, the Government must resign, or dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. But it is also understood that the Government of the day is at liberty to decide "whether they will regard the vote as a vote of want of confidence or not; and whether they regard the vote as a want of confidence or not must depend very much upon whether they regard it as a matter of public interest that they should appeal to the electors or not." And, said Lord Salisbury, "what I want you to realise is that we must exercise that great virtue of constitutional discretion which is reposed in every Government, subject to our sense of the overwhelming responsibility which would lie on us if in this time of great public tension, when vast Imperial interests are at stake, we submitted the decision of the constitution of Parliament to the electors at a time not suited to obtain their real and just and deliberate decision." "I do not venture to prophesy, but from all I can see my impression is that as matters stand we should rather exercise that discretion in the sense of deferring that appeal until the result of our recent measure in Ireland can be more permanently displayed to the minds of the people."

In adopting this tone Lord Salisbury evidently had before his eyes the Local Government Bill, of which the outline had probably been already settled in his Cabinet, and through Mr. Goschen had received the general approval of Lord Hartington. He was aware that any system of County Government based upon the old Tory principle of a property qualification would meet with no support from the Liberal Unionists, and would probably be but feebly supported by those Conservatives who were not indisposed to dub themselves Tory Democrats. Outside these two groups, however, there were many strong Conservatives, who recoiled from the idea of sacrificing their convictions to the exigencies of the political situation. It was to these, therefore, that Lord Salisbury's warning was more especially addressed; and so far as could be judged from its reception by both the Conservative and Unionist press, the expediency of mutual concession was thoroughly recognised.

The Opposition found in Lord Salisbury's defence of the administration of the law in Ireland a better mark for their attacks. The imprisonment of several Irish members of Parliament, followed by that of a few English sympathisers, of whom Mr. Wilfrid Blunt was the most prominent, raised once more the whole question of the treatment of political prisoners. It was urged in vain by the defenders of the Government that the offences for which these gentlemen had been sent to gaol were

clearly defined, and the penalty distinctly stated. The offences might, indeed, be regarded as infractions of the common law; but, argued their sympathisers, political ends alone actuated the prisoners. Mr. Reginald Brett, in a letter to the *Times* (Jan. 14), logically put forward the case of political offenders, and said with truth that "with that nobility of sentiment so characteristic of us, when it costs us nothing but fine words, we have always claimed immunity for political offenders in our treaties of extradition. So rigidly has the line been drawn that any foreign band of assassins could plot with impunity their crimes on British territory, providing their object had any reference to politics." If, therefore, the English law was able so easily to distinguish a French political offender from an ordinary French criminal, Mr. Brett asked how it was not equally easy to discriminate when the criminal happened to be an Irishman or a friend of Ireland. These and similar arguments, however, were put aside by the Unionist and Conservative press, and were consequently wholly ignored by the Ministry. Mr. Balfour continued to administer justice indifferently to offenders of all categories, and whilst few but the blindest partisans accused him of intentional cruelty, there were many who doubted the soundness of his judgment.

Mr. Brett's argument was in a certain way brought under review at the Central Criminal Court (Jan. 19), when Mr. Cunninghamhame Graham, M.P., and Mr. Burns were tried for the part they had taken in the prohibited Trafalgar Square meetings. Of the three counts on which they were accused—rioting, assault, and unlawful assembly—the jury found them guilty on the last alone, for which they were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, without hard labour. In the course of his summing up, Mr. Justice Charles declared, in answer to the prisoners' counsel, that so far as he could find in the law of England there was no right to hold public meetings in places dedicated to the public for people to pass along and use as thoroughfares; and the judge further laid down that the Chief Commissioner of Police had not only the right to prevent disorder within his jurisdiction, but was liable to criminal proceedings if he failed to do so. The penalty awarded in this case was scarcely challenged, even by the Radical party, although the offenders were distinctly breaking a law (that against unlawful assemblies) "for the purpose of obtaining its abolition." The organs of that party were content to protest against the limitations imposed on the right of public meeting, and against the recognition of the irresponsibility of the police for damage done by them in carrying out their orders. Mr. Cunninghamhame Graham, a member of Parliament, and Mr. John Burns, a Socialist lecturer, were conveyed to Holloway Gaol, to undergo their sentence, much in the same way that Mr. Harrington, M.P., and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt were subjected to imprisonment at Tullamore. In spite of this decision

the question of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square was keenly and persistently agitated by the Socialist party. Week after week its leaders attempted to hold meetings in that place; at times provoking, and at other times avoiding, encounters with the police. Numerous arrests ensued, followed by trials in which various pleas were put forward; but in no instance was the view taken by Mr. Justice Charles reversed or even seriously disputed. After lasting some months these meetings fell into ridicule and neglect. They were usually held on Saturday afternoons, and in the earlier stage were attended by persons seriously disposed to test the perils of free meeting and free speech, but by degrees they attracted only the curious and evil-disposed, and were wholly abandoned by the better section of the working classes.

That there, however, was and must be some difference in the administration of the law in Ireland and England seemed uppermost in Sir M. Hicks-Beach's mind when addressing, after a long silence, a public meeting of his constituents at Bristol (Jan. 17). His announcement that he had ceased to be a Cabinet Minister was so wholly unexpected that his audience were at first disposed to believe that he had separated himself from his colleagues on some question of principle, and the Opposition papers of the following day strongly insisted upon the supposed schisms in the Cabinet. Nothing in Sir M. Hicks-Beach's speech justified such an inference, although in his more independent position he was able to speak more openly as to his hopes and wishes for the future of Ireland. He supported the Government in its battle against the National League in Ireland, but went on to remark that when the victory had been obtained there would still be an unfortunately deep anti-English sentiment in Ireland to overcome. That would take time and patience to deal with, "and it may involve the giving up of our favourite English habit of measuring everything by the English rule, of bringing English prejudices to bear upon the settlement of Irish affairs, and of looking upon Irishmen as our inferiors rather than our equals. In Irish as well as English political affairs, we are bound to take into account those new powers and requirements which the extension of the franchise has brought into being. We must administer and legislate in a bold and sympathetic spirit of statesmanship, free from those narrow prejudices which swayed so much the action of the Tories thirty years ago, but which now have no influence whatever in Irish political affairs. And, further, I would say that we must do everything consistent with justice and honour to give to Irish members of Parliament as great a voice in the settlement of purely Irish questions as for years past we have given to the Scotch members in the settlement of purely Scotch questions. Further, those Irish matters which it is necessary to retain under the control of the central Government ought, in my mind, to be administered by political

officials directly and personally responsible to Parliament, instead of permanent officials only nominally controlled by a single Minister, who cannot possibly find time for all the details of the administration of the country; and then Parliament might hand over everything that the interests of the United Kingdom permit to be managed locally in England as in Ireland to local authorities, properly constituted, directly it is safe to do this without the risk of the powers we confer being used as a lever to obtain practical separation."

The Home Rulers naturally welcomed the ex-Chief Secretary as a new ally, although, as he subsequently explained (Jan. 21), his sole intention was to acquiesce in Irish members moulding Irish legislation and administration in the manner already accorded to Scotch members of the House of Commons in dealing with measures relating to their own country. If there had been any divergence of opinion between Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and his colleagues, it was more probably on the subject of the Local Government Bill, the scope of which he was anxious to minimise, and against which he protested in advance should it be found that it interfered with the old historical county boundaries. The rural communities, he maintained, in many cases needed nothing like a municipal life of their own; and he seemed to indicate the section of the Conservative party at which Lord Salisbury's Liverpool speech was mainly directed, when he added that "if too much was sacrificed to give the rural bodies what they did not want, the measure would not be popular with the country." Sir M. Hicks-Beach feared that the erection of so many organisations endowed with administrative functions would in the long run tend to overrule individual freedom.

This very free criticism of the Government policy in Ireland and England seemed to give considerable point to Mr. Parnell's advice to his followers, through the *Freeman's Journal*, to abandon the system of obstruction by means of which they had prevented so much legislation of any kind. He argued that it would be very bad policy for Irish members to prevent the discussion of English measures in the coming session, holding that it would be easier on such to break up the alliance between the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives than it would be on any Irish question. "They may agree about bullying or dragooning Ireland, but they will undoubtedly part company over their English legislation. 'Let the Government get to work over their English Bills as soon as possible' would be my advice to the free-lances of the Liberal party."

Although Sir M. Hicks-Beach's even temporary withdrawal from the Cabinet was a matter of regret amongst a large section of its supporters, it scarcely excited so much attention and remark as Lord Charles Beresford's sudden resignation of his post as Junior Lord of the Admiralty. In a very short time this accomplished officer, who had on more than one occasion dis-

played resource as well as courage under trying circumstances, had acquired a place in public estimation far above the place he occupied in the Ministry. He was credited with far more definite views on the requirements of the Navy than the majority of his colleagues—civil and naval—and he had thought it his duty to urge his views upon the First Lord with eager persistence. Probably many of his proposed reforms were costly—especially the immediate addition of a number of fast and powerful cruisers—and the First Lord found in the Chancellor of the Exchequer a powerful supporter of a more economical policy. As Lord C. Beresford explained in a speech later on to his constituents (Jan. 26), his resignation was due to a dispute on efficiently maintaining the Naval Intelligence Department, for which the Treasury grudged the funds; but he showed in his speech that on many other points the Junior Lord held views on the distribution of responsibility in opposition to his seniors, and was unsupported by any of his colleagues, and although throughout the session he continued to give them a loyal support, he never refrained from candidly expressing his views of the shortcomings of the Navy.

The approach of the session was as usual marked by an outburst of oratory in various parts of the country, whilst some of the speakers, notably Mr. Shaw Lefevre, had recourse to the columns of the public press to enforce or explain statements they made on local platforms. Mr. Shaw Lefevre's speech at Tunstall (Jan. 16) and his supplementary letters were devoted to a denunciation of "the basest conspiracy known in modern times," to wit, the alliance of the Conservatives with the Irish Nationalists in 1885. In reply to Lord Salisbury's precise and categorical denial that any such understanding had existed, Mr. Shaw Lefevre cited Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., in support of his charge; but that gentleman's evidence upon examination only went to prove that he had had some conversation about Home Rule with the Tory "whip," who had suggested conditions which he (Mr. J. McCarthy) did not consider satisfactory. These negotiations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre subsequently explained, were those which he assumed had taken place before the Conservatives came into office; but he failed to make clear whether the "traffic" was for the Irish vote in the House of Commons on the Budget resolution which induced Mr. Gladstone to resign; or in the constituencies when the appeal was made to them on the general election. Mr. Goschen, at Hastings (Jan. 23), had also an explanation—or rather a defence—to make of an almost personal matter. A few weeks before, at Dover, Mr. Gladstone had hinted that in 1885 his support had been given to Mr. Goschen's canvass, and that the latter had then found it convenient to eulogise the Midlothian manifesto which had just appeared. In that document Mr. Gladstone had spoken of preserving the unity with Ireland—and this Mr. Goschen had interpreted to

mean legislative unity—and he defended himself from the charge that he had shown Mr. Gladstone personal ingratitude in deserting him when the latter had adopted Home Rule. He warmly repudiated the suggestion that he was in any way disloyal to Free Trade principles; and declared that he had not been half as willing to throw away revenue when he took a penny off the Income Tax as Mr. Gladstone had shown himself in 1875, when he proposed on the eve of a general election to abolish the Income Tax altogether. Apart from this personal fencing, the most interesting feature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech was the assurance which he gave of the intention of the Government to have a "November session," in which the House of Commons should show itself "an orderly, business-like, and competent assembly." This desire to carry on the practical work of legislation was also the note of Mr. W. H. Smith's only speech of the recess at Chelsea (Jan. 30), when in spite of the warnings of the *Standard* against "early meeting and early rising fads," the leader of the House of Commons declared that he proposed, amongst other things, to ask it to conduct its business in reasonable hours.

It scarcely seemed, however, that the arrest (Jan. 28) of Mr. J. R. Cox, the member for East Clare, in London, for an offence committed against a law only applicable to Ireland, would be the best way to insure order among the Home Rulers. Mr. Cox, in common with many others, had been in the habit of attending public meetings in Ireland, and of urging the people to adopt the Plan of Campaign, of otherwise inciting them to resistance, and then to make good his escape to England. By statute, however, offenders against local laws can be arrested in any part of the Queen's dominions; and Mr. Cox was the first victim of the determination of the Government to put a further stop to the unbridled speech of certain Home Rule speakers. Mr. Cox was at once conveyed to Dublin, where his arrest was declared by a competent tribunal to be perfectly regular, and his trial for provoking disorder followed the natural course. The Government, therefore, were acting within their strict rights when they either ordered or consented to the arrest of Mr. Cox, but the wisdom of the course was questioned in several quarters. The *Times*, which throughout had adopted the most distinctly hostile line towards the Irish National movement, wrote: "It is satisfactory to see that the impunity hitherto enjoyed by Irish agitators who have contrived to escape to this side of the Channel has been placed in doubt by the arrest of Mr. Cox, M.P., yesterday, in London. Mr. Cox is one of the agents of the League who has persistently violated the law and dodged the police. His arrest will probably alarm some more conspicuous incendiaries who, after exhorting the Irish peasantry to embarrass the Government by filling the gaols, have found it convenient on various pretences to remain themselves, as they have heretofore imagined, in safety outside

the jurisdiction of magistrates dealing with offences under the Crimes Act."

But the *Daily News*, which, after some hesitation, had thrown in its lot completely with the Gladstonian Liberals, declared that "so long as the practice of backing warrants in different portions of the empire was applied only to persons guilty of odious and heinous crimes, it no doubt operated to the general convenience of the public. Its extension to such a man as Mr. Cox, who is merely accused of a political offence under a harsh and exceptional Act, is repugnant to all Liberal principle, quite apart from the question of Home Rule. It simply means that this great and proud country, an asylum for the oppressed of every country and of every clime, is to be degraded into the cockpit of Dublin Castle. Even English Tories will blush in secret to think that a man whom they call a pestilent agitator, but whom even they cannot pretend to regard as a culprit of the common stamp, having for months eluded the vigilance of the Irish police, should be run to earth as if he were a forger or some such vermin in the heart of the capital of a free country."

The *Manchester Guardian*, one of the most important organs of provincial opinion, had, some time previously, made a still more noteworthy, as well as a more complete change in its views, and, refusing to support the policy of coercion sanctioned by the Liberal Unionists, it had become a strong supporter of the Nationalists. Writing just after Mr. Cox's arrest, it said: "If it is good policy to make martyrs, Mr. Balfour has every power to do it, and it is clear that he has the will. There is, however, much virtue in this particular 'if,' as the extraordinary position which Mr. O'Brien now holds in Ireland abundantly proves. Mr. O'Brien is at least twice as great a political force at this moment as he was on the day when he went to prison; and if Mr. Balfour wanted to devise an infallible method for increasing the importance of his adversaries, he has certainly found it. Meanwhile the victory of the tenants on the De Freyne estate shows that, even with Mr. Balfour's backing, the ordinary landlord is no match for the tenants' combination; and when Mr. Balfour meets the House of Commons, the only solid result of his efforts which he will have to show will be some scores of politicians and a few priests in prison, and the opening of a thoroughgoing eviction campaign by Lord Clanricarde."

For a moment public attention was called away from the perplexities of the Irish question, in the discussion of which personal animosity was taking a prominent part, to the wider question of the defences of the Empire. Lord Brassey, who at one time had held a responsible position at the Admiralty, had since his withdrawal from the House of Commons been making an extended voyage to our numerous colonies in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. He was then in a position to speak of their readiness for self-defence, and of their ability to provide coaling

and fitting stations for our navy in time of war ; and the invitation of the London Chamber of Commerce (Jan. 26) afforded him the opportunity of laying before the public the result of his inquiries and observation. Alluding to the various stations on the way to India and Australia, he said that at Aden the outer anchorage was much exposed to the boisterous winds of the monsoon, but it could be quite easily improved by dredging. To give complete security to Bombay, two or three monitors, in addition to those already provided, and more torpedo boats, were necessary. The Bombay flotilla should be manned with crews of Lascars led by British seamen-gunners and marine artillery. Bombay, and not Trincomalee, should be the chief station for the East Indian Squadron. When the fortifications and guns, both at Colombo and Trincomalee, were provided, the means of defence would still remain incomplete if we had not a sufficient force of artillery to man the works. As to the land defence of the great ports of Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, the combined expenditure of the several Governments might literally be reckoned by millions. The manning of the works, and the general defence of the colonies by land, were guaranteed by an army of more than 30,000 volunteers of splendid physique, well equipped, and provided with a small staff of officers from the Imperial service. When the ironclads of older date were replaced in our European squadrons by ships of the latest type, he would urge upon the Admiralty that some three or four of the ships, which would otherwise pass into the reserve at home, should be despatched to the colonies. They would be a valuable reinforcement to the floating defence and the ships of the naval brigades. An officer of rank, from the Imperial service, should exercise a general supervision over their combined forces. An Imperial officer should be placed in command of each regiment, and retired naval officers should be appointed to the colonial naval reserves. The establishment of an Australasian naval and military college, combining the training afforded at home in the schools of the *Britannia*, at Woolwich, and Sandhurst, would be a most valuable institution for the colonies. A very moderate expenditure, judiciously applied, would fill up all the gaps in our armour to which attention had been invited. The defence of our coaling stations had been deferred too long ; but the work was now well in hand. We had put off too long the adoption of breechloading guns, and we had leeway to make good : but the guns which we were now making would represent the latest advance of science, and we had the assurance of the Government that their manufacture would be pushed forward with vigour.

A resolution was proposed and unanimously carried by which the Chamber of Commerce emphatically recorded its opinion that the Government should increase their efforts to render the defences of the various ocean routes thoroughly efficient, so as to avoid the otherwise inevitable spasmodic and costly expenditure

in time of war or panic. The Duke of Cambridge cordially supported the views embodied in the resolutions, but he declared that if the necessary works were done the bill of costs would be a heavy one; and a politician pressed to find or spend the money would "do quite right" if he refused, because if he consented he might with his party be turned out of office. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, held that it was commercial men who should take up this question and urge it upon the Executive, irrespective of the party which happened to be in power. Unfortunately, between partisan pessimism and official optimism, the public found it difficult to form a correct idea of the facts, which on every occasion that the subject of our national defences came on for discussion or debate were obscured as far as possible by every official speaker. Lord Charles Beresford, in his speeches at Paddington (Jan. 27) and High Wycombe (Jan. 28), spoke as one freed from the trammels and responsibilities of office, and perhaps with some personal feeling, but the impression left upon the public mind by his speeches was that the state of things at the Admiralty was thoroughly unsatisfactory, and that waste and inefficiency characterised the administration of the Navy.

The visit of Mr. John Morley and the Marquess of Ripon to Dublin (Feb. 1) is discussed at length elsewhere, and now only referred to here as indicative of the attitude which the Gladstonian Liberals proposed to take towards the Irish question during the session. They were to repudiate as baseless dreams Mr. Davitt's Socialist views, and to anticipate that the Irish peasants, once made freeholders, would become as peaceful, conservative, and well affected towards the central Government as they were in France. By a somewhat curious coincidence, the Irish landlords were, through deputations, almost simultaneously (Feb. 3) explaining their Socialistic views—or, in other words, were urging their claims to State compensation for losses arising out of State interference with private property. In reply to their clear and moderate statement of their case Lord Salisbury drew a fine distinction between the direct and indirect effects of legislation; and referred to the latter the sufferings of the Irish landlords. He further remarked that if the spirit of unanimity and energy had expressed itself at an earlier period amongst the Irish landlords they might have been spared some of the calamities they had undergone. As to their constitutional right to compensation for losses inflicted on them by legislation, it was not a case of compensation for sufferings caused by the direct act of the Legislature. It was caused by the action of the Legislature through the action of judicial tribunals, or tribunals which were spoken of as judicial. And that, undoubtedly, gave it a peculiar character, and made it necessarily more difficult to apply the rules by which this country had hitherto been governed. He assured the deputation that he and his colleagues would consider all their suggestions with an earnest wish to

mitigate the sufferings which a combination of causes had inflicted upon a class which had certainly not deserved them.

The attitude adopted by Lord Salisbury on this occasion was held by many to be at variance with that which he had taken some two years previously, when, in the House of Lords (Aug. 19, 1886), he had expressed the opinion that under certain conditions the State, and not the landlords, should suffer from the decisions of the Law Courts. The Prime Minister's expression on the present occasion, however, was more interesting and important when taken in conjunction with what he had said two days previously (Feb. 1) to an important deputation of Lord Compton's Committee, headed by Lord Herschell, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of Bedford, and others, to discuss the best mode of meeting the distress in London and elsewhere. Cardinal Manning, who was one of the principal spokesmen of the deputation, expressed his belief that the original Poor-law was intended to relieve not only the impotent but the unemployed. In the Act of Elizabeth there was a provision for giving work to those who, through vicissitudes or changes of the moment, were thrown out of employment, so that no man should lack food nor want work. It appeared to him that under the Poor-law there ought to be wage work at such a moment as this for unemployed, honest, deserving men. There ought, then, to be test work for those who were undeserving and unworthy, who would then have the opportunity of work and of bread, or else would be refused assistance; and there also ought to be penal work for those who were dishonest and presuming upon the charity of the Poor-law. The administration of the Poor-law created paupers to a very great extent and wrecked families. They offered to take a man into the workhouse, and that was nothing more or less than to ask him to break up his home and to make him perhaps a pauper for life. He firmly believed that a very large part of the criminal class in London had been created by the Poor-law. Men were driven to desperation, having neither work nor bread; then they violated the law, and having violated it once, fell into the habit of violating it. In replying, the Marquess of Salisbury said the remarkable feature of the speeches that he had just heard was that almost every speaker had found it necessary to say that he did not agree with all the resolutions which he had come to advocate. "As to the remedies that have been proposed to-day, the first is a general inquiry, and, of course, that seems the most plausible, because it should seem that inquiry can bring nothing but knowledge; but in this matter, without by any means pledging myself against some form of inquiry, I am bound to point out to you that inquiry, if it is not beneficial, is apt to be injurious. The inquiry which we instituted last spring has been referred to. No doubt to a great extent that inquiry was a failure. Why was it a failure? Because the men refused to give us that which they alone knew—namely, their circumstances, the

amount of their wages, and the various privations under which they suffered. On the other hand, I cannot help referring to a subject which was much dwelt upon by Mr. Arnold White—the magnetic effect of this great city on all the misery throughout the whole country; not only on all the misery, but on some of the idleness, which is not necessarily misery; and any large Government inquiry which would necessarily create great attention, excite considerable attention, and attract notice from all parts of the country, would undoubtedly stimulate that magnetic power to a very high degree, and would bring here to share in the anticipated benefits and results of the Government interference a large amount of that very population through whose undue influx you are suffering so much already. Again, there is the question of State-aided emigration. I need not refer to the difficulties which would arise on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To my mind, much more formidable difficulties are those which arise on the part of Mr. Shipton. It is the opinion that he represents—namely, the opinion of the highly-trained artisans in this country—which has been a more formidable impediment to emigration than any other that has hitherto arisen. As long as there is a strong working-class feeling against a great effort towards emigration it will struggle with extreme difficulty. I have no doubt whatever of the right of this country to stop pauper immigration if it thinks fit. It is a right which must be inherent to the country, but it would be exceedingly difficult. These people do not come with any of those notes on them which enable the Americans to reject a certain number of foreign immigrants. They are not physically incapable of supporting themselves, nor are they sent out by any domestic authority or poor-law authority in another country. They come here, as it has been expressed, to get out of persecution; that is to say, they come like other passengers, and, under those circumstances, you would find it hard to put into an Act of Parliament the test which should enable you to exclude the class you wish to exclude without excluding a great many others too. And then it is for your consideration whether really, when you come to number them up, they bear any large proportion to the addition which is constantly taking place to the population of London, either from natural causes or from the migration from other parts of the country. There is one remedy which I hope its distinguished author will allow me to say I think is impracticable, and that is the proposal of national workshops, which his Eminence Cardinal Manning offered to us.” Cardinal Manning explained that his words related to those who, in a time of destitution, come under the Poor-law. The notion of national workshops he repudiated entirely. To this Lord Salisbury replied: “I am afraid that in practice the difference would not be very great. If the work offered is to have nothing in it of a workhouse test, if it is to be work offered in time of destitution by the State which

shall be in all respects on all fours with and similar to the work offered by private employers, it would really be nothing in effect but rate-supported workshops, and I need hardly say that that raises a question far larger than any that I should care to discuss in this room. But though I deeply sympathise with the feelings which have induced his Eminence to recommend so wide-reaching a remedy, I must express my own confidence that any attempt on the part of the State to step into the place of the ordinary employer, and to establish a relation between it and the working classes similar to that between the employer and the employed, would only result in the long run in producing far more frightful, wide-spread, and permanent misery than it was designed to remedy."

Although no satisfactory promise of direct State intervention was obtained by either the Irish landlords or the unemployed poor, both cases had been temperately brought before the public, and with the full approval of the public steps were instituted to see what practical relief could be given to each class.

CHAPTER II.

Opening of the Session—Debate on the Address—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—The "Sweating System"—Debate in the Lords—The Bye-elections—The Fisheries Treaty—New Rules of Procedure—Trafalgar Square Meetings—Mr. Goschen's Conversion Scheme—Death of the Emperor William—Mr. Bradlaugh's Affirmation Bill—Mr. Labouchere's and Lord Rosebery's Proposals to reform the House of Lords—Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Chamberlain—The Local Government Bill—Mr. Goschen's Budget—Army and Navy Estimates.

JUDGING from the tone of the Opposition speeches delivered during the recess, the Session promised to be a stormy one. Mr. Balfour's application of the law in Ireland and Mr. Matthews's campaign against "free speech" in Trafalgar Square were, it was supposed, themes upon which the Radical members were likely to air their eloquence, whilst the more reticent of the Opposition might be reasonably expected to make a strong effort to break the alliance between the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives. Lord Salisbury, however, was fully alive to the perils of the situation, and the Royal Message with which the Session was opened (Feb. 9) was framed in view of the somewhat anomalous situation of a Conservative Ministry holding office at the will of a section of the Liberal party. The Queen's Speech was consequently more than usually colourless, and seemed to have been designed to give as few openings as possible for criticism or debate. It was intended as a prelude to a "business Session," in which some of the long arrears of ordinary business, pushed aside by the requirements of party strife, should be dealt with—and consequently, as far as possible, purely party questions were left in the background. The Speech was as follows:—

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I continue to receive from all other Powers cordial assurances of their friendly sentiments, as well as of their earnest desire to maintain the peace of the world.

“ My officers, in conjunction with those of the Emperor of Russia, have completed the demarcation of the Afghan boundary in conformity with the terms of the Convention of last year. I trust that the work which has thus been brought to a conclusion may tend to remove the possibility of misunderstanding between the two Powers in regard to their Asiatic possessions.

“ Animated by a desire to prevent the effusion of blood, I despatched a Mission to the King of Abyssinia, with the hope of dissuading him from engaging in a war with Italy. I deeply regret that my efforts have not been successful.

“ The deliberations of the Conference assembled at Washington to adjust questions which have arisen between the Dominion of Canada and the United States are still in progress.

“ The negotiations which were commenced in 1885 with respect to the regulation of the Suez Canal have been brought to a conclusion so far as points of difference between myself and the French Republic are concerned.

“ I have also entered into an agreement with the French Republic for the protection of life and property in the group of the New Hebrides by a Joint Naval Commission.

“ A Conference of delegates from the Powers interested in the sugar industry was summoned in London in the autumn to consider the possibility of putting an end to the injurious system of bounties; and they have made considerable progress towards the conclusion of a satisfactory arrangement.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ The estimates for the services of this year to be laid before you have been framed with due regard to economy. You will be asked to make provision for the improvements in the defence of the ports and coaling stations of my Empire which have been rendered urgently necessary by the advance of military science. You will also be asked to sanction an arrangement for providing a special squadron for the protection of Australasian commerce, the cost of which will be partially borne by the colonies themselves.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The measures which, at the cost of great labour, you passed during the last Session for the benefit of Ireland have been carefully carried into effect during the period which has since elapsed.

“ The result of this legislation, so far as it has been tested by a short experience, has been satisfactory. Agrarian crime has diminished; and the power of coercive conspiracies has sensibly abated. Measures tending to develop the resources of

Ireland, and to facilitate an increase in the number of the proprietors of the soil, will be laid before you.

"Your attention will be invited to the subject of Local Government in England; and measures will be submitted to you for dealing with it, in combination with proposals for adjusting the relations between local and Imperial finance, and for mitigating the burdens at present imposed upon the ratepayers.

"The prospects of commerce are more hopeful than any to which I have been able to point for many years past. I deeply regret that no corresponding improvement is observable in the condition of agriculture. I commend the interests of that great industry to your attentive care, in the hope that means may be discovered for enabling it to meet more effectually the difficulties under which it labours.

"You will be invited to consider legislative proposals for cheapening the transfer of land; for modifying the procedure by which tithe rent-charge is collected; for the promotion of technical education; for preventing undue preferences in the rates charged by railway companies on foreign and domestic produce; for remedying abuses in the formation of Companies under limited liability; and for amending the law as to the liability of employers in case of accidents.

"Measures for improving the position of the Scottish Universities, and for regulating the borough police in Scotland, will be laid before you; and proposals will be submitted to you for diminishing the cost of Private Bill legislation.

"In these and all other efforts that you may make to promote the well-being of my people, I pray that you may be guided by the hand of Almighty God."

In the House of Lords the debate on the Address was disposed of in a few hours. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres moved the customary echo of the various paragraphs, and was seconded by Lord Armstrong, a Liberal Unionist. The former, speaking chiefly on foreign politics, expressed the fear that the Fisheries question, even if an agreement were come to between the Powers, would give rise to constantly recurring difficulties. Lord Armstrong dwelt more especially on the Irish question, maintaining that the Liberal Unionists had given proof of true patriotism in resisting the policy of dismemberment advocated by the Opposition. In conclusion he urged upon the Government the importance of having a navy supreme as compared with any other country in the world. Earl Granville, whilst going over the whole field offered by the Queen's message, gave no indication of the spot on which his party would make a stand. After a tribute to the memories of Lords Dalhousie and Wolverton, who had died during the recess, he passed on to speak on foreign affairs, expressing his satisfaction at the pacific tone of Prince Bismarck's speech, but he pointed to that speech as showing that Lord Beaconsfield or Lord Salisbury had not earned those

thanks which on their return to this country after the Berlin Treaty they received for having secured peace with honour. He said that we now had it on the highest authority that our two diplomatists at the Berlin Conference placed themselves unreservedly in the hands of one of the most powerful diplomatists in the world. *Sic transit gloria mundi*. Having complimented Lord Salisbury on the result of his foreign policy generally, he asked for papers on the subject of South Africa, Samoa, and the New Hebrides. Here, however, his approval of the ministerial policy ended, and in turning to home affairs he wanted to know first of all if the Government seriously expected anything from coercion. "I presume," he said, "that you punish not for the sake of revenge, but to deter others from following the same course. Do you imagine that a short imprisonment has a very deterrent effect when the head of a municipality comes out of prison as a triumphant conqueror; when the priest emerges from confinement and is viewed as a saint by his flock; when members of Parliament come back to their constituents with a still more certain security of being re-elected; and when men in an ordinary position are viewed by their fellow-citizens not as criminals but as heroes?" Lord Granville declared that the statement beforehand of Lord Salisbury that he would not force the measures of the Government in the ordinary way by an appeal to the country if defeated in the House of Commons was without precedent. Retorting on the charge against himself and his colleagues that they had made an alliance with the party of disorder in Ireland, he denied that the charge had ever been proved, but he said that if an alliance with the Irish party was what was charged against them, they had the admission of Mr. Balfour that such an alliance had existed between the Tory leaders and that party, the right hon. gentleman's only excuse being that it had lasted for only a short time. As to the offences punished in Ireland, he asked how, in the face of recent prosecutions in that country, Ministers could allege that there was no difference between the criminal laws of the two countries. Referring to the deputation of Irish landlords to Lord Salisbury the other day, he adversely criticised the reply made to them by the Prime Minister, and he commented on the fact that no support had been given by that noble lord and his supporters to Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the purchase of Irish estates on terms fair to the proprietors. Lord Salisbury, in reply, desired to postpone debate upon the various questions of foreign policy which had been raised, and although he could not promise that all the papers asked for by Lord Granville should be laid on the table, he anticipated the opportunity for a fuller discussion of the subject. Meanwhile he based his strong hope of peace more upon the Czar's good sense and feeling than upon the unanimity with which the German Parliament had voted without discussion 14,000,000*l.* for war purposes, and had added 700,000 to the

army in ten minutes. Prince Bismarck, said Lord Salisbury, was always declaring that Germany had no interest in Eastern Europe, and in the Crimean War had kept aloof from either side, but England had other traditions and other interests. "We too have a past; we have traditions and a policy—a policy from which we have no intention of departing—a policy that we shall consistently uphold. We have interests; we have for the last three or four generations asserted interests in the south-east of Europe, and we shall not show ourselves more indifferent to those interests than those who have gone before us." Lord Salisbury further declared that the Government had received categorical assurances of a pacific character from Russia. As to his action and that of Lord Beaconsfield during the Berlin Conference, he put aside Lord Granville's version of the proceedings, but he admitted that in a matter where compromise was desirable, the English plenipotentiaries had been influenced by Germany in a manner that had received the approval of this country. As to the retort of Lord Granville of an alliance between the Conservative leaders and the Parnellites, he said he believed that the Tory members and the Irish party went into the same lobby on two occasions; but the real question in this matter was whether the Tory leaders did or did not depart from their own principles to bring about that result. He denied any alliance between the Tory leaders and the Parnellites to turn out the late Government; and, in conclusion, he vigorously defended the Irish policy of the Government on the ground that the force they employed in Ireland was not directed against the law-abiding portion of the Irish community, but against those persons who set the law at defiance.

The Address was then agreed to without a division, but on the following day an interesting and somewhat heated discussion arose on the terms in which Lord Salisbury had described Lord Granville's version of Prince Bismarck's attitude at the Berlin Congress. Lord Granville maintained the verbal accuracy of the statements by him as to the recent speech of Prince Bismarck, as well as the quotation from Lord Salisbury's and Mr. Balfour's speeches (at Manchester, Dec. 15). The Prime Minister declined to give up his contention that he was justified in denying the correctness of the inferences drawn by Lord Granville from those speeches.

In the House of Commons it was expected that some greater show of opposition would be displayed. Sir William Harcourt, in addressing his constituents at Derby two days before the meeting of Parliament, had told them that if the Government did not give the most ample opportunities for discussing their "wicked" Irish policy, the Liberals would denounce them throughout the country. Mr. Gladstone, too, on setting foot in England after his visit to Italy, had seized the first opportunity of denouncing the action of the Parliamentary majority, "which was acting in defiance of the wish of the people of this country,

and acting for a purpose of all others the most painful and most odious—that is to say, of forcibly keeping down the wishes and traditions of one nation by the force of another nation.” In the debate, however, with which the Address to the Throne opened, there was little or no trace of this tone; but Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Bradlaugh, and Mr. Stuart gave notice of amendments relating to meetings in Trafalgar Square and to the management of the Metropolitan Police; whilst Lord Randolph Churchill, amid general cheers, gave notice of his intention to move for a Royal Commission to inquire into the alleged irregularities at the Metropolitan Board of Works.

The Speaker then informed the House that he had received letters from judicial officials in Ireland announcing the imprisonment and committal of certain Irish Members of Parliament for offences under the Crimes Act—viz., Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. E. Harrington, Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Lane, Mr. Cox, Mr. Blane, Mr. W. O’Brien, and Mr. T. Harrington. The Speaker also read a letter from Mr. Justice Charles announcing the sentence passed on Mr. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., for taking part in an unlawful assembly in Trafalgar Square.

The Address having been formally moved by Mr. Wharton (Ripon Division), who expressed the hope that the Local Government Bill would not involve additional taxation, was seconded by Colonel Duncan (Finsbury) in a speech which Mr. Gladstone characterised as the shortest and best he had ever heard delivered under similar circumstances. Colonel Duncan, after touching upon the references to foreign policy contained in the Speech from the Throne, urged the Government to strengthen the coaling stations abroad. Referring to the improvement in trade which was foreshadowed in the Speech, he drew a sad picture of the misery and distress which prevailed among the poorer classes, and insisted that it was the duty of the Legislature to take some decided step to improve their condition.

Mr. Gladstone then rose, and began by expressing his satisfaction with the foreign policy of the Government, especially with the settlement of the Afghan frontier difficulty; but he regretted that the Speech contained no reference to the production of papers relating to matters of foreign policy. He suggested that, to save time, facilities should be given for a separate discussion on the subject included in the amendment Sir C. Russell had given notice of, and, commenting on the references to Ireland, asked in what way the Government proposed to supply the House with the means of examining the accuracy of their assertions that agrarian crime had diminished, and that the power of coercive conspiracies had been materially shaken. He deprecated limiting information to statements in the House, and insisted that it was only by the production of verified statistics that a proper judgment on the administration of the Crimes Act could be formed. He himself ascribed the absence of crime in

Ireland entirely to the self-restraint of the population, and expressed his belief that the chief effect of the Crimes Act had been to endear those who defied the law to the population of Ireland. He maintained that boycotting, which was punishable and punished in Ireland, was not punishable in Great Britain, and inferred, therefore, that Ireland was not placed under the same law as England and Scotland. He next touched upon the legislative proposals of the Speech, and pointed out the great difficulties which surrounded the question of local government. He impressed upon the Government the necessity of bringing their Bills forward at the earliest possible moment, and expressed the hope that both sides of the House would unite in pressing forward to a successful issue this and other measures, and that the combat of the previous Session would not be renewed. "As far as this House is concerned, I think I may venture to say, not indeed as the result of positive communications at this early date, but still from communications with my friends near me, and from a general knowledge at all events of the sentiments which prevail, that there is no disposition on this side of the House to renew the constant agitations and combats of the last Session. I admit that I have expressed in the country the strongest apprehension that until the Irish question is settled you will hardly be able to make any sensible impression upon the vast arrears of your legislation. But, although I have said this, we on our side of the House will do our best to fulfil our prophecy—I mean, to disappoint our prophecy—provided that we receive reasonable assistance from a majority of the House, for it is quite evident that we cannot do it as a minority." Even if Irish autonomy should be debated, Mr. Gladstone answered for it that the debate should be confined within reasonable limits. He thought that Procedure, if reasonable suggestions were made, need not occupy much time, and he promised the Government help in getting to their Local Government Bill, and a thoroughly candid consideration of its provisions.

These overtures, which were almost as unexpected as they were acceptable, were cordially acknowledged by Mr. W. H. Smith, who thanked Mr. Gladstone for his generous approval of Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, and agreed with him that these matters ought to be handled without any admixture of party spirit. He promised that papers would be laid on the table and that every information would be given. As to Ireland, he asserted that the steady and impartial course which had been pursued in the administration of the law had brought about a decrease in agrarian crime and had created a feeling of confidence, of which the Government were prepared to produce satisfactory evidence. Admitting the desirability of improving the system of Irish administration, he declined to give any undertaking upon the subject until the Irish people were reconciled to the law. Acknowledging the sympathetic tone in which Mr. Gladstone had spoken of the

Tithes Bill and the other measures of the Government, he expressed with regard to the County Government Bill a confident belief that the Government would be able to deal with the subject in a manner totally free from party prejudices, and would be able to overcome any objections arising out of the question of boundaries. As to Procedure, the Government did not contemplate any great departure from their proposals of last year, and their sole desire would be, avoiding anything in the nature of a party triumph, to increase the efficiency of the House without diminishing reasonable liberty of speech.

The remainder of the evening was occupied with speeches by Irish members on both sides of the House, or by English members who had visited Ireland during the recess, and were chiefly noteworthy as evidence of the totally opposed impressions which the speakers received from the scenes they had witnessed or the reports they had heard.

The debate was resumed (Feb. 10) by Mr. Mundella, whose demand for information as to the assertion contained in the Queen's Speech relative to the diminution of crime in Ireland opened floodgates of oratory. Mr. Balfour devoted himself wholly to a defence of the Government policy in Ireland, and whilst acknowledging the tone of Mr. Gladstone's criticism, he was unable to reconcile it with that gentleman's speeches at Nottingham. In answer to Lord Cavan and other speakers on the Opposition side of the House, he pointed out that the resident magistrates in Ireland held their appointments on practically the same terms as stipendiary magistrates, and that like them they were removable by the Executive, whilst six out of seven had been appointed by the Executive presided over by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Balfour also promised to lay on the table the statistics of agrarian and other crimes, similar to those made in 1887, making, however, no secret of his opinion that they did not possess the importance apparently attached to them by the Opposition, for, in the opinion of the Government, they by no means adequately represented the actual improvement of the country. The figures, he stated, showed that the total number of agrarian offences, including threatening letters, committed during a period of six months in the winter of 1886 was 455, against 364 during the same period this winter, while the number of agrarian offences, excluding threatening letters, was 285 in the first-named period and 248 in the latter. In the six months before the Crimes Act there were 495 offences, including threatening letters, and after the Act only 364, while, if threatening letters were excluded, the figures would be 323 and 248. As to boycotting, he also showed that a marked improvement had resulted. In July, 1886, there were 870 persons wholly boycotted and 3,965 persons partially boycotted, while the number wholly boycotted now was only 208, and the number partially boycotted 1,867. The decrease, he added, was most marked in

Clare and Kerry, the only counties over the whole of which the League was entirely suppressed. These latter figures undoubtedly proved the efficacy of the Crimes Act, which the Government, he said, intended to continue to administer with a firm hand.

These statistics, however, as Mr. Balfour admitted, were collected upon a system which, however absurd in its results, could not be altered without destroying the little value they possessed for purposes of comparison.

Mr. J. Morley ridiculed the notion that the powers of English magistrates were identical with those entrusted to the resident magistrates, and, while accepting the figures quoted by the Chief Secretary, contended that the diminution of offences, and especially of boycotting, was due to the alliance of the Irish people with the English Liberal party rather than to the operation of the Crimes Act. Mr. Balfour had failed to show that the representation in the Queen's Speech that criminal conspiracies—or, as he called them, lawful combinations—had been repressed was due to the Crimes Act. On the contrary, that Act had increased the turmoil in Ireland, and had unnecessarily embittered the feeling of Irishmen to English rule.

A desultory debate then ensued, in the course of which the wants of the mining population, the agriculturists, and of the poor generally, were in turn urged upon the attention of the Government.

The resumption of the debate (Feb. 13) was somewhat delayed by a question of privilege arising out of the arrest by mistake of Mr. Patrick O'Brien, an Irishman, for Mr. Gilhooly. This Mr. Picton wished to have declared an infringement of the privileges of Parliament. The Home Secretary having apologised for the blunder made by the police, the Government held that it was unnecessary to go further into the matter; but Mr. John Morley moved as an amendment, "That the circumstances attending the arrest of the hon. member for North Monaghan be referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider whether any or what action should be taken thereupon, and what measures should be taken to prevent such occurrences in the future." This question having been debated at considerable length, especially by the legal members on both sides, none of whom suggested by what method mistakes could be prevented by the Committee of Privileges, the motion was ultimately defeated by 246 to 151.

The amendment to the Address, of which Mr. Parnell had given notice, declared that the ameliorative legislation of the previous Session had tended to diminish crime, while the repressive legislation had done much to alienate the sympathy and respect of Her Majesty's Irish subjects for the law; and that the administration of the Crimes Act, as well as much of the action of the Executive, had been harsh, partial, and mischievous.

In a closely-reasoned and cold, unimpassioned speech, Mr. Parnell developed his case against the Government. He began by declaring that the opposition of his colleagues to the Coercion Act would not supply any means for estimating their general attitude towards the general business of the Session. The Government, he apprehended, had done their worst in the direction of coercion, so far as legislation was concerned. He and his colleagues had no inducement whatever to oppose any amendment of Procedure for the purpose of forwarding business. On the contrary, he looked forward in the near future to another Bill for the better government of Ireland, in view of which it would be their interest to diminish all facilities for obstruction. Mr. Parnell next reverted to the oft-repeated story of the overtures made to the Irish Nationalists by Conservatives when in opposition, and of the expectations held out by Lord Carnarvon when Viceroy. His version of what had passed was as follows:—"It had been stated that the chief Conservative Whip and Patronage Secretary to the Treasury gave us to understand that when the Tories came into office—if they came into office—coercion would not be renewed. We had that statement made publicly, and it has not been denied by the gentleman himself. It is true that the present chief Conservative Whip and Patronage Secretary has denied it, but he was never accused of having made such an intimation. The understanding was conveyed by the Conservative Whip who is no longer a member of this House. Then we have the denial of Lord Carnarvon that he and I are at one upon the question of Home Rule. I do not say that Lord Carnarvon and I are now at one upon the question of Home Rule. I do not know what his views upon the question of Home Rule are now, but I know what they were in 1885. The statement which I made in 1885, when Lord Carnarvon was in this country, and which he did not contradict, I make now—that Lord Carnarvon's views and mine, as conveyed to me, or rather as we exchanged them in our interview, were absolutely identical. He expressed to me the strongest belief that only by the concession of an Irish Parliament could the Irish question be settled; that it was to be a Parliament, and that it was to be called a Parliament; that it was to have most extensive powers, even going so far as the right of protecting Irish industries by the imposition of protective tariffs. Lord Carnarvon says that he did not agree with Mr. Gladstone's Bill. I never said that he did agree with it. That Bill was not in existence at the time of our interview, and we had not any opportunity of conversing upon it. But Lord Carnarvon was in favour of an Irish Parliament, and he undertook the office of Lord-Lieutenant having those views. Having those views, with Lord Salisbury's knowledge—going a little further than merely walking into the division lobby with Irish members—he, with Lord Salisbury's knowledge, certainly after an interview, conveyed to me that he, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was in

favour of an Irish Parliament. Therefore, was I not right in supposing that, holding these views, he would not have been made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland unless there had been a considerable feeling in the Cabinet that his views were right, much less would Lord Salisbury have agreed to his interview with me? I do not know that Lord Salisbury knew beforehand of his interview with me, but he certainly knew of it afterwards, because he has admitted it in public. I was certainly under the impression that, dealing as I was with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, his statements and assurances were of no ordinary significance. We are now told by Lord Salisbury that it is very naughty for English politicians to unite with people who are resisting the law of the land, or to have anything to do with men of disorder who were resisting the application and enforcement of the law. That is precisely what Lord Carnarvon did when he went over to Ireland." Mr. Parnell then proceeded to reply to Mr. Balfour's speech, and began by declaring that English sympathy had already worked miracles in Ireland, which all the "contemptible coercion" of the Government had failed to counteract. With regard to the statistics of boycotting, Mr. Parnell did not know how far to trust them, for the Chief Secretary had on previous occasions been unfortunate in figures. He had been equally unfortunate in the example brought before the House. Mrs. Connell was not eighty years of age, but only a little over fifty. She had lived on the charity of those whom she now prosecuted until the notorious Mrs. Moroney took her under her wing. In order to get up prosecutions under the Coercion Act, Mrs. Moroney sent this woman into the town to buy bread, which she was in the habit of getting near her own house. Mrs. Connell offered no money anywhere. The shopkeepers said she never bought bread in their shops in her lifetime. On one occasion she came into court more than half-drunk. Mr. Parnell went on to regret that the Government seemed to have no idea of the gravity of the situation. For things were in a state of extreme tension. Still people hoped for the first time in constitutional and Parliamentary action. On this result he was entitled to congratulate himself. Twelve years ago, for one who thought that any good could come to Ireland from Parliamentary action, nine or ten, he feared, looked to violence, secret societies, and rebellion as the true means. He had asked his constituents to give constitutional means a trial. They had now been admitted to the franchise, and the proportion was reversed, nine being in favour of constitutional action against one for violence. He believed that the great progress would not be undone by any puny attempts of Mr. Balfour. The Irish people would continue to laugh at his coercion, and suffer what he gave them with a cheerful heart and assured knowledge that their country was on the eve of prosperity. Last November, agricultural produce had revived a little and helped things in Ireland. And the Irish

tenant would pay his rent so long as he had got anything to pay it with. Now that there was breathing time, why in the name of common-sense did not the Government take advantage of it with regard to the land question? Were they going to depend on the Plan of Campaign, which had been successful in every case in which it had been tried, save that of Lord Clanricarde? He was himself going to introduce a Land Bill, which would be a very much curtailed measure as compared with his former ones. The reason was that the Government had taken bits and bits out of it till now he hoped they would take the rest, and so settle the agrarian question. As to the National League being suppressed, Mr. Parnell said that the meetings of the suppressed branches went on just as before. A more lamentable exhibition of impotency had, he said, never been witnessed. At one stroke Mr. Forster had suppressed the Land League throughout the whole of Ireland. "Well, that was a man." Mr. Parnell concluded a speech which had been listened to with the greatest attention and respect by all sides of the House in the following words:—"In conclusion, I have only to say that I look with confidence to the future. Much as I am troubled about the frightful irritation which exists against the right hon. gentleman, and his neglect in appreciating the wants of the Irish tenant, I believe that some way or other we shall be able to manage to pull things through, so as to save the tenants from eviction in large numbers, and to avoid staining our cause or disgracing our English friends by acts of blood. I am sure our people will be patient in the confident hope that in the near future they will see the right hon. gentleman the member for Mid-Lothian in his rightful place, and coming forward with another great measure of peace and tranquillity for Ireland."

The Solicitor-General for Ireland (Mr. Madden), replying on behalf of the Government, argued that the improvement in the condition of Ireland was due to the combined effect of the Crimes Act and the ameliorative legislation of last Session. The Crimes Act was aimed against boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, and the National League had been proclaimed only in those districts where these conspiracies were prevalent. Criticising in detail Mr. Parnell's comments on the administration of the Crimes Act, he defended the action of the Executive; and as to the alleged partiality of the resident magistrates and their subserviency to the Government, he pointed out that in no case except one had their decisions been reversed.

On the following day (Feb. 14), the debate was resumed by Sir George Trevelyan, who took the opportunity of repeating inside the House statements which he had been taunted with reserving for outside utterance. This limitation of scope naturally deprived the speech of much of the freshness which it might otherwise have had, and the former Chief Secretary's arguments were mainly addressed to the old familiar points that the Crimes

Act had worked harm instead of good; that it created new offences; that the proclamation of the League was an impolitic mistake; that Irishmen could now be arrested in England for offences with which no Englishmen or "continental foreigners" could be charged; and that the diminution of crime in Ireland was due not to the Crimes Act, but to the Land Act of last Session, and to the spread of British sympathy for Irish grievances. Sir George scored an effective point when he argued, in proof of the contention that the policy of the Government would not "settle, pacify and conciliate Ireland," that nine-tenths of the whole area of Ireland was represented by "gentlemen of one way of thinking—showing a unanimity never before known in any part of the world," and that of the eighty-five Irish members one out of every seven was in prison, on his way to prison, or on his way out of prison. He further dwelt at considerable length upon the statistics of crime as laid before the House; and, comparing them with the results obtained by the Crimes Act of 1882, he showed that the latter Act had reduced in six months the number of criminal acts by 75 per cent., while the present Act had only reduced the number by 25 per cent. The crimes committed in 1882, moreover, were not political offences, but the great majority of the persons recently imprisoned had merely been guilty of crimes created by the existing Act; and in support of this contention he quoted a recent declaration of the Irish Lord Chief Baron that the clause of the Crimes Act constituting proclaimed associations unlawful distinctly created a new offence. He maintained that the National League had endeavoured to prevent the commission of crime, and that to imprison its leaders was in effect to encourage secret and revengeful conspiracies. As to the action of the Executive, he supported the allegation of the amendment that it had been harsh, partial, and mischievous, and especially condemned the comments in Court by some of the Crown counsel in Crimes Act prosecutions, and the line of cross-examination that had occasionally been adopted.

This speech was delivered under such difficulties as would arise from being received with cheers from the very men who had driven Sir G. Trevelyan from his office by the bitterness of their attacks; but its inconsistency was still more strikingly displayed by the caustic speech of Colonel Saunderson (North Armagh), who taunted the ex-Chief Secretary with his altered views. Quoting from some of his earlier speeches, in which Sir George Trevelyan had strongly condemned the National League, he reproached him with changing his opinion without giving his reasons for so doing. Colonel Saunderson then described the objects of the League as being first the destruction of the landlords and then of the Crown; and then went on to attack Mr. Dillon, especially on the ground of his threat to denounce by name traitors to the cause. He sought to fix the guilt of the murder

of the man Fitzmaurice on the local branch of the League, which had passed a resolution calling for "all constitutional means" to be used against him as a land-grabber. References to a signed attack on the victims in the *Kerry Sentinel* by Mr. Edward Harrington brought that member to his feet with an indignant protest. Colonel Saunderson, however, stuck to his point, and maintained that by this article the League had "decreed this man to be done to death." He attacked Mr. Gladstone's Nottingham speech with great spirit, accusing him of suggesting to the people to beat and kill the police, and drawing from him a disclaimer of the complexion put on his allusions to Whelehan. Reverting for a moment to Sir George Trevelyan's former utterances in the House and elsewhere, he dexterously capped the metaphor by which Mr. Parnell contrasted the coercive hand of Forster and Balfour by an old speech of Mr. Healy's, which pictured Sir George and Lord Spencer as rats, Cromwell being the lion in this case. The Tories roared, a smile flickered along the Opposition benches, and Sir George looked very unhappy. He dubbed Sir W. Harcourt the father of a new morality in law-breaking, hoped that Professor Stuart was not professor of any "exact science," and suggested "Remember Dopping" as an additional legend for the banner bearing "Remember Mitchelstown."

The honours of the sitting were destined to remain with the supporters of the Government, for Sir Charles Russell limited his speech almost wholly to removing the effect of Colonel Saunderson's unpleasant allusion to the "Dopping incident." When Mr. Gladstone's original statement was challenged, he had at once consulted Sir Charles Russell, who advised the withdrawal of the charge against the agent with the loaded or unloaded rifle. Mr. Gladstone was ready to follow this advice and to supplement his first letter to Colonel Dopping by a more definite explanation. But meanwhile the letter from the latter's solicitors arrived, and Mr. Gladstone was seemingly compelled by the threats of legal consequences to make that withdrawal which he had intended to make voluntarily. In other respects Sir Charles Russell's speech presented no features of interest; but it was far otherwise with Mr. T. W. Russell, the Liberal member for Tyrone, who in a closely reasoned speech defended the policy of the Government and the conduct of Mr. Balfour. He ridiculed Mr. J. Morley's argument that the decrease of crime proved by the statistics given by the Government had resulted from the "union of hearts" and not from the administration of the Crimes Act. Energetically declaiming against the National League, he maintained that it was identical with the Land League, which had been denounced by Mr. Gladstone, and pointed out that no meeting was ever held by the National League without land-grabbing being vehemently denounced. As to the charges with regard to the resident magistrates, the majority had been appointed by

Mr. Gladstone, and no objection was made to their competence when they were land commissioners entrusted with the duty of reducing rents. As to their alleged partiality, only two decisions had been reversed on appeal. Speaking favourably of the Government legislative proposals, he anticipated a business Session, but urged the Government to consider the question of arrears of rent; and, in conclusion, impressed upon them the necessity of continuing to administer the Crimes Act with a firm hand and without fear or favour.

The following day's debate (Feb. 15) revealed Mr. Herbert Gladstone as a fluent and at times even an eloquent speaker. He warmly defended the National League, and, arraigning the administration of the Crimes Act, contended that it was exasperating without strength, and that it had not conduced to the dignity and efficiency of the Executive. No serious effort, he contended, had been made to put down the League; and as to the Plan of Campaign, though he did not profess to justify it, he pointed out that it had resulted in bringing the landlords to their knees. His personal experience at Dublin Castle, he said, convinced him that the statistics as to boycotting and outrage were got up to order; and commenting on the refusal of the Government to extend their Local Government Bill to Ireland, he laid the chief responsibility on Lord Hartington.

At this moment the chief interest temporarily shifted from Westminster to Edinburgh, where a contest was going on for the seat which Mr. Buchanan had resigned under a highly honourable feeling, and in seeking re-election from the Gladstonian Liberals he was warmly supported by the leading men of the party. Sir George Trevelyan hurried away to the Scotch capital to urge upon the Liberals Mr. Buchanan's candidature—and addressing a large meeting, at which Mr. T. D. Sullivan, ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin, was also present, Sir George Trevelyan made a very significant and direct appeal to the Liberal Unionists—which to some minds suggested that a scheme for reuniting the party was under consideration. He said: "I earnestly beg Liberal Unionists among you to consider these things. They could not accept, I could not accept, Bills which dismissed the Irish members from Westminster, and which promised to buy out the Irish landlords at the risk of the British Treasury; but the Liberal Unionists were eager to conciliate and to be just and merciful to Ireland then, and they were anxious then to give it self-government, with certain conditions and guarantees. Now it is not a question of these two Bills at all. When the scheme for regulating the relations of Great Britain and Ireland comes forward it will in this particular be a new scheme. But it will be the same scheme in its noble features, in the spirit and the intention of the Bill. The question before you is whether Ireland is to be governed by receiving everything which she asks, everything which she ought to have, or by inventing crimes to punish her representatives

who are honoured of the greatest number of Irishmen. Do not be afraid of being told that you are governed by party spirit. That is the sort of taunt that is used by those men who are now swarming both in the press and in Parliament, men who are always telling us that we must not be guided by party spirit, and who themselves go and vote thick and thin with the Conservatives. Party spirit is most ignoble if it is applied to the getting and keeping of office and salary; but it is the most noble thing, perhaps, that is not connected with religion in this world when it is applied to the furtherance of great public ends." This appeal, so far as the Unionists were concerned, was, as will be subsequently seen, unproductive of results, though it may have determined many Liberals who had previously held aloof to support the Gladstonian candidate.

Meanwhile the debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment was continued without bringing out any basis of an understanding between the Government and the Opposition. The speeches of the latter were for the most part repetitions of the general indictment against the Crimes Act and its application. The Irish and English members continued to insist that the Act had created new offences, and that the penalties inflicted were out of all proportion with the intention of the Government as expressed during the discussion of the Bill in Parliament. Reckless charges against the police and the magistrates were met with absolute denials, in which both the assailants and defenders of the law too frequently ignored the courtesies of debate and the habits of mutual respect which had formerly marked the proceedings of the House of Commons. On the fourth night of the debate (Feb. 16), Mr. W. O'Brien's appearance, fresh from an Irish prison, invested with special force what, under any circumstances, would have been a highly effective speech. He promptly showed that, whatever effect his imprisonment might have had upon his health, it had had none at all that was hurtful on his spirits or his vigour, and, indeed, his physical health itself did not seem to have suffered nearly so much as had been represented. Mr. O'Brien began his speech in the lowest tone of voice, and with a general air of languor and debility which seemed to betray the last stage of exhaustion, but as he warmed to his work his voice rose until it soared almost into a shriek, his action became highly dramatic, and, flinging all restraint to the winds, he carried with him by his intense eagerness and evident conviction the sympathies of those who were ready to accept without challenge his version of Irish contemporary history. His leading points were three in number—to show that the Crimes Act was harshly and unfairly administered; to prove that the Plan of Campaign had been a triumphant success, and that the landlords in about forty cases out of forty-three (the balance being still unsettled) had, after fighting the matter, ultimately given in to the Plan wholly and entirely; and to convince the House, further, that the National

League, far from having broken down and been left with dwindling means and an almost vanished authority, was never in a more healthy and prosperous condition, never had so many branches in full working order, never possessed such large receipts, and never had its decrees more implicitly obeyed.

In developing these points, Mr. O'Brien began by acknowledging the sympathy shown by English Liberals with the efforts of the Nationalist leaders, and taunted the Tory party with hostility to the Irish people and indifference to their sufferings. He then proceeded to argue that the policy of the Government had resulted in failure and disgrace, which, he pointed out, had been brought about without a single deed having been committed of which the Irish people need be ashamed. He had addressed the Mitchelstown meeting, he said, to save thousands of his constituents from ruin, with the result that the evictions which had been threatened were abandoned and no injury done either to the people or to the forces of the Crown. This result, he contended, amply justified his conduct, and was a complete answer to the foul misrepresentations made by Lord Salisbury in his speech at Oxford, whose comments upon himself while in prison and unable to defend himself he characterised as not only cowardly but untrue. Relating some of his prison experiences to show the animosity of Mr. Balfour to the political prisoners, he asked whether the Government were satisfied with the result of their policy, especially having regard to the fact that the landlords, in settling their differences with their tenants, had been compelled to deal with Mr. Dillon and the Plan of Campaign, and not with Dublin Castle. He next made some caustic remarks upon the failure of the Government to suppress a single branch of the National League, and concluded by warning the Government that they would never succeed in stifling the national feeling.

There were loud cries for Mr. Balfour, who had been especially singled out for attack by Mr. O'Brien; but the Chief Secretary remained seated, and the defence of the Government was left to Mr. Finlay, Liberal Unionist, and to the Attorney-General (Sir R. Webster), who took the opportunity of referring to Mr. Parnell's assertion, repeated by many of his allies, that there had been an alliance between the Irish members and the Conservative party in 1885. He pointed out that in addition to the distinct denials in writing, made by Lord Salisbury, Lord St. Oswald, and Lord R. Churchill, Mr. Parnell had written to Lord Carnarvon a letter (which he read), in which Mr. Parnell himself repudiated having bargained for the abandonment of the Crimes Act as consideration for supporting the Conservative party at the elections of 1885. Mr. John Morley was the last speaker of the night, and he began by upbraiding the Chief Secretary for not rushing into the debate the moment Mr. O'Brien sat down. Mr. Morley attributed Mr. Balfour's silence to inability to answer the "extraordinary facts" brought to bear against his policy, and

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then went on to declare that the Government had made "a nice mess" of their Irish policy, as was shown by their having given office to Colonel King-Harman, while they had put a patriot like Mr. O'Brien in prison. He next attacked Mr. T. W. Russell, as "the spokesman of the rump of the party of ascendancy," who, "under the name of Unionists," had to go about "beating the hideous Orange-drum in Ulster with one hand," while with the other they were "stealthily plucking at the sleeve of Monsignor Persico." Mr. Morley then devoted himself to a reply to the Attorney-General, and to a general view of the effects produced by the policy of the Government, laying special stress upon the argument that the Crimes Act was mainly used as an engine against political opponents, and that the wholesale imprisonment of Irish members was disfranchising a large portion of the Irish nation. As to the administration of the Crimes Act, the question to consider was whether it was administered with tact and discretion, which he denied; and, in answer to the contention that the attack upon the National League had succeeded, he pointed out that its receipts even during the last fortnight had exceeded the receipts of the corresponding fortnight of last year, while the success of the Plan of Campaign was proved by the action of the landlords where it had been put in force. Referring, in conclusion, to the general condition of Ireland, and to the feelings of the people, he protested against treating prisoners under the Crimes Act as criminals, condemned the despotism of the Government rule, and declared that the Irish would be loyal and contented if they were properly treated.

The closing scene of the debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment was full of dramatic incidents, whilst the speeches of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Goschen, and Sir William Harcourt revived the flagging interest of the House. Mr. Balfour's speech, which was more than usually incisive, roused the Irish members to frequent and passionate denials, which contrasted strangely with the speaker's imperturbable tone and manner. He began by pointing out that Mr. Morley and others who taunted him with not instantly replying to Mr. O'Brien on the previous evening were perfectly aware that his place in the debate had been settled in the well-known manner, and also that half-past seven is not an hour at which a Cabinet Minister, primarily concerned in the defence of a given policy, is usually expected to make a general reply on behalf of the Government. In dealing with the argument that the violence of Mr. O'Brien's charges ought to have led him to put all ordinary considerations aside, he remarked that the attack upon him did not seem to him at all violent. Everything went by comparison; and, after being told in *United Ireland* that he "lusted for slaughter with an eunuchised imagination," he called to mind that the same journal had said of Sir George Trevelyan that "if Nature had denied to him the resources of the skunk and the cuttlefish, she had enabled him

to supply their place." He therefore asked the House to consider that his palate was rather jaded, and that he could not be expected to feel charges couched in Parliamentary forms so acutely as might be expected by persons unaccustomed to his ordinary standard of violence. He tickled the House even more by reciting some of the invectives hurled at Lord Spencer and Sir George Trevelyan, when they were in office, as members of the "foulest brood of Ministers that ever English rule in Ireland had produced." He declined to be greatly concerned about charges coming from men who had formulated against the objects of their present adulation accusations too abominable to be repeated in decent society. Passing from the personal to the more general aspect of the question, he entirely disputed Mr. Parnell's version of the alleged negotiations with Lord Carnarvon, and, as to the Crossmaglen prisoners, he asked why they were not liberated by Lord Aberdeen if their release had been promised by Lord Carnarvon, as was stated, though there was no trace of it. Criticising the speech of Sir G. Trevelyan, he argued that the Crimes Act of 1882 created more new crimes and was administered in a much harsher manner with regard to so-called political prisoners than the Act of last year. In reply to Mr. O'Brien's assertion that he only counselled resistance to the law at Mitchelstown because evictions were pending, and that the Land Act, which would give the tenants relief, was on the eve of coming into force, Mr. Balfour maintained that preaching resistance to evictions was the fundamental policy of the Nationalist party, which they never cared to disavow. He next referred to the treatment in prison of Mr. O'Brien, maintaining that he had been treated exactly as other prisoners, and ridiculed the notion that one class of prisoners should be dealt with differently from another. He had, however, he said, anxiously watched over Mr. O'Brien's health, and, as a matter of fact, he left the prison 2 lb. heavier than when he entered it. Mr. Balfour then went on to show that Mr. Parnell's denial of the circumstances of Hannah Connell's boycotting was a tissue of misstatements. As regarded the improvement in the condition of the country, which he insisted had been effected, no doubt the Land Act had done a great deal, but the Crimes Act had also been of the greatest advantage; and, as to the universal and increasing vigour of the National League, which was asserted, his information pointed to the opposite conclusion, while in the suppressed districts of Kerry and Clare it was reduced to impotence. Mr. Balfour further pointed out that, whereas in 1884 Sir G. Trevelyan had boasted that for every meeting prohibited by the Government five meetings of the National League had been held unopposed, his (Mr. Balfour's) administration of the law showed that free speech was much less imperilled, since for every meeting prohibited seventeen or eighteen were held. He stood by the figures in the recently published return as to the diminution of

crime, and evidence from all parts of the country and from all classes went to show that the forces antagonistic to the law are in process of decay.

As soon as the Chief Secretary sat down, Mr. Gladstone rose and spoke for two hours with great vigour and marvellous eloquence. His speech, like Mr. Balfour's, travelled over a wide field, and although he frequently touched upon topics almost worn threadbare by repeated use, he gave them a fresh face and renewed importance. Its chief characteristic, however, was the completeness with which he identified his own and the Parnellite policy. Dealing first with Mr. Finlay's somewhat harmless remark that the debate had continued long enough, he warmly contended that there was much which still required discussion. The law of public meetings, the relations between landlord and tenant, and the treatment of political prisoners had not been dealt with, or only incidentally referred to, and they were all subjects which were worthy of consideration. He then commented on Mr. Balfour's criticisms of Mr. Parnell's and Mr. O'Brien's speeches, remarking that the latter had made statements which had gone much more to the root of the matter than anything that had been said by the Chief Secretary, and, coming as they did from men who were the advocates and organs of a nation, were infinitely more important than the utterances of the leaders of a political party. As to the negotiations between Mr. Parnell and Lord Carnarvon, he contended that the Chief Secretary had not denied that Lord Carnarvon had been in substantial agreement with Mr. Parnell on the subject of Home Rule. He commented sarcastically on the fact of a Tory Lord-Lieutenant dallying with the sirens of Home Rule and entertaining their proposals when a general election was pending, which, he remarked, scarcely justified the accusations, made after the election, against the Liberals of desiring the repeal of the Union. He then dealt with the complaints with regard to his Nottingham speech, remarking that he never said that Whelehan paid the informer to commit crime, nor did he throw a word of blame on the Government. He referred to the payment, not for obtaining information, but for concocting it, and he did so because he considered it to be dangerous as well as unjustifiable. As to the Mitchelstown meeting, he justified his telegram, and, in an impassioned tone, characterised the action of the police there as cruel, wanton, and disgraceful bloodshed, which had no example in history since the massacre of Peterloo, and by countenancing what was done the Chief Secretary, he said, had been a breaker of the law by implication, and it was in the interests of law and order that he denounced his conduct. Complaining of the difficulty of extracting information from the Government, he analysed the returns which had been produced to illustrate his contention that all the diminution of crime which had occurred was due rather to the Land Act than to the Crimes Act. Next he discussed

the cases of the imprisoned members, complaining of the severity of their treatment, and, without committing himself to any opinion about the Plan of Campaign and the National League, he expatiated on their success, and pronounced them to be entirely free from the charge of complicity with crime. Having thus dealt with the leading features of the debate, he brought his speech to a close with a splendid burst of eloquence on the danger of delaying until too late the settlement of the Home Rule question:—"Will the Government ever continue to deal with signs and never look at the substance—will it for ever deal with external symptoms, and never search out the source and seat of the malady; to tear from a diseased and luxuriant vegetation here a twig and there a leaf, but never to ask themselves whether the proper course is not to bring it out by the roots? . . . If this be a question of time at all, then it is most important to consider what is the right time. I do not disguise from myself any more than the hon. member for North-East Cork does the strength of the combination that is opposed to us. They are very strong indeed. They have nearly the whole of the wealth of the country; they have nearly the whole of the station of the country; they have most of the elements of social strength that abound among them; they have with these all the influence which belongs to wealth and station in this country, which is vast in its amount, and which I must say is generally, in most instances, deservedly possessed in connection with them. But, sir, delay on a subject of this kind—a controversy between nations—is no obvious or unmixed good. It has its dangers and its inconveniences. You are happily free at this moment from the slightest shadow of foreign complications. You have at this moment the constitutional assent of Ireland, pledged to you in the most solemn form, for the efficacy of the policy that I am considering. The day may come when your condition may not be so happy. I do not expect, any more than I desire, these foreign complications. Still, it is unwise wholly to shut them out of view. What we have to fear is rather this, that if resistance to the national voice of Ireland be pushed too far, those who now guide the mind of that nation may gradually lose their power and be supplanted by ruder and more dangerous agencies, and that these very institutions, the National League and the Plan of Campaign, which would vanish into thin air in a rational settlement of the Irish question, may drive such deep root into the soil, may acquire such a mastery, not only over the understanding but over the passions of the people—for passion in all these cases will always be let loose, and cupidity to urge unjust claims will always march in the rear of the disposition to urge just claims—that institutions may grow to dangerous power which have been themselves in the first instance the offspring of bad government, that they may acquire a strength that will enable them hereafter to offer the most serious hindrances to

government which is good. I hope that there will be deeper reflection upon these matters. In the present administration of Ireland it is too plain that you are endeavouring to do—and the language of Lord Salisbury himself in his speeches shows the intention—you are endeavouring in substance to do what has long been attempted, but under different circumstances. For 700 years, with Ireland practically unrepresented, with Ireland prostrate, with the forces of this great and powerful island absolutely united—for these 700 years you have tried and failed to do that which you are now trying to do with Ireland fully represented in our Parliament, with Ireland herself as a people raised to a position which is erect and strong and with the mind of England so divided that if you look to the elections of the last twelve months the majority of the people have voted in favour of the concession of her desires. How long is this to continue? I would venture to ask hon. gentlemen opposite, under such circumstances as these, and with the experience which you have, is your persistence in this system of administration—I will not say just, because I know that you contest, but is it wise, is it politic, is it hopeful, is it conservative? Or will you now at length bethink yourselves to change, and consent to administer and finally to legislate for Ireland as you legislate for England and Scotland, in conformity with the constitutionally expressed wishes and the profound and permanent convictions of the people, and will you thus at last consent to present to the world the blessed spectacle of a truly and not a nominally united Empire?"

After Mr. Gladstone sat down the debate was allowed to dwindle down to its ordinary level, in spite of Mr. J. Redmond's efforts to raise a storm by the introduction of outrageous personalities. But the conduct of the Opposition, at variance with all the best traditions of the House, was still more marked when the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) rose to sum up the case on behalf of the Government. Although a practised debater of the highest order, Mr. Goschen seldom fails to show signs of nervousness at the opening of his speech, and the Opposition, taking advantage of this weakness, attempted by every sort of interruption to confuse and disconcert him. In these tactics, although they received the active support of Sir William Harcourt, his opponents were only partially successful. After a little hesitation he quickly recovered his self-possession, and, although he did not attempt to add fresh material to the debate, he delivered a telling and animated speech. Replying in the first place to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Goschen reproached him with again raising the question of the alleged negotiations between Mr. Parnell and Lord Carnarvon, and of defending his speeches in the recess instead of dealing directly with what he had insisted was the heart of the question. He complained of Mr. Gladstone's reticence and evasions, and, pointing out that his rallying of the forces of disorder had failed to elicit cheers from

the bulk of his party, charged him with having suppressed the most important fact in connection with the affair at Mitchelstown, that the firing did not begin until a policeman on his way to the barracks was being murdered. Answering the charge of incredible meanness in giving cumulative short sentences for a series of offences at one time to prevent an appeal, he quoted a case in which the same practice was adopted under identical circumstances during Mr. Gladstone's administration, and, as to the refusal of the magistrates to admit Mr. Sheehy to bail on remand unless he undertook not to repeat the offence with which he was charged, it was, he contended, not only reasonable, but was a course which would invariably be adopted in England. Referring next to Mr. Gladstone's accusation that crime dogged the steps of the Land League, he traced its connection with the National League, and severely condemned his alliance with the leaders of an organisation which, he said, was undoubtedly responsible for the larger proportion of the crime of Ireland. The Chief Secretary, however, had been assured by the loyal minority that the condition of the country was improving, and, although the task of the Government was seriously heightened by Mr. Gladstone and his supporters, he had every confidence in the success of the previous year's legislation.

In the result of the Southwark election, which had been made known whilst Mr. Goschen was speaking, Sir William Harcourt found much cause for exultation, and it probably afforded some excuse for his effusive panegyric on the Parnellite leaders. As was always the case, his speech was filled with excellent points, hard hits, and not infrequent exaggerations, which delighted his supporters, and drew from his opponents loud protests and denials. He cleverly drew attention to the close resemblance of the National League to the Catholic Association of sixty years before, and descanted on the analogy between the policy of the Tory party then with that of the existing Government. The legislation aimed at that association had failed, notwithstanding allegations as to its success while it was in existence, and he predicted that the legislation of the Government would eventually have to give way to the wishes of the National League, as Conservative policy with regard to Ireland always had had to give way to the policy of the Liberal party. Referring to the agrarian difficulty, he commented on Lord Salisbury's adverse criticisms of the Land Act, and accused the Government of a determination to use the Crimes Act to counteract its effects. As regarded boycotting, he referred to Lord Salisbury's allegation that there were some kinds of boycotting which could not be put down, and personally he thought that the reprobation of the community on dishonest persons was natural and justifiable. In conclusion, he eulogised in eloquent terms Mr. W. O'Brien's speech, and characterised the treatment of the Crimes Act prisoners as dishonourable to the Government.

After a few words from Mr. A. O'Connor in reply to Colonel Saunderson the House divided, and Mr. Parnell's amendment was rejected by 317 to 229, three former Unionists and one Conservative (Mr. Evelyn) voting in the minority, whilst 50 Liberal Unionists voted with the Conservatives.

The debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment, although it might without detriment have been curtailed, could not in any way be regarded as useless or obstructive. Its result was from the first a foregone conclusion; but the Gladstonian Liberals were not only justified but called upon to test how far the administration of Ireland had weakened the coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists. Possibly the majority might have been smaller had not Mr. Gladstone shown quite so clearly his entire sympathy with the Irish Nationalists and their most advanced leader. His fervent eulogy on Mr. Wm. O'Brien, which had been taken up and emphasised by Sir Wm. Harcourt in his speech to the Eighty Club (Feb. 28), showed that the leaders of the Opposition either altogether despaired of or were wholly indifferent to a reunion of the two sections of the Liberal party. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone's readiness to accept every statement that could discredit the Executive, and to reject everything which justified its action, could only be interpreted as a determination to sever absolutely the administration of the two kingdoms should he return to office, so that even those who were in favour of a large and liberal measure of local self-government for Ireland were dismayed at the prospect of anarchy which would ensue on the passing of a Home Rule Bill.

The resumed debate on the Address (Feb. 21) was chiefly devoted to agricultural questions; Mr. Anderson especially insisting upon the grievances of the Scotch tenantry, and urging the appointment of a competent tribunal, on the model of the Irish Land Commission, to settle rents upon a fairer basis. To this the Lord Advocate (Mr. Macdonald) replied that the keen competition for farms in Scotland proved that the tenants were not altogether dissatisfied with the existing condition of things. Mr. Anderson's amendment was rejected by 190 to 77, and the Address was agreed to.

On the report being brought up, Mr. Labouchere endeavoured, without success, to obtain an assurance that no arrangement had been made with Italy which would be binding on this country in case of a war between that country and France. Lastly, Mr. Shaw Lefevre wished to introduce (Feb. 23) a clause expressing regret that no legislation had been promised dealing with arrears of rent in Ireland. The debate which ensued practically turned upon the evictions threatened at Woodford and Loughrea, but Mr. Shaw Lefevre took advantage of the opportunity to justify his action during the recess, and the part he had played in his self-imposed mission to the disturbed districts. He attributed the whole trouble round Loughrea to the obstinacy of the Govern-

ment in refusing to adopt Mr. Parnell's proposals that arrears of rent should be cut down. It must not be forgotten that the Land Act of 1887 had provided for staying proceedings and for making arrears payable by instalments at the discretion of the County Court Judges in cases where the tenants were unable to pay through no fault of their own. Mr. Shaw Lefevre and those who followed on the same side failed to produce any specific cases of hardship which had not been fairly met by this alternative policy, as the Solicitor-General for Ireland called it, to the Plan of Campaign. Moreover, the Government in the previous Session had offered to provide for an abatement of arrears within the period when the conditions were said to have been changed by the fall in prices. As, however, this proposal was in the nature of relief in bankruptcy, it was necessary to extend it to all debts, and the Parnellites, in the interests of the shopkeepers and usurers, refused to entertain the proposal. Mr. Balfour, while disclaiming sympathy with Lord Clanricarde, denied that the lawlessness which prevailed at Woodford was due to his conduct. He attributed it rather to the speeches of Nationalist agitators, who for a long period anterior to the fall of prices had urged the tenants not to pay their rents. The Irish controversy, he declared, had become a socialistic revolution preached under the guise of a political agitation, and unless something were done to stop the canker eating into the condition of Ireland, it mattered little what political remedies were adopted. After some further discussion, in which Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Lord George Hamilton, and others took part, the motion was negatived by 261 to 186, and the Report on the Address was agreed to.

Whilst the House of Commons had been discussing at some length the conduct of the Ministry and the state of Ireland, the Peers had found little beyond routine business to occupy their leisure. The only exceptions were Lord Herschell's Bill for the amendment of the law of distress, and Lord Dunraven's motion with reference to the "sweating" system. In moving the second reading of his Bill (Feb. 16), Lord Herschell explained that its principal object was to protect workmen's tools and poor people's bedding from articles liable to distraint, and to substitute the authority of the County Court Judge for that of the landlord in setting the bailiff in motion. The Bill received general support from both sides of the House, Lord Bramwell being almost alone in holding that some opportunity should be afforded to the landlords of dealing with tenants who, as long as they had bedding and tools, would be able to set their landlords at defiance. In the Committee stage (Feb. 27) Lord Bramwell renewed his objections to various clauses, and obtained the introduction of several verbal alterations, without, however, in any way altering the scope and aim of the measure.

Lord Dunraven's motion excited more general interest; and,

although it did not lead to immediate legislation, it brought about the appointment of a strong committee of inquiry. Basing his remarks upon a report of the Board of Trade on the abuses of the "sweating system" at the East End of London, Lord Dunraven quoted numerous extracts from the Report of the Labour Correspondent of that Department to prove the severity of the work done by the poor people of both sexes who were obliged to endure a wretched subsistence by toiling under sweaters. He showed that not only was their remuneration on a scale that scarcely afforded them the means of bare existence, but that the number of hours worked by them was dangerously excessive, and that in very many cases they performed their task in miserable rooms, which they were obliged to overcrowd, and in which the most ordinary sanitary laws were entirely disregarded. He expressed his opinion that no slaves were in so unhappy a condition materially as these free citizens of a free country. He contended that there was no force in the assertion that if Parliament interfered with this system trade would be driven out of the country, and he reminded their lordships that the same sort of argument had been used against many Acts now beneficially enforced for the regulation of labour in factories and workshops. He advocated inquiry into the question by a Commission or a Committee empowered to examine witnesses on oath, and he concluded by moving for a Select Committee.

Lord Sandhurst, in seconding the motion, suggested that the scope of the inquiry should be extended so as to include other kinds of work, such as match-box making; but, on the other hand, Lord Aberdeen thought it would be better not to extend the inquiry beyond the sweating system. The Archbishop of Canterbury advocated inquiry, and expressed his opinion that we ought not to flatter ourselves that the existing Acts and systems of inspection were sufficient to effect all that legislation could accomplish. Lord Onslow stated that nineteen-twentieths of the persons who did tailoring under sweaters in the East End were German and Polish Jews and Jewesses, that the habits of these persons, even in their own countries, were very different from those of the English working classes, and that they threw obstacles in the way of workshop inspectors. The question was one of much difficulty, and, though the Home Office and the Board of Trade had already made close inquiries into it, the Government thought that inquiry by a Select Committee, with power of requiring the attendance of both sweaters and those who worked for them, might lead to recommendations which would commend themselves to the attention of the Executive and the country. The motion therefore was agreed to; and amongst those subsequently named to take part in the inquiry were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Derby, Lord Rothschild, and Lord Thring.

Meanwhile the constituencies were making returns in answer

to the writs issued on the assembling of Parliament, and the results of these bye-elections were such that in nearly every case both parties found cause for satisfaction. At Dundee, where Mr. Lacaita, elected as a Gladstonian Liberal, had resigned in consequence of his inability to vote with his party, the party after some hesitation made choice of Mr. J. F. B. Firth, a London barrister, who had once sat for Chelsea, and had taken up the cause of Municipal Reform. The Unionists, Liberal and Conservative, supported General Sir Henry Daly, who, although he failed (Feb. 16) to carry the seat, managed to attract nearly 900 more votes than the Unionist candidate had polled in 1886, whilst Mr. Firth succeeded in alienating nearly three hundred who had supported Mr. Lacaita. The seat, however, was carried by the sufficiently decisive majority of 3,639 votes, showing that in Dundee Mr. Gladstone's prestige was unimpaired. In West Southwark the Liberal Unionists were apparently unable to bring any efficient aid to the Conservative side. Mr. Causton, the Liberal candidate, besides being a fluent speaker and locally popular, had displayed untiring energy in reorganising the shattered Liberal forces in the Metropolitan districts, and his return for the first seat which fell vacant was a proper recognition of his zeal and abilities. Mr. A. Cohen, Q.C., the retiring member, had been in 1886 defeated by Mr. Beddall by only 113. (Cohen, 2,566; Beddall, 2,453.) On the present occasion (Feb. 17) Mr. Causton polled 3,678, there being apparently conciliated or attracted over a thousand voters who had held aloof, whilst Mr. Beddall's supporters remained almost stationary at 2,444. In West Edinburgh, where the vacancy was occasioned by the converse of the reason which brought about that at Dundee, Mr. Buchanan, the outgoing Unionist, stood again, appealing this time to the Gladstonian Liberals. His opponent, Mr. Thos. Raleigh, not only attracted all the votes which Mr. Buchanan had received as a Unionist (3,083), but polled 165 additional, making in all 3,248; but some hundred voters who had refused to support Mr. Wallace, who was the Gladstonian candidate in 1886, now came forward and recorded their votes in favour of Mr. Buchanan, who thus retained his seat by the narrow majority of 46. At Doncaster, on the other hand, the Unionists succeeded in winning a seat from their opponents. In 1886 Mr. Fitzwilliam had been defeated by 268 votes by Mr. Shirley, who had polled 5,060—a total which, however, showed a falling off of near 600 votes from the number recorded for the same gentleman in 1885. The Unionist vote had during the same period risen from 4,700 in 1885 to 4,792 in 1886, and on the present occasion amounted to 5,634, whilst Mr. Balfour failed to bring more than 5,423 voters to the poll. The election at Deptford excited perhaps the greatest interest among these bye-elections. Mr. Evelyn, the lord of the manor, had, in 1885, been returned as a Conservative by 3,927 against 3,560 given to his opponent, Mr. Lalmohun

Ghose, an Indian gentleman of very considerable oratorical powers. In 1886 Mr. Evelyn had slightly increased his majority, although the polling for both candidates showed a considerable number of abstentions. Mr. Evelyn, however, since his second election, had found his views on the government of Ireland altogether opposed to those of his party, and on more than one occasion he vehemently denounced the coercion policy of the Government. Amongst the victims of their policy was Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who, like Mr. Evelyn, had stood as a Conservative in 1885, but had failed to obtain a seat. Mr. Blunt, when the writ was issued for Deptford, was undergoing imprisonment in Tullamore Gaol for having attempted to hold a proscribed meeting in the Woodford district—where he had been displaying his sympathies with Lord Clanricarde's evicted tenants in a way to draw down upon himself the action of the police. His absence from the constituency for such a cause was in no way detrimental to his popularity, and his supporters worked assiduously on his behalf. But their efforts were not crowned with success. Mr. Darling, a barrister of more promise than achievement, came forward to contest the seat for the Conservatives; and, in spite of a strongly-worded letter from Mr. Gladstone in favour of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. Darling was elected (Feb. 29) by 4,845 votes against 4,070 given to Mr. Wilfrid Blunt—a lessened majority than the party had shown on the two previous occasions, and in this the Gladstonian organs found considerable comfort and cause for self-congratulation. At Hampstead, when a seat became vacated by Sir H. Holland's removal to the House of Lords as Lord Knutsford, the Conservative candidate, Mr. Brodie Hoare, was returned without opposition.

The terms of the Fisheries Treaty between the United States and Canada and Great Britain are discussed elsewhere. The news of its conclusion (Feb. 22) was received with general satisfaction in this country, although, as might have been expected, Mr. Chamberlain's share in bringing about a difficult agreement was minimised by his political opponents. In undertaking, however, what was prophesied beforehand to be a thankless task, the leader of the Radical Unionists gave a proof of patriotism which was recognised by all except extreme politicians; and by the admission of his colleagues it was his resolute determination which brought a controversy of seventy years' standing to a just and honourable conclusion for all parties. Its ratification at Westminster was regarded as certain so soon as Congress and the Dominion Parliament should have accepted its terms, but in each of these bodies there were powerful interests, which might as probably render the labours of the Commissioners nugatory.

The House of Commons, as soon as the debate on the Address had been brought to an end, took up the discussion of the new rules of Procedure which Mr. Smith some days previously had laid upon the table. So many proposals from Ministers and

Committees had already been before the House, that the sweeping changes they suggested were received without surprise. The tentative changes which had been introduced in previous Sessions had shown that the House was fully prepared to adopt a general re-arrangement of work, and Mr. Smith found himself justified by the result in proposing that the discussion of the new rules should have precedence of all other business, thus insuring the House against the dangers of piecemeal legislation. The first rule ("Sittings of the House") as proposed practically opened up almost all the debatable points. It limited the hours of sitting, introduced an almost automatic closure of debate, and gave the Leader of the House a greater control of public business.

"That, unless the House otherwise order, the House shall meet every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday at three of the clock, and shall, unless previously adjourned, sit till one of the clock A.M., when the Speaker shall adjourn the House without question put, unless a Bill originating in Committee of Ways and Means, or unless proceedings made in pursuance of any Act of Parliament, or otherwise exempted from the operation of this Standing Order, be then under consideration.

"That at eight of the clock the Speaker or Chairman, as the case may be, shall suspend the sitting by leaving the Chair until nine of the clock. If after the resumption of business at nine of the clock, and before a quarter-past nine, notice be taken that forty members are not present, the Speaker or Chairman shall, unless forty members are sooner present, suspend the sitting until a quarter-past nine, when he shall count the House or Committee.

"That at half an hour after midnight on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, except as aforesaid, and at half-past five of the clock on Wednesdays, the proceedings on any business then under consideration shall be interrupted; and, if the House be in Committee, the Chairman shall leave the Chair, and make his report to the House; and if a motion has been proposed for the adjournment of the House, or of the debate, or, in Committee, that the Chairman do report progress, or do leave the Chair, every such dilatory motion shall lapse without question put; and the business then under consideration, and any business subsequently appointed, shall be appointed for the next day on which the House shall sit, unless the Speaker ascertain by the preponderance of voices that a majority of the House desires that such business shall be deferred until a later day.

"Provided always, that on the interruption of business the closure may be moved, and, if moved, or if proceedings under the Closure Rule be then in progress, the Speaker or Chairman shall not leave the Chair until the questions consequent thereon, as provided in the rule 'Closure of Debate,' have been decided.

"That after the business under consideration at half-past

twelve and half-past five respectively has been disposed of, no opposed business shall be taken ; and the Orders of the Day not disposed of at the close of the sitting shall stand for the next day on which the House shall sit.

“ That a motion may be made by a Minister of the Crown at the commencement of public business, to be decided without amendment or debate, to the following effect :—‘ That the proceedings on any specified business, if under discussion at half-past twelve this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order “ Sittings of the House.” ’

“ Provided always, that after any business exempted from the operation of this resolution is disposed of, the remaining business of the sitting shall be dealt with according to the provisions applicable to business taken after half-past twelve o’clock.”

In the first night’s debate (Feb. 24) Mr. Smith consented, after a general discussion, to substitute midnight for the hour for the adjournment of debate, and 12.30 A.M. for the dispersal of the House. Mr. Labouchere’s proposal to substitute Friday for Wednesday as a day sitting was negatived after a short debate by 167 to 105, but his suggestion that the House should meet at 3.30 P.M. instead of 3 P.M. as proposed led to a long discussion, but was ultimately rejected by 214 to 100. Mr. W. H. Smith then moved that that part of the rule providing for the suspension of sittings from 8 to 9 P.M. should be omitted. This was agreed to, as also Mr. Labouchere’s amendment empowering the Speaker at the commencement of every Session to nominate a panel of not more than five members to act as Chairmen of Committees when requested by the Chairman of Ways and Means. The rule was then passed after a single night’s debate. Rule II. (“ Closure of Debate”), placing the power of closure virtually in the hands of the majority, was thus framed :—“ That questions for the closure of debate, under Standing Order XIV. A, shall be decided in the affirmative if, when a division be taken, it appears by the numbers declared from the Chair that not less than 100 members voted in the majority in support of the motion.”

The strongest opposition to this change came from the Conservative side, Mr. Chaplin (Feb. 28) especially protesting against increasing the stringency of the Closure, and Lord Randolph Churchill holding that it was unnecessary in view of the altered hours of the sittings, and Sir Walter Barttelot, who was strongly opposed to closure by a close majority. Mr. Courtney, on the other hand, supported the Government proposal, declaring that a just application of the closure could be obtained by a quorum of 100 members as well as by 200. The rule was then carried by 256 to 134. Rule III. (“ Disorderly Conduct”) led to

1 what prolonged discussion, in the course of which Sir Lyon Fair moved the omission of that part of the rule which gave Speaker the option of calling upon the House to adjudge

upon the conduct of a member. This was negatived (135 to 85), as was a further amendment by Mr. Whitbread, making exclusion of a suspended member from the precincts of the House dependent on the pleasure of the Chair (117 to 89.) Rule IV. ("Irrelevance or Repetition"), Rule V. ("Motions for adjournment in abuse of the rules of the House"), and the three next rules referring to the conduct and arrangement of business, were agreed. A long discussion was devoted to the means of preventing useless divisions (Rule IX.), by giving the Speaker the power to take a division by calling on the minority to stand up. Mr. Parnell on this point supported Mr. Childers, who held that divisions should not be taken in a way which would prevent constituents from knowing how their members had voted. Mr. Smith consented to limit the rule to cases in which the Speaker suspected obstruction; and also, on Mr. Courtney's suggestion, that the division bell should be rung and the names of the members of the minority taken. With this proviso, after four hours' debate (Feb. 29), the rule was passed by 236 to 93. The question of Standing Committees (Rule XIII.) was next debated (March 6) at some length. Mr. Heneage proposed to extend the Committee on Trade so as to include agriculture and fisheries, and this proposal was ultimately adopted, and on the motion of Viscount Lymington the proviso limiting the number of the Standing Committees was struck out. Sir George Campbell then made an amendment in favour of a separate Committee for exclusively Scotch business. Mr. Gladstone supported this proposal, saying that he had been at a loss when addressing his constituents to excuse the neglect of Scotch legislation. Such a Committee, he said, might satisfy what would otherwise become a large demand. There was real need of some way to gauge the opinion of Scotland, and there were enough Scotch members to furnish a Scotch Grand Committee of some forty or fifty, and yet leave a residue to serve on General Committees. The amendment was opposed by the Government and the Liberal Unionists, the former arguing that Scotch business, as the Statute Book showed, had not been more neglected than English in recent Sessions, and the latter on the ground that it would be substituting a parochial for an imperial view of public affairs. In the end the amendment was negatived by 214 to 187. On the following day Mr. H. Rathbone brought forward an analogous amendment in favour of a Welsh Grand Committee, which to judge from the subsequent division found greater favour with the House. Mr. Osborne Morgan, in supporting the proposal, urged that Wales had really a nationality, a language, and a literature, Scotland only an accent, and the Welsh members threatened as an alternative a Welsh Home Rule propaganda. Mr. Raikes ridiculed the national and literary arguments, and maintained that the step proposed would be an incentive towards Home Rule; and, moreover, the House of

Commons was not an ethnological society. The amendment was therefore rejected by the comparatively small majority of 22—135 to 113. Mr. Cremer's suggestion of Foreign Affairs Committee only found 44 supporters against 219 opponents, and the Rule was then adopted. The remaining proposals, which were chiefly technical, were then adopted, and the New Rules were made Standing Orders of the House, which at length felt that it was in a position to cope somewhat more effectively with the altered conditions of debate, and with the exigencies of public business.

In fulfilment of a promise made during the debate on the Address, a day (March 1) was specially set apart for the discussion of the right of public open-air meetings in the metropolis. Sir Charles Russell, in proposing his resolution for an inquiry into this right, declared that it was one of use enjoyed by the public, and hitherto sanctioned by the Executive, which now first had been put under a perpetual veto. He disclaimed the idea of a right of meeting all day and every day, asking only for protection by regulation. At the outset he contested the idea that open-air public meeting was an anachronism. He claimed for Sir W. Harcourt that he had held the opposite policy when Home Secretary, and had tried to secure places to the people for open-air meeting. Had London been a self-governing community the trouble, he maintained, would never have arisen. Was Trafalgar Square, he asked, like Hyde Park before the Parks Act, and did those who went into the Square without licence from the Queen commit trespass? It was, he urged, an estate of which the Queen was seised by virtue of succession to the Crown. It was put under the control of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, whose place had since been taken by the Board of Works. But that control in no way detracted from the public character of the Square, and there had been hitherto, as a matter of fact, no regulations of any kind limiting its use. In fact, it was created by public money for public property, and not merely for the benefit of those who happened to live around it. After tracing the course of the statutory history of Trafalgar Square, Sir Charles Russell sketched some indications of the official sanction which had been given since. The first was the explanation extracted by Sir George Cochrane in 1848 that a meeting he wished to hold was only illegal because it was to petition Parliament when Parliament was sitting. He next referred to 1866, the year of the riotous Hyde Park meeting, when the people were told, not that the Square was the wrong place, but actually that it was the right place, as being an open, unenclosed Square, not much used for mere thoroughfare. He challenged the Government to assert that any law officer at any time had advised any Government to interfere with a legal meeting in the Square. Next he quoted the experiences of Mrs. Weldon, who had even been advised by the Police Commissioners, and directed where to put a platform. Then he referred to Mr.

Bradlaugh's triumph over an abortive official veto. All this showed, he said, that meetings had been held in Trafalgar Square ever since it was Trafalgar Square. In accord with this was the action of the Home Secretary in 1848 and 1866, by the action of the police assisting; and there was no interference up to 1887. Passing on to the suppression of these rights, Sir C. Russell admitted the disorderly character of the daily meetings of the unemployed which had gone on through the autumn. Against that sort of thing he wished to provide by regulations. But the meeting on "Bloody Sunday" no one pretended was illegal; it was in fact obviously quite distinct. It was arranged on the 2nd of November, placarded on the 5th, and on the 8th appeared the ukase of "I, Charles Warren," with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, &c., and her Majesty's Commissioner of Works. These additions, it would be of course admitted, did not add any authority. Whilst granting the right of the Executive to stop a meeting which from its avowed objects, or the reasonable fear it excited, was illegal, he denied utterly its right to issue a notice forbidding all meetings however legal. Quoting Mr. Matthews's answer to the deputation, in which he treated the Square as the Queen's private property, Sir C. Russell denied that access to the Square was on the sufferance of the Queen, although the objects of such access might be another matter. "I deny (he continued, amid cheers which greeted this contradiction of Mr. Justice Charles's *obiter dictum*) that even if a meeting were held in a thoroughfare, causing some obstruction, that makes it an unlawful meeting—though the persons are liable to prosecution for the actual offence."

He then turned to the second proclamation, warning processions from the whole district, and quoting 2 and 3 Vict. cap. 78. One of these was inapplicable; the other gave to the police the power, not of suppressing, but of regulating processions. Naturally enough, when opportunities of trying the issue judicially had come, they had all along been shirked by the Government, as in the case of Mr. Saunders, when Mr. Poland said that Sir Charles Warren acted "under no statute, but as a servant of the Crown." In conclusion, putting aside merely legal grounds altogether, he insisted on a higher and broader standpoint; pointed to the use of open-air meetings both as a safety-valve and as a spur to Governments; and demanded a constitutional as well as a legal defence of the perpetual veto on a right by which this country has thriven.

The Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) replied very briefly. He took his stand entirely on the Act of 1844, maintaining that first there was no right of open-air meetings at all in thoroughfares—in fact, anywhere except on private ground by permission; and secondly, Trafalgar Square was even less open than an ordinary thoroughfare, though, when harmless, meetings had been winked at. He declined to follow Sir Charles into the

statutes he had quoted. He described at length the admittedly disorderly meetings of the unemployed, which, he said, exhausted the police, terrified the public, and rendered the veto necessary. The proclamation made the entering on to private ground not illegal, but unwarranted. Alluding to "Bloody Sunday," Mr. Matthews spoke of the day as "lamentable" and "distressing," and was proceeding to prove the grounds for apprehension about that meeting, when Sir Charles rose and admitted the right to stop that particular meeting.

Mr. Bradlaugh, who had an amendment on the paper advocating an inquiry into the conduct of the police in Trafalgar Square on November 13, was obliged by the new rules to carry over to the second night's debate the concluding portion of his speech. The first part aimed at showing that the public had a positive right of meeting in the Square, subject to proper regulations for preserving order. He cited in support of his argument the habitual use of the Square for thirty years, including his own experiences of some forty or fifty orderly meetings; the assistance given by the police in the case of Mrs. Weldon's meetings, and Sir George Grey's declarations. He asked what need was there for the Parks Act of 1872 limiting the right if it had not already existed. On resuming his speech on the following day (March 2), he took up the question as raised by his amendment. He admitted with Sir Charles Russell the illegality of the meeting on "Bloody Sunday," but he maintained that the semi-military occupation of the Square was illegal, as depriving the public of its ancient right, and that the illegal action of the police had provoked the illegal threats of Mr. Burns. An inquiry was needed to show that in the case of rights claimed and disputed the duty of the Executive was to submit the question to legal settlement, and not to appeal to force. The Government had first employed force, and had then shirked the subsequent opportunities of testing their case in court. They had even gone further, and had asserted that there was no right of public meeting at all—and it was to clear up the obvious divergence of opinion among successive Home Secretaries that Mr. Bradlaugh urged the appointment of a Committee.

The Attorney-General in reply declared that there was absolutely no right of public meeting in a place where the public had the right to pass, and declared that although previous meetings might have been allowed such permission conveys no right of user. They might indeed be lawfully permitted again, but as they had become dangerous to the public safety it had become the duty of the Executive to prevent them. Sir Wm. Harcourt declared that the argument of the Government would end by doing away with public meeting altogether. They had laid down that it was illegal for men to meet anywhere except when they had a definite right, and that they had that right nowhere. He asked whether, in view of the Act of 1866, the Crown had a

right to keep the people out of the Parks, and whether or not there was a right of meeting in the Parks. He then quoted the opinion of the Crown law advisers that there was no right to disperse meetings in Hyde Park either with or without notice, and he argued that the police instead of preventing the meetings in Trafalgar Square should have regulated them. Sir Henry James regarded the purely legal side of the question as insignificant by the side of that of public safety, and argued that the Square was public property, devoted to public uses, and that it was the duty of the Government to see that the rights of all classes were protected, not those of one class only. After a further discussion, in the course of which Mr. Cunningham Graham defended his action, Mr. W. H. Smith moved that "the question be now put," which having been agreed to, Mr. Bradlaugh's amendment was rejected by 322 to 207, and Sir Charles Russell's milder motion by 316 to 224.

In his Bill to amend the law as to oaths, Mr. Bradlaugh was more successful. Its object, as he explained in moving the second reading (March 14), was to authorise any one, on objecting to be sworn, to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath in all cases where an oath or affirmation was necessary. For some years Mr. Bradlaugh had been kept out of the House of Commons by a large majority, and his efforts to procure any alleviation of his position had signally failed. On the present occasion a large majority followed him into the lobby and swept away the restrictions which would exclude others who shared his opinions. Mr. Bradlaugh explained to an attentive and sympathetic House that his Bill followed almost precisely the words of the Affirmation Act, which applied to the members of the Society of Friends. The only difference in it was that he had introduced the words 'upon objecting to being sworn,' because it had been suggested to him that there ought to be an initiative for those who desired to have the opportunity of affirming. The Bill proposed to remove the difficulties in the way of jurors affirming. Now, at the present time, any person without religious belief summoned to serve on a jury, or who, having a religious belief, did not believe in future rewards and punishments, had not the opportunity of affirming. During the last eight years many jurors who refused to take the oath had been asked by the judge to stand aside, because the law now was that jurors without religious belief, or jurors who, having religious belief of some kind, yet had not any belief in future rewards and punishments, were by the law incapable of taking the oath, and were not by the law capable of affirming. The Bill also proposed to give witnesses and jurors at coroners' courts an opportunity of affirming. With regard to the oath of allegiance, at present there was no provision in our law for affirming at all, except for Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists, and even if a Christian conscientiously objected to take an oath on the ground that it was unlawful by the terms

of his own creed, he would not be entitled to affirm his allegiance. The Bill also gave justices of the peace, barristers, solicitors, officers in the army and navy, and others, the opportunity of affirming if they so desired.

Mr. Stanley Leighton moved to refer the question to a Royal Commission, because it affected grave constitutional usages affecting every class. He also opposed the Bill on the ground that it was the obligatory nature of the oath that constituted its virtue. Moreover, he had protested against the idea that the House, having recognised the scruples of every religious denomination, should be asked to recognise the scruples of atheists.

Mr. de Lisle, an English Roman Catholic, and Mr. Sydney Gedge opposed the Bill, the latter on the ground that it abolished or made optional the oath in courts of justice and in the case of jurors. But Sir Joseph Pease, a Quaker, and Mr. Darling, the newly elected member for Deptford, supported it, though the latter, in an effective maiden speech, demanded the introduction as a restrictive proviso, that the court or judge should be satisfied with the honesty of the objection of any person refusing to take the oath. The Attorney-General in supporting the Bill also insisted upon a stronger modification or safeguard, that a person taking objection as an atheist should say openly that he was an atheist. Sir Wm. Harcourt objected to the revival of the old practice of "ticketing" Dissenters, but urged Mr. Bradlaugh to insert a proviso which should meet Mr. Darling's views. To this Mr. Bradlaugh consented, and Mr. Stanley Leighton's amendment was rejected by 247 to 137. Upon the notice for the second reading Mr. Tomlinson moved the adjournment of the debate, whereupon Mr. Bradlaugh moved the closure, which the Speaker at once put and declared carried. But this decision having been challenged, a division was taken and the closure having been voted by 334 to 50 the second reading was then passed by 250 to 150, amid considerable cheering from both sides of the House.

Another proposal which gave rise to considerable discussion and aroused unusual acrimony was that to give a salary to the Irish Parliamentary Under-Secretary. The duties of the post had for more than a year been discharged by Col. King-Harman, who was personally obnoxious to the Irish Nationalists, not only on account of the readiness he displayed in replying to their questions and attacks, but also because of the change in his political opinions of which they accused him. Their hostility was displayed from the very outset of the proceedings. When, in accordance with the rules of the House, Mr. W. H. Smith moved (March 9) a formal financial resolution on which to found the Bill, he appealed to them not to oppose the proposal at that stage, promising to afford opportunity for a full discussion at a later stage.

Mr. Dillon, however, refused to defer his criticisms and was

followed by Mr. J. Morley, who contended that the appointment was unnecessary, and that the duties of the office could easily be performed by the Chief Secretary. In reply Mr. A. J. Balfour pointed out that the duties of the office had lately become much more onerous.

Sir W. Harcourt admitted that it was unusual to oppose a Bill at that stage, but thought the circumstances fully justified a protest against the appointment.

Mr. T. Healy, who spoke for nearly an hour, made a bitter personal attack upon Col. King-Harman; and Mr. T. W. Russell, a Liberal Unionist, joining with the Nationalists, emphatically protested against reinforcing the ranks of Castle officialism by an appointment which he characterised as an open declaration of war against the Irish people.

Mr. A. J. Balfour, appealed to by Mr. Picton to answer the allegations made by Mr. Healy against Col. King-Harman, referred to the Under-Secretary as one of the most honourable and distinguished members of the House, and declined to make any serious reply.

The debate was continued by Mr. J. E. Ellis and Mr. E. Harrington, and shortly after half-past six Mr. W. H. Smith moved the closure, which was carried by 190 to 180. The resolution was then put and carried on a division by 182 to 182, but the Bill was not brought in until after another protracted struggle over the initiatory step.

Another and more important Irish question was raised by Mr. Parnell's Land Law (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill, on the second reading (March 21) of which he explained the chief object was to extend the Act of the previous year, which dealt only with arrears of rent. Speaking with calmness and moderation, Mr. Parnell passed in review the proposals made in the previous Session. Only towards the close of his speech, which lasted not much over the half-hour, did he indulge in the tones of warning and of defiance. Two methods, he said, of dealing with the arrears question had been mooted. One was the method of the deceased Government proposal of last Session, in the spirit of Mr. Powell Williams's present amendment, which would solve the question by a general bankruptcy of the Irish tenants. The other was that of the member for Inverness, which had been taken up by Mr. T. W. Russell, and was now embodied by himself in this Bill. A third, the Scotch proposal to give the Land Commission power to reduce the arrears, as in the case of the crofters, he rejected reluctantly in order to give no excuse for throwing out his Bill. That Bill was based on the 80th section of the Act of last Session, which provided that the courts in which the tenants were proceeded against should have power within the limit of the 50*l.* valuation to postpone the execution of the decree if cause were shown, and to spread payments by instalments over what time they thought proper. That included

cases both of rent and debt. He included rent only, though willing to give in to Mr. Powell Williams's amendment; but would add to the powers in respect of rent that of reducing the costs also. He would also extend the 50*l.* valuation to one of 100*l.* After describing minor provisions, Mr. Parnell urged the gravity of the situation. They were now at the end of the respite given by the 7th section of the Act of 1887. That had only postponed evictions by substituting notices, of which in the first quarter after the Act 3,352 had been served. Soon, then, they would be in a sea of trouble. Did the Government propose to ride it out on the plank of Mr. Powell Williams's amendment? Surely their action should have taken the form of a Bill. At present his was the only solution; soon any attempt would be too late—the old fault. As for the amendment, he regretted to say that such an extension would both be unjust to the shopkeepers and would ruin the credit of the tenant farmers themselves. The Bill also proposed, where ejectment decrees had already been granted, to give six months for redemption. In conclusion Mr. Parnell laid stress on the large number of ejectment decrees then pending, and drew a gloomy picture of the distress which would follow if the Bill were not passed.

Mr. J. P. Williams moved by way of amendment a resolution declaring that no Bill for a composition of arrears would adequately relieve the tenants which did not at the same time deal with their debts to other creditors besides the landlords. He admitted that interference was necessary, but regarded Mr. Parnell's proposal inadequate. A new start for the tenant could only be got, he maintained, by treating the gombeen man and money lender similarly to the landlords.

Lord Ebrington, in seconding the amendment, contended that the Bill went either too far or not far enough. As to the argument that it was required because tenants were prevented from going into the Land Courts, he pointed out that the rents the arrears of which the Bill dealt with were for the most part fixed under the Land Act of 1882, and could not be justly described as unfair. He protested against debts which had been held to be fair by the Land Courts being dealt with in a different way from other legal liabilities, and contended that if there had been honesty in Ireland and no Plan of Campaign a large proportion of the arrears would have been paid long ago.

Mr. T. W. Russell on this point also separated himself from the Unionist party, and cordially supported Mr. Parnell, recognising the serious results which would follow if the pending evictions were carried out. These evictions were for the most part in respect of arrears, and were being carried out mainly to prevent the tenants taking advantage of the Land Act of last Session, and he protested against treating these debts upon the same footing as other debts. The shopkeeper was willing to wait for his money and take his chance, and there was a great difference

between the two classes of creditors. In the one case the debt was not pressed and did not constitute a danger to the State; in the other case they were unfair, could not be paid, and constituted a grave danger to the State. By not dealing with the arrears the House was absolutely depriving the tenants of Ireland of the benefits of the Act of last Session, and, turning to the Liberal Unionists, he denounced in strong terms landlordism, of which they were supporting the worst phase that had cursed Ireland since the Tudors, which would surely repeal the Union.

Colonel Saunderson contended that a sufficient case had not been made out for reopening the Irish land question. It would be most unjust, he argued, to interfere with the arrears which accrued between 1882 and 1885. He insisted that the Bill contained a most fatal principle, which he hoped the House would not hesitate to reject.

Mr. Chamberlain, premising that the Bill was not really intended for the relief of the tenants, but as an illustration of the necessity for Home Rule, admitted that the Act of last year was incomplete as regarded arrears, but maintained that the evil had been greatly exaggerated, and urged that only a small percentage of the eviction notices threatened would be carried out. He also pointed out that the arrears were not on rents which had been held to be too high, and contended that if the arrears were reduced it would not sufficiently relieve the tenants. Criticising the details of the Bill, he maintained that there ought to be, at any rate, a limit to the amount of the reduction, and a limit to the class of the arrears to be affected by it. What had to be dealt with was the complete insolvency of the tenants, and this, he insisted, could not be remedied by mulcting the landlords. The Bill was only a part of the Plan of Campaign, and he protested against another Session being occupied with Irish affairs. An offer to wipe off arrears along with all other debts made by the Government last Session was refused by the Irish members, and he repeated what he then contended, that it was only by freeing the tenant from all his debts and leaving him with the goodwill of his farm free from all embarrassments that any good would be done. If this was not done it was the fault of Mr. Parnell and his friends.

Mr. Dillon, however, insisted that the offer of last year was one which practically involved universal bankruptcy of the Irish tenants. He criticised Mr. Chamberlain's speech at some length, and in conclusion warned the landlords that if relief was not given they would find that the tenants of Ulster would soon be found on the same side as their brethren in the South of Ireland.

Mr. A. J. Balfour drew a distinction between judicial tenants, who he said were certainly not entitled to relief, and those whose rents had not been judicially fixed, and showed next that the Bill would not afford any real relief to the great mass of tenants who had got into arrears. It would not relieve those who had

joined the Plan of Campaign, for instance. Moreover, the Bill went far beyond the grievance, for though 3,000 notices might have been issued under last year's Act, there were not above half a dozen cases in which the landlords had turned out their tenants. If the land question were to be reopened, it was worth consideration, he pointed out, whether the tenants who by general confession could pay and ought to pay should not be put under some further pressure to pay their just debts, for at the present moment there could be no doubt that the Irish landlords were suffering more profoundly than any other class. These arrears were of Mr. Parnell's own manufacture, and to wipe them off when other just debts were left untouched at a time when there was a combination among the tenants to refuse to pay just arrears, and when landlords were not showing any disposition to enforce their rights harshly, would be to enforce the lesson that for the Irish tenants dishonesty was the best policy.

After some remarks from Mr. T. Healy in support of the Bill, Sir W. Harcourt pointed out that the amendment would be just as fatal to the Bill of the Unionist Mr. Russell as to Mr. Parnell's Bill, and insisted, in reply to Mr. Chamberlain, that no proposal had ever been made by the Government in relation to this matter of arrears which did not savour of the nature of bankruptcy. To reject the Bill in favour of the amendment would be to confess to the Irish people that they had a grievance, but that the British Parliament could not remedy it.

On a division being taken the second reading was negatived by 328 to 243, and Mr. Williams's amendment was carried by 320 to 230.

The reform of the House of Lords exercised the minds and occupied the time of the members of both branches of the Legislature, besides bringing to the front various amateur proposals for utilising the hereditary peerage. The discussion was opened by Mr. Labouchere (March 9), who moved a resolution to the effect that it was contrary to the true principles of representative government and injurious to their efficiency that any person should be a member of the Legislature by right of birth, and that it was desirable to put an end to such rights. In support of his motion he complained of the causes which prompted the creation of peers—mainly that they were wealthy men or unsuccessful politicians—and contended that they were actuated in the discharge of their legislative duties by purely personal and partisan motives in regard to the land or the Church of England. The resolution did not suggest the abolition of the system of two Chambers, but merely protested against the maintenance of the hereditary principle in any legislative assembly.

Mr. Rathbone, who had an amendment on the paper—which by the rules of the House he was prevented from moving—advo-

cated a combination of the hereditary and representative principle in the constitution of the House of Lords, in which the hereditary principle should have a recognition as determining the class out of which the bulk of the House should be chosen. The selection, he thought, should be made by the House of Commons, but not all at one time, and not by an ordinary vote. He would have fifty peers elected by successive Houses of Commons, till one hundred and fifty had been so elected, and would let them hold their seats for three Parliaments, or fifteen years; these, with the Law Lords and a certain number of peers created by the Ministry of the day, together with the Chairmen of the new County Boards, might make up the Second Chamber of the future, consisting of some three hundred members.

Mr. Bartley, who also had an amendment on the paper asking the House to say that hereditary members of Parliament who have been convicted of crime, become bankrupt, or whose conduct was of such a character as to cause public scandal should never again sit or vote or take part in the proceedings of Parliament, claimed that the House of Lords, notwithstanding a few isolated instances of misconduct, could hold its own with any other assembly for patriotism, learning, and morality.

Mr. Curzon (M.P. for the Southport Division of Lancashire), in a lively and eloquent speech, proposed his plan of reform, which was, in brief, to strengthen the present House by placing in it the notables of the great Dissenting denominations, great Colonial magnates, and the most distinguished of the civil, military, and naval services. As for the Conservatism of the House of Lords, Mr. Curzon held that a Second Chamber must by the law of its being be Conservative; and even of Mr. Gladstone's own Peers at least one-half would vote steadily against him.

Mr. W. H. Smith, commenting on the staleness of Mr. Labouchere's arguments, admitted that no Second Chamber could long remain indifferent to public opinion, but the motion aiming at the abolition of the House of Lords was revolutionary in its character, and, if carried into effect, would shake to their foundation the best interests of the country. He next referred to the advantages of a Second legislative Chamber, which he contended was a great safeguard to the passionate appeals which were sometimes made to constituencies by caucuses and committees, but he would welcome any reform of the House of Lords which would render that Assembly more capable of discharging its duty and strengthen its stability.

Mr. J. Morley reproached Mr. Smith for his *non possumus* argument, and, maintaining that the time was ripe for a serious consideration of the question of reforming the Upper House, denied that Mr. Labouchere's amendment advocated its abolition. He regarded it as a rickety parapet on the edge of a precipice, which was more dangerous than no parapet at all. He ridiculed

the notion of the House of Lords reforming itself of its own accord, and asserted that in voting for the amendment the Liberal party would protest against the accident of birth any longer determining the right to govern the nation.

Lord Hartington took exception to the views of Mr. J. Morley, which he assumed must be accepted as the present doctrine of the front Opposition bench. But he could not refrain from contrasting them with the opinions expressed by Mr. Gladstone two years ago, when, in resisting a similar motion, he distinctly disclaimed any wish to altogether get rid of the hereditary principle in the constitution of the House of Lords, and he insisted that before the abolition of that principle could be supported it was incumbent upon its supporters to give more definite ideas of the system they would substitute for it.

Sir W. Harcourt, comparing this declaration with Mr. W. H. Smith's admission as to the necessity of reform, twitted Lord Hartington with his retrograde views, which he said were more Tory than those of the Conservative party, and on a division Mr. Labouchere's resolution was negatived by 223 to 162, the Liberals thereby pledging themselves to attack the hereditary principle of the House of Lords, whilst leaving it an open question whether they would suppress the Second Chamber, substitute something in its place, or modify the existing Upper House.

The challenge thus thrown down was promptly taken up, and the Peers who accepted the leadership of Lord Rosebery showed that on their part there was no unwillingness to reform themselves, and to court inquiry into their ways and methods. In moving for a Committee to inquire into the constitution of the House of Lords (March 19), Lord Rosebery remarked that the numerous creations of peers in recent years caused a great difficulty in the exercise of the constitutional mode of overcoming resistance to any great measure adopted by the House of Commons—the creation of new peers. The Conservative party was in an overwhelming majority in the House of Lords, and in no way representative of changes in public opinion outside. At the last general election nearly half of the electors of this country voted in favour of Home Rule, and they were represented by 200 members in the House of Commons. But not five per cent. of their Lordships were Home Rulers, and the 86 Parnellite members of the Lower House found no representative even among the Irish representative peers. There was thus an incompatibility between the two legislative work-fellows. The House of Commons represented six million of electors, but it was not easy to define what their Lordships represented—and when the two Houses disagreed on any great subject, the country put aside somewhat roughly the question of the respective authority of the Lords and Commons. He attributed this weakness of the House of Lords to the indiscriminate and unhampered application of the hereditary principle, which, he remarked, only became pre-

dominant after the middle of the sixteenth century. This principle, as at present embodied, made legislators of men who did not want to be legislators, and peers of men who did not want to be peers. The peer who was a black sheep discredited the hereditary principle, because the member of the House of Commons who disgraced himself only discredited the constituency that selected him. Lord Rosebery then went on to show that the veto of the House of Lords was nothing but an individual vote, free from all the Ministerial responsibility which hedged about the Royal veto as exercised in the time of Queen Anne, and since that time held in abeyance. He charged Lord Salisbury with brandishing this veto and threatening with it, as the King of Hungary at his coronation with his sword threatened the four quarters of the globe; citing Lord Salisbury's Oxford speech, in which he had expressed the hope that the House of Lords would reject all the bad measures sent up to it. Passing on to his own proposals, Lord Rosebery compared the reform he would wish to see made to the care which the prudent owner of an old feudal castle would take to prevent the decay of the walls from making progress, as distinguished from any attempt to make it once more a threatening fortress which might command or alarm the neighbourhood. With this view he proposed to limit the number of the peers, and to give the House of Lords an external buttress by restricting the election of peers to seats in the Upper House either to the New County Boards, or to larger municipalities, or to the House of Commons itself—or even to a combination of all three bodies. As for the hereditary peers not so chosen, he would allow them to offer themselves as candidates for seats in the Lower House. In cases of a great divergence of opinion between the two Houses, Lord Rosebery wished the two Houses to sit together as a council of the nation and to decide the issue by a joint vote. He would further give peers the power to decline a writ of summons, wished to see an extension of the principle of life peerages, and the admission to the House of the Agents-General of the great Colonies. In conclusion he made an eloquent appeal to his brother-peers not to lose the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for taking in hand a reform which, though it might be delayed, was inevitable; and with this object he moved the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the subject. Lord Wemyss, from the cross-benches, declared his readiness to support such changes in the constitution of the House of Lords as were reasonable, constitutional, and consistent with its ancient rights; but he recommended his hearers to beware of the trap of a Select Committee. What they did should be on the responsibility of her Majesty's Government, and he moved as an amendment that it was not a safe thing to place the constitution of the House in the power of a Committee, nor consistent with its dignity to discuss before such a body the reason for its existence. Lord Salisbury, whilst

deprecating the dictatorial powers with which Lord Rosebery had invested him, declared that he was in no way opposed to the House reforming itself on the basis of its ancient constitution. He thought that Lord Rosebery's able and eloquent speech should have been followed by a Bill from the same quarter, for there was no need of an inquiry in the presence of a foregone conclusion. If the existing majority in that House against Lord Rosebery's party was so overwhelming, it was owing to the measures introduced by Mr. Gladstone, for in bygone times the Tories had been more than once defeated in the Upper House. He was ready to extend the experiment of life-peerages, which he thought had proved most satisfactory in the case of the Law Lords; he was satisfied that the only House of Assembly which could safely co-operate with the House of Commons without exciting its jealousy was one consisting not of those who had avowed, and received popular sanction for, their political opinions, but of persons marked out by birth alone. It was the hereditary principle which made those qualified by it for legislators take up a tolerant attitude, rendered them indifferent to slight humiliations, and saved them from identifying their political position with their personal self-esteem. Lord Granville, whose age and experience entitled him to be regarded as a Nestor of the House, bore witness to the general popularity of the House of Lords; but he doubted whether its popularity could survive many such tirades as Lord Salisbury's Oxford speech. Admitting, however, the attraction which the hereditary principle still had on the affections of the people, he was unwilling to lose hold of it and of the fascination it had for human nature. He was nevertheless anxious to see even the hereditary principle properly limited and controlled, and for these reasons supported Lord Rosebery's motion, which, however, was rejected by 97 to 50.

The subject was further discussed after Easter on the motion for the second reading (April 26) of the Earl of Dunraven's Bill "to amend the constitution of the House of Lords." The author of this counter-scheme explained that it proposed to create within the House a body composed of peers of the blood royal, spiritual peers, lords of appeal in ordinary, and a limited number of life peers, with the addition of lords of Parliament, to be recommended by the county councils, representatives of religious denominations, of science, of letters, and of the Empire. The House would thus consist of about 400 members. Lord Denman moved to postpone the second reading for six months. The Earl of Pembroke thought the problem of strengthening the House without increasing the friction with the House of Commons would best be solved by empowering the Crown to appoint from 100 to 200 life peers. The Earl of Camperdown proposed that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. Earl Cowper thought the subject was one to be dealt with by Government.

The Marquess of Salisbury did not think the number of hereditary peers too large. They were able to make their way through the lobbies, and their debates were not unnecessarily prolonged. He was opposed to the introduction of the representative element in the constitution of the House. He admitted that there were good features in it, and the Government thought that a measure for facilitating the entrance of life peers into the House would be a useful one, and promised that a scheme with this object should be introduced. Lord Granville having expressed his satisfaction at this announcement, Lord Dunraven withdrew his Bill.

The death of the Emperor William of Germany (March 9) had been so long anticipated in this country, that, although the actual catastrophe at last came almost unexpectedly, public opinion had accustomed itself to the approaching change. It was felt that, at all events so long as his son's health remained critical, the peace of which he had been so strong a bulwark would not be hastily removed, and that for awhile the din of arms and the rivalries of nations would be hushed round the sick Emperor's bed. In the two Houses of Parliament (March 9), Lord Salisbury and Mr. W. H. Smith on behalf of the Government, and Lord Granville and Sir William Harcourt, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Opposition, expressed the regret felt by the nation at the death of the great Emperor who had founded German unity. A month later (April 10), the Speaker communicated to the House a resolution of thanks passed by the German Parliament for the expression of English sympathy in German grief "which had called forth the deepest sympathy and the liveliest gratitude throughout Germany, and constitutes a signal proof of the friendly relations existing between the two peoples." Scarcely more than two months were to elapse before it seemed that these friendly ties were to be strained almost to breaking point, and when the address of sympathy was to be sent not to the German Parliament but to a bereaved Empress.

The Address and the new rules of procedure having been rapidly pushed forward, the Government found themselves able before Easter to lay before the country their financial policy, with which was intimately bound up the success of their chief legislative measure—the Local Government Bill. The first step towards rendering this measure operative was the introduction of Mr. Goschen's Conversion Bill, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained the principles (March 9) in Committee. At the outset of his speech, after premising that his proposal would lighten the public burdens, and at the same time raise the public credit, he reminded the Committee that, by a singular coincidence, it was on March 8, 1844, that Mr. Goulburn proposed a conversion scheme dealing with 250,000,000*l.*, and that on March 22 the scheme received the formal assent of Parliament. Quoting the reasons given by Mr. Goulburn for anticipating that

his scheme would be successful—the public expectation, the high price commanded by sound securities, the low rate of interest of the floating debt, the generally satisfactory state of the revenue, and the condition of the balances—he showed in detail that they all existed now in equal force. On one point, indeed, perhaps, he said, he was not so favourably situated, as there was not the same serenity of the political atmosphere, the same absence of all disturbing causes; but he added emphatically that he had no fear of his plan being compromised by any foreign complications, and the Government felt less anxiety on this head now than they would have done six months ago. Next he showed by reference to the yield of foreign and other securities that investors in almost every kind of security had had to accept the fact that the rate of interest had fallen, and to submit to a reduction of their incomes. Reviewing the principal conversions effected by Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Goulburn, Lord Althorp, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Childers, he explained their main features, laying especial stress on the manner in which the dissentients had been treated, and indicating those methods on which he intended to ask Parliament now to insist. The moral which he gathered from these precedents was that for a successful conversion assent must be presumed in the absence of dissent, that the time for the expression of dissent must be strictly limited, that power must be taken to deal with dissentients as Parliament should direct, and that power might be taken either in the same or a separate Bill. He also drew the lesson that there must be no increase in the capital of the debt, and that the greatest success had been attained where the rate of interest had been reduced gradually, each step being guaranteed for a certain number of years. Passing then to his proposals, he first described the debt to be dealt with, which was thus composed:—

166,000,000*l.* “New Threes,” redeemable without notice, and in any amount.

69,000,000 <i>l.</i> “Reduced ”	{	redeemable at one year's notice, and in sums of not less than 500,000 <i>l.</i>
323,000,000 <i>l.</i> “Consols ”		

After discussing the various methods of conversion that had been suggested, Mr. Goschen said that, preferring simplicity above all things, he had decided on the creation of a Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent. Stock, descending automatically to Two-and-a-Half per Cent. The higher rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. would be given for 15 years, and after that the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ would be guaranteed for 20 years longer. But in order to induce the holders of Consols and Reduced to come in at once to the same terms, he offered, even in the case of “New Threes,” that the first year's interest should be 3 per cent., followed by 14 years at $2\frac{3}{4}$. The “New Threes” would be given to March 29 to come in, trustees being allowed until April 12, and assent being assumed where no dissent was signified. As a further induce-

ment to the Reduced and Consols, and in consideration of their foregoing the year's notice to which they were entitled, if they came in by April 12 they would receive a premium of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.—in other words, 5s. per 100l., payable in cash. As to the "New Threes," no commission would be given, but a commission of 1s. 6d. per 100l. would be allowed to authorised agents on the other stocks. Arguing the question from the stockholder's point of view, he expressed a strong opinion that there would be very few dissentients, for though he would not now indicate the precise measures, he pointed out that Parliament would have power to deal with them. If they took their money, how, he asked, would they invest it?—and he reminded the Committee that the Government had now some ten millions a year to invest, which would enable them to meet any difficulties in a determined manner. As to the saving to be effected, if only "New Threes" were converted, it would be from April, 1889, 410,000l., and from April, 1903, 820,000l., and if the whole scheme were successful the entire saving would be from April, 1889, 1,400,000l., and from April, 1903, 2,800,000l. a year. This, he thought, was worth making an effort for, and, after insisting on the necessity of despatch, he concluded by repeating his belief that the scheme was conceived in a sense of equity to the public creditor and to the taxpayer.

Mr. Gladstone at once rose and congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not only upon the scheme he had proposed, but also upon the way in which he had explained and brought it forward. Reserving meanwhile his opinion as to its merits, he paid a generous tribute to the laborious and thorough study of which it was the outcome. He expressed the hope that the plan should be definitely submitted to the House at the earliest date, and promised, on behalf of himself and his friends, to give it a candid and impartial consideration. The necessary resolutions were, after a short discussion, agreed to, and three days later (March 12) a Bill founded thereon was brought in and read a first time. Its course through the remaining stages was rapid, owing, no doubt, in great measure to the hearty approval and cordial co-operation afforded by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers. On the notice for the second reading (March 16), Sir C. Lewis (the Conservative member for Londonderry), with the view of securing justice to small holders of stock, moved "in no hostile spirit," an amendment which, if carried, would have been fatal to the Bill. Mr. H. Fowler (the Radical member for Wolverhampton) at once made common cause with so unexpected an ally. In a general criticism of the proposed conversion, Mr. Fowler said he did not think the precedent of 1844 was applicable to the present scheme, and, commenting on the absence of any statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the terms of the latest loan raised by the Government, complained that this loan—the Local Loans Three per Cent. Stock—was

irredeemable for 25 years, and could not be touched until a later period than the New Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent. Stock. He asked why the Bank of England assented to the optional part of the proposal now, when they declined to accept a similar principle in 1884, and challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say whether in any past conversion there had been any offer of a commission to agents to induce their principals to assent to the scheme. He emphatically protested against this proposal, which he characterised as dishonest and immoral, and contended that but for the Bill it would be an illegal transaction, and was discreditable to the Government and to the country.

Amongst even his own colleagues Mr. Fowler found little support of his arguments, none of his strong language. Sir John Lubbock, on behalf of the banking community as well as on the grounds of political economy, approved of the aims of the measure, and dealt in detail with Mr. Fowler's objections. As to the commission to bankers, it was an open and not a secret commission, and it would be infinitesimal in the case of conversion by small holders, while as regarded large holders he thought they were well able to take care of themselves.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a general reply, gave expression to a feeling of satisfaction that, whatever might be the view of the House upon the subsidiary details of the scheme, the broad principle of the reduction in interest had met with general approval. As to the celerity with which the scheme was to be carried out, he maintained that if it was carried out at all it was essential that it should be done with as much rapidity as possible, and, as regarded the case of trustees, he said a clause would be inserted in the Bill to assist trustees in overcoming legal and technical difficulties, and power would be given them to sell out and re-invest in any authorised security. Dealing next with the speech of Mr. H. Fowler, whose offensive tone he deprecated, he explained in detail the circumstances under which the Local Loans Stock was issued, which, he contended, were advantageous to the country, and protested against the suggestion that the commission to bankers was a bribe, the hollowness of which had been shown by Sir J. Lubbock and others. Its object was merely to assist conversion, in the case of small as well as large holders, in such a way as to insure that no loss should be incurred either by the holder or by the agent. A similar agency commission, he said, was paid on the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and it was allowed in the present scheme in order to prevent agency charges from falling on the holders, and to compensate agents for the extra trouble to which they would be put. Finally, he remarked that the value of the measure lay not only in the particular amount saved now, but in the fact that the country hereafter would be relieved of having to pay 3 per cent. to all its creditors.

Mr. Childers approved of the general scope of the Bill, which in fact proposed to carry out a proposal of his own which had

met with an untoward fate, in consequence, as it was asserted, of its offering no inducement to bankers and brokers to aid in the work of conversion. It was, therefore, only natural that Mr. Childers should deprecate the payment of the agents' commission only in the event of their advising their clients to accept the scheme. After some remarks from Mr. Courtney, who expressed the hope that the scheme would not interfere with the regular and progressive redemption of the National Debt, the Bill was read a second time amid cheers from both sides of the House.

The Committee stage (March 20) was passed almost as expeditiously. The only amendment debated at any length was one proposed by Mr. H. Fowler to strike out (clause 10) the words authorising the payment of 1s. 6d. per cent. commission on the converted stock. On this occasion Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, and Sir Wm. Harcourt supported their colleague, who had been Secretary to the Treasury in the previous Liberal Government; but inasmuch as the failure of Mr. Childers's scheme had been attributed, rightly or wrongly, to his having omitted to make it the interest of anyone to assist in its being carried into effect, the force of the objections to a commission was considerably weakened, and the proposal was retained by 244 to 127, and, the remainder of the clauses having been agreed to, the Bill was reported as amended. On the following day, however (March 21), Mr. Cozens-Hardy added a new clause for the protection of trustees, and giving them power to invest in the new stock, anything to the contrary in the trust-deeds notwithstanding. Some further verbal amendments were also made, and on the following day (March 22), the consent of the Queen and the Prince of Wales (as Duke of Cornwall) to the proposals as affecting them personally having been given, the Bill, after Mr. Anderson's proposal to extend the powers of trustees had been negatived, was read a third time, and, having passed formally through the Lords, received (March 27) Royal assent. Outside Parliament the Bill was received with general satisfaction, and it was recognised that by elevating the standard of national credit to a basis of 2½ per cent., Mr. Goschen was facilitating new developments of credit, cheapening the use of capital in legitimate enterprise, and adding considerably to the value of whole groups of miscellaneous investments. The success of the scheme, moreover, was shown by the announcement, made within a month of the introduction of the Bill, that on that date (April 12) the total amount of assents received, including the New Threes, was 450,000,000*l.*

Whilst Mr. Goschen's Conversion Bill had been passing through its various stages, the Ministers of the Great Spending Departments had laid before Parliament their requirements for the ensuing year. In the case of the Army and Navy the Estimates were accompanied by explanatory memoranda designed to take the place of the responsible Minister's statement, and to

place before the House the proposals of the Government in a manner which would give rise to definite and useful criticism. The Secretary of State for War (Hon. E. Stanhope) at the same time laid on the table of the House the report of a Committee appointed to inquire into the fortification and armament of our military and home mercantile ports. The Estimates themselves showed a total expenditure of 16,700,300*l.*, of which 13,672,700*l.* was for effective and 3,027,600*l.* for non-effective services. In addition to this an outlay of 30,000*l.* was anticipated for the Ordnance Factory vote. As compared with the previous year's votes, the Estimates showed a decrease of 152,019*l.*, but in fact there was scarcely ground for any absolute comparison, inasmuch as the charge for naval ordnance, hitherto borne on the Army Estimates, had been transferred to the navy, whilst the cost of the transport of troops by sea was now charged upon the army vote. In the total sum required for the services of the year Mr. Stanhope had also included one-half of the sum of 799,430*l.* required for ammunition and the lighter forms of defensive material, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee of Inquiry. This body reported that, "after inquiring carefully into the condition of each of these ports (Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the Estuary of the Thames), they had no hesitation in stating their conviction that deficiencies existed in the defences of each of them which rendered our position dangerously insecure," and they urged as essential "the partial and in some cases very extensive reconstruction" of the defending ports. When the subject first began to engage the serious attention of the authorities, and Lord Carnarvon's Commission was appointed (1879), the estimated expenditure for military ports at home and abroad was set down at three millions, and for mercantile ports at nearly two millions.

This sum was made up in the following way :—

(a) Balance of amount due on scheme of 1884.

For Coaling stations :	
„ Works and armaments	£493,495
„ Barracks (additional)	350,000
„ Submarine mines, stores, &c.	66,451
	£909,946

(b) Military ports :—

Works	£1,561,302	
Armaments and ammunition	1,576,500	
		£3,137,802
To be added, cost of submarine mining defence :—		
Total estimate	472,939	
Expended up to March 31, 1887	415,982	
Required to complete	56,957	
		£3,194,759

(c) Mercantile ports :—

Works	£735,000	
Armaments	1,022,000	
		£1,757,000
Submarine mining defence :—		
Total estimate	315,954	
Expended up to March 31, 1887	134,443	
Required to complete		181,511
		£1,938,511

By a process of rigorous economy it was found that the sum of 2,999,430*l.* was urgently needed, and the Secretary for War having deducted therefrom the sum required for ammunition, &c. (799,430*l.*), which he proposed to spread over this year's Estimates, decided to ask Parliament to provide the 2,200,000*l.* in some manner which would exempt the expenditure from the risks of fluctuating opinion. This expenditure, it was hoped, would cover the most obvious and perilous defects in our equipment, and the conclusions at which the Government at length arrived were thus summarised by Mr. Stanhope :—

“(1.) That the works and armaments which are vitally necessary for the protection of our arsenals and our commerce should be at once undertaken, and prosecuted with the least possible delay.

“(2.) That any scheme for this purpose should be submitted to Parliament as a whole, in order that, the consent of Parliament having been once obtained, the necessary works may proceed without any hindrance.

“(3.) That the whole of the expense of the lighter armaments, of ammunition, and other more perishable material, should be borne upon the annual Estimates ; while that of the works and buildings and of the heavier armaments is of a sufficiently permanent character to render it right to follow the general lines of the precedent of the Military Forces Localisation Act, 1872, and, by placing the expenditure under statutory authority, keep it outside the ordinary Estimates.

“The scheme which we now, therefore, submit to Parliament is based upon a programme which, we have every reason to hope, can be completed within three years. The time necessary for building and for the construction of heavy guns makes it improbable that any less period will suffice ; but, on the other hand, we trust that the time named will not be exceeded, and every effort will be used to finish them as speedily as possible.

“First, we propose to complete, as quickly as possible, the works and armaments at the coaling stations within the accepted programme ; and, in addition, to provide the armament for King George's Sound and Thursday Island, which was asked for by the colonial representatives at the recent Colonial Conference. In addition, the submarine mining defences will be perfected, and the absolutely necessary barrack accommodation provided.

“ We propose to undertake the most urgent requirements of our great military ports in accordance with the general lines laid down by my Committee, and to complete the submarine mining defences.

“ And, lastly, we propose to finish the submarine mining defences of our principal mercantile ports, and to supply the light armament necessary to protect them.”

The subjoined table shows the general character of the works which it was proposed to carry out :—

	Estimated cost of works and buildings		Estimated cost at present prices, heavy guns	Estimated cost at present prices of machine and quick-firing guns, torpedoes, and ammunition	Total
	Defence works and buildings	Barracks			
1. Military Ports :	£	£	£	£	£
Portsmouth . .	78,410	—	106,370	167,965	352,745
Plymouth . .	103,590	—	78,940	51,500	234,030
The Thames } The Medway }	119,276	—	60,380	44,910	224,566
Harwich . .	21,630	—	23,440	22,440	67,510
Malta . .	46,340	—	76,730	93,720	216,790
Gibraltar . .	26,300	—	51,635	29,935	107,870
Bermuda . .	16,193	—	—	6,120	22,313
Halifax . .	70,600	—	17,290	12,450	100,340
Minor Ports . .	33,701	—	17,390	30,050	81,141
Strengthening magazines . .	95,000	—	—	—	95,000
Position - finding stations . .	50,000	—	—	15,000	65,000
Minor services at various stations	85,000	—	—	57,000	142,000
Total . .	746,040	—	432,175	531,090	1,709,305
2. Coaling stations .	139,005 ¹	350,000	220,265	126,455	835,725 ²
3. Mercantile Ports .	92,405	—	—	141,885	234,290
4. For incidental works and armaments . .	220,110	—	—	—	220,110
Grand total	1,197,560	350,000	652,440	799,430	2,999,430

In order to show what had already been done towards carrying out the recommendations of Lord Carnarvon's Committee, Mr. Stanhope appended to his report a statement of what had been effected by an expenditure of 200,000*l.* per annum out of Army votes since 1884. This, it will be seen, included not only the coaling stations mentioned by the Commission, but showed that works had been undertaken for the defence of Table Bay in connection with the Colonial Government.

From this it appeared that there was still 493,495*l.* requisite for carrying out the undertakings of the Imperial Government,

¹ This includes submarine mining buildings.

² The difference between this amount and the sum of 909,946*l.* shown in the table above is caused by the fact that certain reserves of ammunition estimated for in the latter table are not included above.

Coaling stations	Works				Armaments		
	Estimated amount agreed to by Treasury and Colonial Governments		Expended to March 31, 1888	Remaining to be expended	Estimated amount agreed to by Treasury	Expended up to March 31, 1888	Remaining to be expended by Imperial Government
	To be paid by Colonial Government	To be paid by Imperial Government					
Aden	£ 64,500 ¹ (by Indian Government)	£ 64,500	£ 42,300	£ 22,200 ²	£ 79,950 ²	£ 51,220 ²	£ 28,730 ²
Trincomealee	—	25,000	16,500	8,500	11,680	11,080	—
Colombo	24,820 ¹	—	1,820 ¹	23,000 ¹	60,660	—	60,660
Singapore	81,000 ¹	—	76,850 ¹	4,150 ¹	120,614	87,204	33,410
Hongkong	116,000 ¹	—	109,250 ¹	6,750 ¹	153,910	130,310	23,600
Simon's Bay	—	53,000	40,700	12,300	43,280	11,970	31,310
Table Bay	59,000 ¹	7,000	Expenditure not yet reported	59,000 ¹	75,000	42,950	32,050
Sierra Leone	—	30,000	30,300	7,000	15,000	10,840	4,160
St. Helena	—	7,000	5,600	1,400	2,400	2,400	—
Mauritius	55,000 ¹	—	12,800 ¹	42,200 ¹	56,895	17,195	39,700
Jamaica	—	41,250	19,500	(moneyvoted)	70,750	2,355	68,395
St. Lucia	—	30,000	—	21,750	18,500	4,000	14,500
King George's Sound and Thursday Island	To be paid by Colonial Government	—	—	30,000	28,000	—	28,000
Second-class coaling stations ³	—	—	—	—	35,551	9,721	25,830
Further unappropriated expenditure ⁴	—	—	—	—	14,410	14,410	—
Total	400,320 ¹	257,750	154,900 200,720 ¹	103,150 135,100 ¹	786,000	395,655 ⁵	390,345

¹ These figures represent the sums paid or payable by Colonial Governments.

² Outstanding accounts between the Indian Government and the War Office make us unable to guarantee the accuracy of this estimate.

³ Same amount to be paid by Indian Government.

⁴ For completing guns not yet appropriated to particular stations.

⁵ Part of this may not be paid before April 1, 1888.

and in addition there would arise further expenditure on account of additional barracks, for increased garrisons, submarine mines, as shown in the first estimate. Whilst giving these amounts as indicating the intentions of the Government, Mr. Stanhope did not wish it to be understood that the programme included all the defences which the military authorities considered necessary. It aimed only at carrying out promptly the most urgent defences; while in the interval Parliament would have the opportunity of judging of the results achieved, and of forming an opinion as to the further steps which might in the course of two or three years be taken in the same direction.

The other features of the Army Estimates may be briefly summarised. Although the number of men required showed an increase of only 276 men, the organisation of one army corps was stated to be nearly completed, and its equipment all but placed at selected ports of embarkation, whilst a second army corps was well advanced in way of preparation. Men enlisted for the Engineers, the Commissariat, and Transport Corps would in future remain for three years' service only with the colours, thereby materially increasing the reserve of these corps. An unsatisfactory feature of the report was a decrease in the enrolled strength of the Militia. For the last four years there had been a regular increase of recruits; but at the beginning of this year the enrolled strength was less by 1,770 than at the beginning of 1886. No other cause could be assigned than a greater facility of getting work elsewhere. The number of the Volunteers was higher than at any previous period of their existence; and their discipline and efficiency were spoken of favourably in the reports. The department of the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance was abolished, and the whole administrative work of the army was concentrated in its chiefs, subject to the control of the Secretary of State. Moreover, the control of the Financial Secretary was extended to all branches of the War Office, while the inspection of all warlike stores was entirely separated from the manufacture; and all the manufacturing departments, except clothing, were placed under a single head. Finally, Mr. Stanhope pointed out that the estimates, though making provision for 276 more men, would have shown a marked decrease "if there had been no increase in the capitation grant for Volunteers, and if the sum required for the defence of ports and coaling stations had not exceeded the normal amount of recent years."

On the motion for a Select Committee on the Army Estimates (March 5), a general discussion was commenced and prolonged through two sittings. Captain Colomb maintained that before beginning the consideration of the Estimates the House ought to have an explanatory statement by the Government setting forth the general principles of defence on which it proceeds. He had a motion on the paper to this effect, but did not move it, perhaps considering that the ground was sufficiently

covered by the motion of Sir Walter Barttelot for an address to her Majesty praying for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the military and naval necessities of the Empire. Mr. Brodrick pointed out towards the close of the discussion that each successive speaker had enlarged the issues raised by Sir W. Barttelot, until the general impression left upon the mind was that the professional critics had only one clear idea—namely, that a great deal more money ought to be spent. He wanted to ask what had become of the professed economists, why they did not come to the aid of the Government against impossible demands? A general agreement, nevertheless, showed through the various speeches that an impartial and independent inquiry was needed, with the view of ascertaining and laying down the military aims and requirements of the country. Mr. W. H. Smith, however, in the name of the Cabinet, while admitting that a Commission would relieve the Government of much responsibility, refused to throw upon irresponsible persons the duty of saying what was or what was not necessary for the defence of the country. In the short interval between the first and second night's debate, the First Lord of the Treasury had an interview with a number of Conservative members who supported Sir W. Barttelot's motion, and allowed it to be inferred that he was not altogether opposed to some form of committee or commission. In resuming the debate (March 8), Lord R. Churchill referred to this general demand for an independent inquiry as a symptom of the intense disgust and disquiet felt by the two services at the results of the present system, and as showing that our present position in regard to armaments and organisation was unsatisfactory. Discussing this system, he pointed out that one of its chief features was the subordination of the military to the civil element, and he contended—giving various illustrations in recent appointments—that the reforms at the War Office, about which so much fuss had been made, did not give sufficient control to the military authorities, and especially he complained that they were deprived of financial control. This he illustrated further by comparing the German and English regimental systems. He compared also the cost of the German and British War Office, the former costing 160,000*l.*, with 503 officials, the latter 400,000*l.*, with 693 officials; analysing still more minutely the respective cost of the two armies, with the result that while the German army, with 19 *corps d'armée*, allowing for its pay, clothing, &c., on the English model cost 30 millions, or a million and a half per corps, the British army, with two army corps, cost 14 millions, or seven millions per corps. There must be something wrong, he contended, in a system which produced such results. An ordinary Royal Commission, he believed, would be useless in a matter of this kind, and what he recommended was a Commission of military experts, which in six months, he asserted, would tell the country what it had got, what it wanted, and what would be

the cost of putting things in order and of maintaining our armaments in a perfect state of efficiency.

The Secretary for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) commenced his reply by contrasting the noble lord's present attitude with the anxiety he had once evinced for economy, and, dealing first with his criticism on the cost of the War Office, he showed that it was relatively less than in 1874. Next he dealt *seriatim* with the criticisms on individual appointments; and as to the comparison between the German and British armies, he showed that it was untenable. For one thing, the Germans in 16 years had spent 212,000,000*l.* on fortifications and armaments, while England had spent only 28,000,000*l.* in the same time, and France had doubled her National Debt. He pointed out also that it was inaccurate to represent the outcome as only two army corps, for we had the Militia and Volunteers; we had 124,000 men ready to go into garrison, and 152,000 men in addition available for the defence of the country. As to the remedy proposed, he reminded the House that the War Office had been inquired into very frequently lately, and the inquiry proposed would, besides revealing points which ought to be kept secret, take months and years. The Government were willing to grant an inquiry into the working of the departments of the army and navy, but they could not consent to such a Commission as was proposed, which would shift the responsibility from the shoulders where it ought to rest. Such speeches as some of those which had been heard in this debate were calculated to diminish the influence of this country; and to counteract them he gave a detailed account of the work which was contemplated. The defence of the coaling stations would be completed, and the armaments of the military ports would be pushed forward. Substantial progress was also to be made with the defence of the mercantile ports. According to the report of the military authorities the army was in a most satisfactory condition—good and honest work was being done in every department, and it was utterly impossible that any Commission could comprise military advisers of greater experience or commanding more of the confidence of the country than those with whom he was associated at the War Office.

Mr. Childers, who had by turns presided over both the War Office and the Admiralty, came to the support of the Ministry. He, however, took the occasion to remark that, although the Conservative Government had practically controlled the War Office for the last two and a half years, the front Opposition Bench had been careful to abstain from any opposition to their policy, but, at the same time, he pointed out that the Army and Navy Estimates, which were 25,190,000*l.* in 1881, now amounted to 30,870,000*l.* He strongly opposed the appointment of a Royal Commission, and asked what length of time it was to sit, what expenditure it was to control, and what was to be its function. It was, he said, simply a proposal for an irresponsible

body to supersede the Cabinet, and he ridiculed the notion of such a body having access to diplomatic despatches, without which it would be impossible for it to control an expedition abroad. Referring to the Secretary of State's Memorandum, he raised no objection to the Estimates, but, commenting on the reforms which were being effected in the administration of the War Office, to which he gave a general approval, he admitted that some reforms had become necessary, and that the plan inaugurated by Lord Cardwell in 1870 could not be continued.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, who had been Secretary for War in a previous Liberal Cabinet, was not less strong in retaining the direct responsibility of the Government to Parliament for the administration of the army. To minimise civilian control, as proposed by Lord R. Churchill, and to place the power of superintending the army in the hands of military men entirely, however eminent they might be, could not but seriously prejudice the responsibility of Parliament, and would probably lead to extravagance rather than economy. He failed to see in Lord R. Churchill's speech that regard to economy which he should have expected, and pointed out that the main reason of the centralisation of army administration to which he objected was due to the jealous guarding of expenditure by the House of Commons, which he sincerely hoped would long continue. Glancing at the Estimates, he adversely commented upon the largeness of the non-effective vote, and entered upon an exhaustive examination of the reasons which make our army so costly, and maintained that by care an effective force could be secured at a less cost than at present.

Notwithstanding this support tendered by the leaders of the Opposition, the Government either felt itself bound by its informal promises or was afraid to offend its own supporters, who had been the chief supporters of the motion for a Royal Commission. As the debate was drawing to a close Mr. Smith rose, and said that the Government was prepared to grant an inquiry into "the extent to which our present naval and military systems, as at present organised and administered, are adapted to the national wants." A prolonged wrangle ensued, in the course of which Sir W. Barttelot and Sir Edward Hamley declared that they had not understood Mr. Smith's promise in such a limited sense; but the latter stuck to his version, and in reply to Mr. Childers, who wished to know whether the inquiry would report on the strength and expenditure of the army or only on its organisation, Mr. Smith replied, "I have expressly kept out any question of strength and expenditure. The words I have read do not include any question of strength, material, stores, financial provision, or of fortifications. I distinctly refused to admit any such questions whatever as a matter of inquiry by the Commission."

Sir Walter Barttelot's amendment was then negatived with-

out a division, and after a prompt application of the closure the House went into Committee, and Mr. Stanhope obtained his votes for men (149,667), and for staff and regimental pay (4,977,000*l.*). A few days later (March 13) Mr. Stanhope moved to refer the Army Estimates to a Select Committee of several members, of which Lord R. Churchill was elected Chairman. This Committee, the first of the kind, met regularly two or three times a week throughout the Session, examined a large number of witnesses, and reported on various occasions to the House the results of its inquiries.

A somewhat similar course was taken with regard to the Navy Estimates, Lord George Hamilton's statement dealing with the general policy of the Admiralty being supplemented by a financial statement from Mr. Forwood dealing with the details of administration. From this memorandum, which can only be briefly summarised here, it appeared that the estimated expenditure on the navy for the year had been fixed at 13,082,800*l.*; the total decrease shown in the Army and Navy Estimates for 1888-9, as compared with 1887-8, thus amounting to 1,057,600*l.*, of which 905,581*l.* was made upon the navy votes. The decrease was partly due to the efforts of the Board of Admiralty to carry out as rapidly as possible the large shipbuilding programmes of former years before entering on an ambitious programme of their own; but still more to the reforms in dockyard administration, begun in 1885 and since steadily pursued. The dockyard officials were heartily co-operating with the central authorities with regard to cutting down unnecessary expenditure. Lord G. Hamilton then stated that about half a million would be required this year, and somewhat less next year, for building the Australasian squadron of seven vessels, which it was arranged at the Colonial Conference that England should build, and that Australasia should subsequently maintain and man. The determination to discontinue the building of torpedo boats for sea-going purposes, and to substitute vessels of a much larger displacement, was amply justified by the experiments in last year's manœuvres. The "Sharpshooter," a greatly improved kind of "Rattlesnake," was provided for in last year's estimates; and now six other torpedo boats of similar type were to be constructed, with a speed of 21 knots. Ten second-class torpedo boats were also to be built. Another addition to this kind of armament was the torpedo dépôt ship and torpedo boat carrier, the "Vulcan," which was thus described:—

"A swift, protected cruiser, lightly armed, with a large coal endurance, fitted with special appliances for lifting and carrying a considerable number of the largest type of second-class torpedo boats; while, in addition, she will be equipped with laboratory, workshop, a powerful torpedo armament, a large supply of torpedoes, stores, submarine mines, and electrical appliances of all kinds. She will be capable of protecting herself against all

except the largest classes of cruisers; her speed will exceed that of most cruisers and all armoured vessels. She will be a base of operations for a torpedo-boat flotilla or the torpedo boats of a fleet; have the means of repairing torpedoes, torpedo boats, and their machinery; be a practice ship for all kinds of torpedo work—submerged and above water—and will carry all the gear required for submarine mining operations on a large scale.”

As several ironclads were approaching completion the Board resolved not to lay down any new ones this year, and 25 ships, having an aggregate tonnage of upwards of 90,000 tons, would be passed into the First Reserve as ready for service in 48 hours. Of these ships, ten were armoured, two protected, and thirteen unprotected. On the other hand, the Admiralty proposed to lay down in 1888-9 two new first-class cruisers, the “Blake” and the “Blenheim,” to “surpass in speed, coal endurance, protection, and armament anything hitherto attempted.” Their length was to be 375 ft. and their breadth 65 ft.; their displacement about 9,000 tons; their speed on the measured mile 22 knots per hour, and in continuous steaming at sea as many as 20 knots; their radius of action with a speed of 10 knots was to be about 15,000 knots, and with a speed of 20 knots about 8,000 knots. Their armament was to consist provisionally of 9·2 in. (22 ton) bow and stern chasers, a broadside of 10·6 in. (5 ton) quick firers, 18 quick-firing 8-pounders, and 4 torpedo tubes. The protective steel deck would extend throughout the length and over the machinery, boilers, &c., and would have a maximum thickness of 6 in. and a minimum of 3 in. Besides these, it was proposed to build two third-class steel-bottomed protected cruisers, and four sheathed and coppered; and of unprotected ships two sloops of the “Buzzard” type, six gunboats of an improved “Rattler” type, and a sailing brig for training boys. The First Lord also promised an increase of pay to lieutenants who had completed a certain length of service. In commenting on the position of the navy Lord George Hamilton asserted that our relative superiority was undoubted, and that we should, if the present expenditure were maintained, each year increase that superiority:—

“Looking, however, at the three main component parts of a fleet—ships, guns, and men—we have no reason to be dissatisfied with what we have got, if we take not an ideal standard, but that common to the fleets of our neighbours. . . . The determination of the Government to effectively arm the coaling stations abroad and the home ports must largely increase our offensive naval power. . . . But if it is permissible to speak with confidence of our superiority so far as actual fighting power is concerned, when we consider the defence and protection which our commerce may require, extreme caution and reserve must be exercised. The conditions of naval warfare have so changed and are so changing from day to day that nothing but actual

experience could justify any confident prediction as to how a thoroughly effective protection can be given by any fleet to a commerce whose seagoing steam tonnage is double that of the rest of the world."

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply as to Navy Estimates (March 12), Lord C. Beresford found the occasion to explain the causes which had led to his resignation as Junior Naval Lord, and to make his criticism on Admiralty administration. The first portion of his self-imposed task he discharged with seamanlike frankness, and he attacked the abuses of the department with characteristic courage, declaring that the whole system required thoroughgoing reform. He contended that there was no shred of a system of organisation able to cope with the requirements for the defence of the country in the event of war breaking out, and it was in consequence of this want of system in the Intelligence Department, and the reduction of the salaries of its officers, that he resigned. There was, in fact, no plan of campaign either for home or abroad, the coaling stations were insecure, and there was no adequate protection for our mercantile marine. He also maintained that there was no proper Treasury or Parliamentary control over the Estimates, except with regard to dockyards and shipbuilding; and as regarded the reduction of the salaries in the Intelligence Department, he was satisfied that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had seen the unanimous report of the four Sea Lords he would have admitted the necessity of continuing the salaries, at all events temporarily. As far as the memorandum went it was no doubt a step in the right direction, but he pointed out the impossibility of the First Lord being responsible for the whole of its contents, and insisted that no memorandum could be satisfactory unless it was signed by the heads of departments, who could be made directly responsible for what it contained. He next dealt at considerable length with the working of the various departments at the Admiralty, and especially advocated a radical redistribution of business, an alteration in the system of appointing the Sea Lords, who, he said, should be independent of party, and the appointment of a naval chief to the Secretary's Department.

These opinions were heartily endorsed by Admiral Mayne, whose experiences of the Admiralty system were more extended than Lord C. Beresford's, but were not in any way more encouraging. Lord George Hamilton, in defending the existing system, began by denying that any differences of opinion with regard to estimates existed between himself and the Sea Lords. In reply to the charge made with regard to the salaries of the Intelligence Department, he pointed out that the reduction was not decided upon until it was conclusively shown that the reduced salary was sufficient to secure the best ability and efficiency. In fact, the Admiralty had had no difficulty in obtaining for the Intelligence Department the men they wanted, and in no case had the

salary offered been objected to by the officers appointed. As to the organisation of the Admiralty, it was impossible to substitute an expert head for the Parliamentary chief, and, after taunting Lord C. Beresford with criticising departments other than that which he controlled, he quoted statistics to show that, as compared with France, Italy, and Russia, the relative superiority of England was clearly established, the tonnage of the English ironclads on March 1, 1887, being 311,000 tons, as against France 184,000, Italy 100,000, and Russia 73,000 tons. In purely technical matters the experts, he said, were absolutely supreme. No doubt the system of making one branch of the department responsible for efficiency and another for economy had its drawbacks, but during the past years various branches of expenditure had been got rid of without injuring the efficiency of the service, and if naval economists such as the mover and seconder of this motion would turn their attention to the suppression of obsolete sources of expenditure, they would confer a great service on the public. The time of the Admiralty had been much taken up with the new form of accounts, to which they attached the greatest importance, believing that if it was persevered in year after year it would lead to a continuity of policy, and though the Admiralty had not completed all their plans, they had made great progress, and were within measurable distance of the object they had in view.

A long, desultory conversation occupied the remainder of the evening and remained unfinished. Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald pressed the First Lord to say distinctly whether the navy was equal to the work required from it, and thus to allay the mistrust which existed in the public mind. Mr. Duff (an ex-official) dissented from Lord Beresford's complaints of the want of Admiralty organisation, and approved of the existing Board system; but he gave very qualified approval to Lord G. Hamilton's memorial, and expressed a doubt as to the satisfactory condition of the naval ordnance. Sir E. Reed, an expert in shipbuilding, and at one time employed by the Admiralty, criticised the construction of our belted cruisers and of vessels of the "Admiral" class (the "Benbow," "Blake," &c., type). Mr. Forwood, on behalf of the navy, defended this class of vessels, which, he said, competent authorities had proved to be useful and powerful ships. In the course of the second night's discussion (March 15), Mr. C. Palmer, an eminent shipbuilder, objected to the Controller of the Navy being made responsible for the control of the dockyards, and urged that greater responsibility should be thrown upon the dockyard superintendents. Lord G. Hamilton closed the general discussion by a discursive speech, in which he dealt in detail with the various points raised by the different speakers. He said that four ironclads and four belted cruisers were waiting for guns; and, replying to Admiral Field, he said he could not quite understand what he wanted, but he appeared to be struggling for a return to

the old and cumbrous system by which executive business was done by the Board as a whole, instead of each member being responsible for the business of the department allotted to him. As to the protection of commerce, to which Captain Colomb had adverted, he pointed out that, excluding the Mediterranean fleets, there were not more than two ironclads at sea belonging to any foreign Power on distant stations.

The House then went into Committee of Supply, and votes of 62,400 men and boys, and 3,176,751*l.* for their pay and allowances, were agreed to.

A few nights later (March 19) the Navy Estimates were referred to a Grand Committee of seventeen members, of which Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was chosen the chairman. A mass of evidence, chiefly dealing with administrative control and dock-yard expenditure, was taken, and reports were from time to time made to the House as to the information obtained.

The Civil Service Estimates were also for the first time accompanied by a memorandum by the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), who gave a short explanation of the increase and decrease of the ensuing year. The total amount required for all classes of this expenditure was 18,145,293*l.*, showing a net decrease of 124,589*l.* over the preceding year's Estimates, whilst the Estimates for the Revenue Department amounted to 11,090,553*l.*, showing a net increase of 304,551*l.* The principal source of reduction was in the Treasury contribution for Disturbed Roads (240,000*l.*) which was reduced to one-half, and the principal increase (163,866*l.*) was on account of public education in the three kingdoms. The difficulty in the way of effecting any great reduction in the Civil Service Estimates was explained in Mr. Jackson's memorandum.

"The control exercised by the Government over the Estimates for these services is, in fact, limited to satisfying themselves that sufficient, and not more than sufficient, provision is made for them according to the best means available for calculating expenditure, which must, at best, be somewhat uncertain. In 1868-69 the total of such services did not exceed 2,340,000*l.*; in the current year they amount to at least 8,830,000*l.*, an increase of 6,490,000*l.*, of which above 2,000,000*l.* has been added from time to time by fresh grants in relief of local rates, but the rest is due to automatic growth."

That the Treasury control was something more than nominal may be gathered from the fact that only one of the services or classes into which these estimates are divided—that of Education, Science, and Art—showed any appreciable increase. "The purchase grants," said the memorandum, "of the British Museum and Natural History Museum have been augmented by 5,000*l.*, and 1,721*l.* (the balance of a special grant of 2,000*l.*) has been provided for the National Gallery for the purchase of pictures, the ordinary grant having been temporarily suspended in consequence

of the large sum expended in the purchase of the Blenheim pictures." It would have been as well, perhaps, to have stated that this grant had been reduced by a much larger sum in the previous year, and that the collections of the great national institution had suffered seriously in consequence, because the authorities had no money to purchase books and other objects which came into the market last year, and were now in many cases irretrievably lost. In spite of this not very extravagant increase, however, the Treasury was able to show a reduction of 149,244*l.* "in the provision made next year for those services over which control is retained in the hands of the Government." In view, too, of the expiration of the Irish Land Commission during the year, provision was only made for five months' expenditure, whereas it was obvious that its work would have to be prolonged, and thereby an additional sum of 54,000*l.* would be required, thus reducing the net saving in the various classes to 94,426*l.* With regard to the Revenue Estimates, the cost of the Customs Department showed a decrease of 13,928*l.*, due almost entirely to reductions of establishment; the Inland Revenue an increase of 43,750*l.*, "the whole of which is due to the intermittent charge of the triennial valuation of property under Schedules A and B of the Income Tax outside the metropolitan area," and was more than balanced by a corresponding increase to the revenue; the Post Office an increase of 245,896*l.*, and the Telegraphs an increase of 86,588*l.*, due in both cases partly to the increase of the service, and the necessity of enlarging the buildings in which it is conducted, and partly to the automatic increase of salaries and staff; while the Post Office Packet Service showed a decrease of 57,841*l.* The balance of these several increases and decreases amounted, as already stated, to a net increase of 304,465*l.*

A vote on account having been taken (March 15) after a long discussion on Irish administration, the Revenue Estimates were referred to a Select Committee of seventeen, of which the Right Hon. James Stansfeld was elected chairman. Their chief attention was directed to the cost of the Post Office and Telegraph Service; the system by which the contracts for stamps, postcards, and envelopes had been allotted; and its more important conclusion was a recommendation that the telegraph service should in future be conducted on purely commercial principles.

In order to show how the Government proposed to meet the requirements of the Executive, and at the same time to make provision for the proposed system of local government (of which Mr. Ritchie had previously given the outlines), the Chancellor of the Exchequer anticipated the usual time for making his financial statement. The complete success of his Conversion scheme had already stamped Mr. Goschen as a financier of the first order, and in the opinion of his friends he acted wisely in attempting no further change of importance by his Budget. In introducing it, however (March 26), he displayed in a very remarkable

manner not only his mastery of finance, but his power of infusing an almost literary interest into the dull columns of figures which he had to lay before the House. He had in fact two Budgets to explain—the Budget of Imperial and the Budget of Local Taxation and Expenditure. Dealing first with the results of the closing year, and solely with Imperial Funds, he compared the actual receipts and expenditure (the last week being conjectural) with the Budget Estimates of the previous years,

Revenue			Expenditure		
	Estimate, 1887-88	Exchequer Receipts, 1887-88		Estimate, 1887-88	Exchequer Issues in 1887-88
	£	£		£	£
Customs . . .	19,600,000	19,630,000	Permanent Charge of Debt . . .	26,000,000	26,000,000
Excise . . .	25,292,000	25,597,000	Interest, &c., on Lo- cal Loans . . .	—	—
Stamps . . .	11,758,000	12,940,000	Charge of Suez Loan, &c. . . .	214,000	213,911
Land Tax . . .	1,065,000	1,050,000	Other Consolidated Fund Charges . .	1,714,000	1,758,084
House Duty . .	1,920,000	1,890,000	Army (including charges defrayed on account of troops in India) .	18,393,900	18,167,196
Property and Income Tax . .	14,340,000	14,340,000	Navy	12,476,800	12,325,357
Post Office . .	8,600,000	8,650,000	Civil Services . .	18,261,508	18,210,000
Telegraph Ser- vice	1,950,000	1,950,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	2,715,727	2,707,745
Crown Lands . .	370,000	390,000	Post Office . . .	5,420,770	5,403,438
Interest on Lo- cal Loans . . .	—	—	Telegraph Service .	1,950,248	1,940,012
Interest on Pur- chase Money of Suez Canal Shares, Sardi- nian Loan, &c. .	240,000	242,000	Packet Service . .	699,341	697,901
Miscellaneous .	3,000,000	2,910,000			
Total . . .	88,135,000	89,589,000	Total . . .	87,846,294	87,423,644

showing receipts for 1887-8 in excess of the Budget Estimate, 1,454,000*l.*; whilst the issues for 1887-88 were less than the estimate by 422,650*l.*

These favourable results Mr. Goschen attributed to savings on the interest of the unfunded debt, and to the fact that the expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Revenue Departments had required no Supplementary Estimates. The loyal demonstrations incidental to the Jubilee had produced a considerable increase in the beer duty; and the death duties (Probate, Legacy, and Succession Duties), owing to three windfalls—two estates of three millions and one of over one million and a quarter having fallen in—had considerably increased; but the Income-tax had been practically stationary. The net result of a comparison between the revenue and expenditure of the year was to convert the estimated surplus of 289,000*l.* into an actual surplus of 2,165,000*l.* In addition to this the balances were so strong that Mr. Goschen said he was in a position to pay off any of the holders of “New Threes” who would prefer to take their

money rather than the new stock ; and as to the debt, the result of the year's finance was that the National Debt had been reduced by 7,601,000*l.*, of which 7,292,000*l.* had been paid out of the taxation of the year, the largest sum since 1872-73. Passing next to the coming year, he estimated the expenditure at 86,910,000*l.*, being a diminution of 512,000*l.* on 1887-88. He began this part of his statement by explaining at length the manner in which the expenditure of the Imperial Defence scheme would be defrayed. The sum to be spent on the Navy would be charged as an annuity for ten years against the Navy Estimates, which, combined with the contributions undertaken by the colonies, would pay off the capital without causing any permanent burden on the country. In the case of the Army expenditure for the fortification of the coaling stations, &c., Mr. Goschen proposed to use the Suez Canal shares as a security for this loan. These shares he showed in 1894 would bring in a clear revenue of 570,000*l.*, and by taking steps to pay off at once the loan which was contracted to buy these shares, he calculated that within four or four and a half years after 1894 the loan for fortifications would be cleared. Having explained also in detail the expenditure caused by the Conversion scheme, he proceeded to deal with the revenue of the coming year. This he estimated at 89,287,000*l.*, of which 74,856,000*l.* would be the produce of taxes, being 591,000*l.* less than in 1887-88 ; and the remainder, receipts from Post Office, telegraphs, Crown lands, &c., amounting to 14,431,000*l.*, an increase of 302,000*l.*

Stated in a tabular form the Budget of the year would therefore stand thus :—

ESTIMATE FOR 1888-89.

Revenue		Expenditure	
	£		£
Customs	19,800,000	Permanent Charge of Debt	26,000,000
Excise	25,560,000	Interest, &c., on Local Loans	—
Stamps	12,740,000	Charge of Suez Loans	214,000
Land Tax	1,046,000	Other Consolidated Fund Charges	1,647,000
House Duty	1,890,000	Army	16,730,300
Property and Income Tax	13,820,000	Navy	13,082,800
Post Office	8,800,000	Civil Services	18,145,293
Telegraph Service	2,000,000	Customs and Inland Revenue	2,745,549
Crown Lands	390,000	Post Office	5,666,666
Interest on Advances for Local Works, and payment by the Khedive on account of Suez Shares	241,000	Telegraph Service	2,036,836
Miscellaneous	3,000,000	Packet Service	641,500
Total	89,287,000	Total	86,909,944

On the basis, therefore, of existing taxation there was an estimated surplus of 2,377,000*l.* ; and with this Mr. Goschen

proceeded to deal, touching in the first place on the harm and devastation which the claims of the clients of the President of the Local Government Board would play with this tempting sum. It was true that the various subventions to local rates scattered through the Civil Service Estimates, amounting to 2,600,000*l.*, would be withdrawn, but in their place existing licences amounting to 3,000,000*l.* and new licences amounting to 800,000*l.* would be placed at the disposal of the county authorities. Existing licences amounting to 1,400,000*l.*, of which the publicans' licences formed the bulk, would be collected by the county authorities, and might be increased by them within certain limits; and about 1,600,000*l.* of establishment licences—dogs, guns, carriages, &c.—would be collected by the Revenue Department, and the county authorities would not be able to increase them. But in addition to this a substantial contribution by personal property to local taxation had been promised, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after discussing the various suggestions which had been made for attaining this object, intimated that one-half of the probate duty would be handed over hereafter to the county authorities for the relief of local taxation. The total probate duty being now 4,260,000*l.*, and 80 per cent. of this being paid by England, the sum payable to the local authorities of England and Wales from this source would be 1,704,000*l.* Adding this to the 3,800,000*l.* obtained from licences, the local authorities would have an income to dispose of amounting to 5,500,000*l.*, which, deducting the 2,600,000*l.* of local subventions, was a net gain of 2,900,000*l.* in relief of local taxation. The Chancellor next stated that he intended to add $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the succession duty, bringing it up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and as half of the 3 per cent. of the probate duty had been handed over to local taxation, real and personal property would be placed on an equality as regards imperial taxation, and eight years would be given in which to pay the tax. The principle of distribution in future would be in the proportion of the indoor pauperism of counties to that of the country at large, but as a transitional arrangement for the coming year 4*d.* per head would be given for each indoor pauper; in addition to a contribution to the disturnpiked roads; moreover, one per cent. of the probate duty and sundry licence duties were also to be handed over to the local authorities. The new licences included a duty of 1*l.* on every vehicle over 10 cwt.—which Mr. Goschen said would fall on those who caused most wear and tear to the roads—and a wheel tax of 2*s.* 6*d.* per wheel on every vehicle over 2 cwt. These two taxes would produce 150,000*l.* each. He further proposed a duty on pleasure horses of 1*l.*, whilst race-horses would pay 5*l.*, and horse dealers a composition of 15*l.*, making the total yield of this duty 540,000*l.* The general result of the transitional arrangement for the year would be that the local authorities in England and

Wales would receive contributions for indoor paupers, disturn-piked roads, &c., 1,186,000*l.*; cart duties, 800,000*l.*, and horse duties, 540,000*l.*; in all 1,976,000*l.* In Scotland 11 per cent. of the proportion of the probate duty was to be diverted to local taxation, and the wheel and cart duty would together produce 240,000*l.*, while Ireland was to get 9 per cent. of the probate duty contribution, and the wheel and cart tax would not be extended to that country. The general result of the Local Budget for the next year would be to reduce the surplus of imperial revenue from the original estimate of 2,377,000*l.* to 1,252,000*l.*; but the increase of the succession duties by 50,000*l.* would raise it to 1,302,000*l.* Before proceeding finally to dispose of this the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained several minor reliefs which he proposed to offer:—30,000*l.* on the carriage tax by altering its incidence, 20,000*l.* to payers of income tax under Schedule A farming their own land without profit, and 25,000*l.* by abolishing the hawkers' licence duties; in all 75,000*l.*, leaving the surplus at 1,277,000*l.* Premising, then, that he was anxious above all things to do justice to the income-tax payers and to reduce the tax to sixpence, he said this would require 1,550,000*l.*, and it was necessary, therefore, that he should cast about for some new taxes to bring the surplus up to that amount. Turning first to the stamp duties, he calculated that 50,000*l.* a year might be obtained from a more stringent enforcement of the existing duties on deeds, agreements, and other legal documents, and in addition to that sum he proposed to obtain 200,000*l.* from the imposition of one shilling per cent. upon the nominal value of securities to bearer. He further proposed to raise the present tax of one penny on contract notes to sixpence, which would produce 50,000*l.*, and to impose an *ad valorem* duty of 1*l.* per 1,000*l.* of the registered nominal capital of new limited liability companies or the new issues of old ones, which he calculated would yield 110,000*l.* Finally, he indicated a tax on bottled wines of 5*s.* per dozen, which he said would chiefly affect the finer class of sparkling wines, and produce 125,000*l.* From these various sources the surplus is raised to 1,762,000*l.*, and he is thus enabled to propose a reduction of one penny in the income tax, equal to 1,550,000*l.* On the revised basis of taxation the revenue for the coming year would be 86,827,000*l.*, which, set against 86,615,000*l.* expenditure, would leave a surplus of 212,000*l.*

In the conversation which ensued, Mr. Childers, whilst giving a general approval of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals, urged him to take up and deal with the question of light gold, in accordance with his promise of the previous year; and Sir William Harcourt expressed the hope that any saving in the interest of the National Debt would be applied towards its reduction. The horse and wheel taxes were the points which excited the most adverse criticism, Mr. Chaplin being specially opposed to

both ; but Mr. Goschen pointed out that the former would go to decrease local rates ; and whilst it was possible to go too far in the direction of simplicity, he looked forward to the time when articles of daily consumption would be altogether relieved from taxation. Further discussion of the Budget was postponed until after Easter, and, as will be seen, in the interval the threatened interests exerted all their efforts to delay or defeat imposts which if put to the vote on the first night would probably have been carried without opposition.

As will have been seen from this summary of Mr. Goschen's Budget, the financial policy of the Government was inextricably interwoven with its chief legislative measure, the Local Government Bill, which Mr. Ritchie a week previously (March 19) had explained in a singularly lucid manner to the House. Up to this time the President of the Local Government Board had been at the best regarded as a clear-headed man of business, who had shown very great diligence and shrewdness during the short time he had acted as Secretary to the Admiralty. His rapid promotion to the Cabinet had at the time been somewhat severely criticised by a few Conservatives of the older school, who doubted the orthodoxy of Mr. Ritchie's Toryism. Lord Salisbury, however, had judged otherwise ; and, whether from his own resources or under the unseen influence of the Liberal Unionists, the President of the Local Government Board produced a measure which gave no evidence of either narrowness or timidity, whilst it evoked warm tributes from politicians so opposed as Mr. Gladstone and Sir Richard Paget ; although a few representatives of the old order looked with dismay on the extinction of their ancient privileges. It would be difficult to give a satisfactory summary of all Mr. Ritchie's proposals without following him almost word for word through his carefully arranged and closely packed speech. Premising that it would be necessary, in dealing with the question of Local Government, to introduce a Registration Bill also, he showed that although outside Parliament there was little outcry for any great reform, yet within its walls successive Governments had recognised the necessity of taking some steps in the direction of decentralisation. Nevertheless, Mr. Ritchie's opening words were to reassure the county magistrates that their judicial function would not be disturbed, whatever other duties they might be called upon to transfer to the new County Councils, such as the levying of county rates, maintenance of county roads and bridges, lunatic asylums, industrial and reformatory schools, registration, weights and measures, adulteration of food and drugs, &c. The Bill next proposed that the management of the police, partaking partly of a judicial and partly of an administrative character, should be transferred to a joint committee of quarter sessions and the County Council, but the appointment of Chief Constable would remain with quarter sessions. The County Council would have a concurrent authority

with the existing sanitary authorities to enforce the provisions of the Rivers' Pollution Act; and the powers of the Local Government Board with regard to provisional orders under the Acts of Parliament relating to piers and harbours, electric lighting, gas and water, tramways, &c., and the power to sanction market tolls, settle disputes as to boundaries, and the administration of the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, &c., would be transferred to the County Council. The council would also have power to enlarge the incidence of the contribution towards the cost of maintaining indoor paupers, and to promote emigration by making advances to emigrants when a guarantee for repayment is given; and by making this provision the Government hoped to greatly relieve distress without adding a further burden to the rates. The powers already mentioned, said Mr. Ritchie, would be conferred at once; and although the Government did not think it desirable to overload their new machine at starting, they thought more work might be imposed hereafter; and, with that possibility in view, the Privy Council would have power from time to time to confer upon the County Council additional duties, provided they were administrative and not judicial. Referring to the question of area and constitution, he said the Bill provided for the geographical county being retained as far as possible as it now existed; and where a municipal or sanitary area extended to two counties the district was to remain attached to the county in which the largest amount of the population resided. The county would be divided into equal electoral divisions, with one member for each, the number of divisions being fixed by the Local Government Board; and the council would be purely elective, the electoral qualification being extended to all ratepayers, as provided in the case of boroughs by the Municipal Corporation Acts. Three-fourths of the council would be elected directly by the ratepayers, and one-fourth selected by the council from within it or without. The council would be elected triennially, and the selected members would hold office for six years, half retiring at the end of three years.

The large cities and towns, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Bristol, Nottingham, Hull, and Newcastle, were to be constituted as counties by themselves, and in the case of other boroughs a distinction would be made between boroughs of more than 10,000 inhabitants and those with a less population. The latter would cease to retain the management of their own police, but both classes of towns would be represented in the County Council. In addition to the County Council there would be District Councils in the county to take the place of Local Boards, and rural and urban sanitary districts, the boundaries of which would be settled by the County Council. The electors of the District Councils would be the same as the County Councils; in fact, the electors for town councils in boroughs, the County Councils, and the District Councils would be identical, but

there would be no alteration as to the areas of Poor Law Unions or the election of guardians. As to the metropolis, London, as defined under the Metropolis Management Act, would be taken out of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, and made a county by itself, with a separate Lord-Lieutenant, and a separate Commission of the Peace. The council for London would be elected as in the counties, and take over the same duties, and the Metropolitan Board of Works would cease to exist. The control of the police was to remain under the Home Office, and although the Bill did not affect the vestries, Mr. Ritchie hinted that they would probably be converted into District Councils at some future time. As the Government did not regard this as a complete measure for the metropolis, the City would remain the same as a quarter sessions borough, continuing to exercise most of its present functions, but its administrative duties would be transferred to the County Council of London. Dealing next with the question of licences to retail beer, &c., he said the authority to inquire into complaints against licensed houses would remain with the justices, but that their duty would be simply ministerial, and under direct instructions from the County Council. The county would be divided into licensing divisions, with a licensing committee for each, which would be empowered to refuse renewals, and to require the closing of licensed houses on Sundays. In cases where renewals were refused compensation was to be given, such compensation to be settled by arbitration, and to be the difference between the value of the house with and without the licence. The compensation would be payable by the county, and in this connection Mr. Ritchie said the council would be empowered to increase the licence duties by 20 per cent., which would amount to about 300,000*l.* a year. Lastly, he dealt with the question of finance, remarking at the outset that the bulk of the grants in aid, amounting to 2,600,000*l.*, would disappear, and a sum of 5,600,000*l.* would be provided for the counties in substitution thereof. This would be obtained by the transfer to the County Councils of the licences for the sale of liquors, amounting to 1,378,000*l.*, other licence duties amounting to 1,591,000*l.*, and contributions to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* from personalty. The general financial result would be that in 1888-89 there would be a sum available for the relief of local taxation amounting to 1,700,000*l.*, which in 1889-90 would be increased to 3,000,000*l.*

From this summary it will be seen that the leading feature of the Government measure was to transfer in an area known as the "county" almost the entire administration from the county gentlemen to an elective council; and these councils, under statutory limitations, were to be independent of any control save that of Parliament. The proposals were so sweeping, and in a great measure so unexpected, that discussion on the introduction of the Bill was out of the question. But Mr. Gladstone took occa-

sion to eulogise the lucidity and ability displayed in Mr. Ritchie's statement, and promised for himself and friends to consider the Ministerial proposals in a fair and candid spirit. By the press the Bill was received with no less favour, although, strangely enough, the greatest symptoms of misgiving as to its success were in the *Ministerial Standard*, which wrote:—

“Those who expected to find in the new County Government Bill a comprehensive, and what, indeed, might almost be called a revolutionary measure, will not be disappointed. Mr. Ritchie sketched out a plan, including not only all that local government reformers have ever demanded, but a good deal more; thereby, as need hardly be added, affording greater satisfaction to the members of the Opposition than to the members of his own party. Our first impression is that Mr. Ritchie has attempted too much, and that in his desire to produce an acceptable measure, and to show himself responsive to certain popular watchwords, he has paid too little regard to those Conservative principles by which the present Government—their alliance with the Liberal Unionists notwithstanding—were bound to regulate their policy. Our own opinion is that the whole Bill has been framed in too ambitious a spirit, and aims at more than it has any fair prospect of accomplishing. We repeat that to take the Municipal Corporations Act as a model appears to be an entire mistake; and that to apply the same mode of election to the County Councils that exists in the case of town councils is a hazardous experiment. But had he only displayed a little less valour, and a little more discretion, our conviction is that he would have been much more certain of success.”

On the other hand, the *Times* seemed to think that the magnitude of the scheme was the best guarantee for its success. It said: “It is impossible to denounce the Bill as a stunted and perfunctory measure intended only to choke off the demand for an improved system. But while the scheme is so large and liberal that the Opposition cannot hope either to attack its principle with success, or to destroy it by assailing this or that detail, it is by no means such as to exclude the country gentlemen, who mix among their poorer neighbours, and are at pains to deserve their confidence, from re-establishing the legitimate influence in the management of county business to which their experience in affairs and their proved integrity give them a claim. It is a comprehensive scheme of reform, which, if it is carried through Parliament, will begin a great work of safe and moderate decentralisation, will reinvigorate the local energies of our people, and give legitimate scope to those aspirations which have been played upon for Particularist objects, but which can be satisfied without serious risk in the proper domain of local government.”

The *Daily News*, fixing its objections rather on the details than on the general scope of the measure, declared: “Whatever judgment may be passed on the Local Government Bill intro-

duced by Mr. Ritchie, it constitutes altogether a large, comprehensive, and important scheme. The elections will take place once in three years, and the whole of the elective members of the council will thus go out together. This is a mistake from the point of view of administrative efficiency. It would have been better to go back to older precedents, and to have made the aldermen directly representative of the wards, as they are in the city of London. The weakest proposal in the whole Bill is that by which the police are to be put under the management of a joint committee of the council and the justices in quarter sessions. The full and absolute control of the civic force ought everywhere and always to be in the hands of the body which represents the ratepayers."

The *Morning Post* thought such a Bill ought for ever to dispose of the charge, so frequently made against the Tory party, of steadily opposing all substantial progress. The *Daily Telegraph* regarded it as by far the boldest and widest reaching scheme of legislation ever submitted to Parliament on the subject, and held that its magnitude was as perilous as it was honourable to its framer. Another Conservative organ, the *St. James's Gazette*, spoke somewhat deprecatingly of Mr. Ritchie's Bill, declaring its belief that, "bold as it may be, sweeping as it may be, ingenious as it may be, and though it may come into the category of great measures on that account—it simply proposes that we should undertake to supersede a long-established system of which nobody complains by a number of experiments of which some at least are very doubtful indeed. It is obviously a measure that must arouse contention and occasion discontent where all men practically acquainted with the working of the existing system are fairly agreed, and where there is no discontent whatever. Parliament is now invited for the first time to legislate in deference to purely abstract principles, and to overthrow one system of which the working is acknowledged to be excellent in order to set up another which is more in harmony with a political theory. No one who is not a mere party man cares a straw about any such Bill. No meeting has been held to demand such a measure ; no meeting has been held to support it. Hitherto there has been an utter lack not merely of agitation, but of interest in the matter. To repeat what we have said before, a long-established system is to be subverted, not because of any grave faults, not because of abuse, but simply in deference to the claims of an abstract principle which is not expected, even by its friends, to yield better practical results, and is thought by many competent judges not unlikely to yield worse."

The real contest, however, in Parliament and elsewhere, over the merits and shortcomings of the Bill was reserved until after Easter, and furnished both sides with frequent opportunities of claiming credit for their foresight and criticism.

Outside the House of Commons the speeches on purely poli-

tical topics had been few and called for little notice, the Liberal Unionists alone, as a party, seeming to think it necessary to keep themselves and their programme before the public. In this respect Sir Henry James at the Liberal Union Club (March 20), and Lord Hartington at Carlisle (March 21), made the only important pronouncements. The former—whose primary object was to encourage the members of the club, which arose from the schism in the “Eighty Club”—said that the Liberal Unionists had endured the winter of their discontent; but, referring to the election of Mr. Fitzwilliam for the Doncaster division of Yorkshire, he declared that it had been made almost “glorious summer by this son of York.” He insisted with much strength that Mr. Gladstone had no right to ask the country to support him in giving Home Rule to Ireland without defining the principle on which it is to be given. His last measure was rejected by all parties, Mr. Gladstone’s own party having accepted it only on the understanding that it should be entirely recast. Was it not, then, essential that the constituencies should know *how* it was to be recast before they were asked to vote on it “Aye” or “No?” He strengthened this position by producing Lord Thring’s testimony that the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster over the statutory Parliament proposed for Dublin was not straightforwardly asserted in the Bill of 1886; and Sir Henry James argued that if this supremacy had been asserted plainly and categorically in the Bill of 1886, that Bill would, in all probability, have been rejected by the popular party in Ireland. All the same, it was essential that before the next General Election the people of the United Kingdom should know clearly what sort of new constitutional measure was to be presented to them. After some brilliant thrusts at Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry James concluded by predicting that Liberal Unionism would win by virtue of what the Chartist rhymester had appealed to as the help of his need and the gods of his creed—namely, “energy, faith, and time.”

Lord Hartington’s speech was more narrowly criticised, both his supporters and opponents affecting to discover in it a new departure on the subject of local government in Ireland, due, wholly or in part, to Mr. Ritchie’s Local Government Bill. His words on the occasion were: “My position as to an extension of local government in Ireland is simply this. I have not the smallest objection to a wide extension of local self-government in Ireland on principle. I take no objection to it such as I do to the principle of the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin. That is a proposal to which, so long as I am able, I will always refuse my assent. That is a proposal to which, under no circumstances that I can conceive, I would be a party. As to the extension of local self-governing institutions on some system similar to that proposed for England, it appears to be simply a question of expediency, to be considered by Parliament on the

grounds of expediency of time and circumstance ; to be discussed just in the same way as any other subject has to be discussed by Parliament on the ground of expediency, convenience, and appropriateness to time. . . . The county of Cumberland, in which we are assembled, is going to have a species of Home Rule. But if the members for Cumberland had given notice to Parliament that they denied the right of Parliament to make laws for Cumberland ; if they had given practical proof of the sincerity of the denial by resisting, in every way they could, the laws of the British Parliament in Cumberland, and had excited their constituents by every inducement to resist those laws ; if they had shown themselves absolutely regardless of the rights of certain classes, then I think that Parliament might very probably hesitate in granting to Cumberland the Home Rule which is now going to be granted to it. And so for Ireland. We have a right, in my opinion, to inquire, before we commit ourselves to grant extension of local self-governing institutions in Ireland, to examine rather closely in what spirit they are asked for, in what temper they would be received, and what would be the probable result." Lord Hartington added that what he should condition for, before thinking of extending such local government to Ireland, is that the Executive Government should retain in its hands "all the powers that are necessary for the enforcement of order, and for the enforcement of justice between class and class, and between man and man."

Whatever may have been the undercurrent of Lord Hartington's thoughts, nothing further was said by him or any of his colleagues which led their supporters to suppose that they were desirous of giving Ireland Home Rule under the name of local self-government, or that they were prepared to abate one jot of the safeguards they had all along demanded for the protection of the Loyalist minority. That the Unionist feeling was not extinct amongst the Liberals, even of Wales, was shown in the result of the election for the Lower division of Glamorganshire, where Mr. Llewelyn, the Conservative candidate, was defeated by a majority of only 606 (3,964 against 3,358) by Mr. Randall, a local solicitor, who had been forced on the Liberal Association by the tin-plate workers, who had refused to support the Gladstonian candidate recommended to them. In 1885 the Radical candidate had been returned by a majority of 3,457.¹

¹ In the present instance it must be admitted that, although the Radicals were not satisfied with the candidate selected by the party leaders, the number of voters fell very little short of those who had gone to the poll when their late member, Mr. Yeo, had been returned by so overwhelming a majority.

CHAPTER III.

Motion to reduce vote for royal palaces and parks—Budget resolutions—Disturbances at Ennis—Mr. Chamberlain at the Devonshire Club—Lord Salisbury at Carnarvon—Mr. Gladstone on the refusal of local government to Ireland—Mr. Balfour at Battersea—Second reading of Local Government Bill—Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and Women's Suffrage Bill—Lord Hartington and the freedom of the city of London—Mr. Goschen at Croydon—Mr. Chamberlain on American disapproval of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills—Customs and Inland Revenue Bill; the "death duties," and contribution by real and personal property—Increase of sentences on appeal and cumulative sentences in Ireland—The liquor traffic among native races—Irish County Government Bill—Customs Bill in Committee; opposition to tea duty and bottled wine tax—Tithe Rent-charge Bills—Lord Wolseley on the inadequate defences of the country—The Papal Rescript—Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Ireland—Alleged failure of the Crofters Act—Early Closing Bill—France and the Bottled Wine Tax—Lord Carnarvon on his relations with Mr. Parnell—Mr. Parnell's reply—Mr. Gladstone and Nonconformist ministers at the Memorial Hall—Irish Saturday Closing Bill—Railway and Canal Traffic Bill—Courts of Bankruptcy in Ireland—The *Daily Telegraph* on the "alarming condition" of the defences of the country—Debate on the subject in the House of Lords—Lord Salisbury on Lord Wolseley's speech—Rejoinder by Lord Wolseley—Conviction of Mr. Dillon; alleged breach of privilege—National defence—Deputation to the Secretary for War—Resolutions on imperial defence—Small Holdings Bill—Employers' Liability Bill—Mr. Balfour on increased and cumulative sentences—Letter on the subject from Mr. Gladstone.

ON reassembling (April 5) after the Easter recess, the House of Commons went into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates. Mr. Labouchere moved a reduction in the vote for the maintenance of the royal palaces, as a protest against expenditure in the keeping up of palaces not actually occupied by the Queen, but the amendment was negatived and the vote carried. He made a similarly ineffectual protest against the cost of keeping up the royal parks. On the vote for the Home Office (95,784*l.*), Mr. Hanbury (April 6) criticised the system of reviewing sentences of death by the Home Secretary, which he contended was unsatisfactory; upon which Mr. Childers explained in some detail the conditions under which capital sentences are considered, and asserted that the greatest care is taken, by consultation with experienced permanent officials and with the judge who tries the case if necessary, to prevent any miscarriage of justice. Mr. Matthews also defended the present system, and said that when new facts not brought forward at the trial are subsequently submitted to the Home Secretary, he is bound to give them consideration, and not to allow the extreme sentence to be carried out in cases of doubt.

The consideration of the Budget resolutions was resumed in committee (April 9), when Mr. Gladstone, while disclaiming any intention to pronounce a definite opinion on the Budget as a whole, said that he approved of some points of it and disapproved of others. For instance, he attached great value to the

principle of substituting taxes for grants in aid as a method of readjusting imperial and local taxation, and he thought the reduction of a penny in the income tax a point on which there could be no difference of opinion. Of the new taxes he had little to say that would be encouraging, and he thought it required a great deal of boldness to propose to revive taxes on locomotion, which he foretold would give Mr. Goschen considerable difficulty. Of the general scheme he remarked that this was the first time that a surplus of two and a quarter millions had been disposed of without any relief being given to the general consumer—for the relief to the rates, he contended, would go to the owners of property. Calling on the Government to state whether they intended now “to make a clean job” of remedying the inequalities in the rating of realty and personalty, he insisted that the opportunity should also be taken to equalise the imperial burdens on real and personal property, and this he argued at some length would not be achieved by Mr. Goschen’s proposal to increase the succession duty, which he regarded as illusory. He intimated that at the proper time the Opposition would submit a proposition to do justice between realty and personalty by increasing the death duties on the former. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out, in regard to the complaint that no relief had been given to the consumer, that Parliament and the Government were committed over and over again to do justice to the ratepayers. He denied, too, that the relief proposed in the Budget would go solely to the owners of property. The consumers would be largely benefited, and especially those who were interested in that general commodity, a house. As to the finality of the scheme, he said that the Government believed they had adequately met the demands of those who were interested in local taxation. They had shown their whole hand, and had no further plans; but they maintained that their proposals for the readjustment of local and imperial taxation must be regarded as a whole. Referring to the alleged inequality between the imperial taxation of realty and personalty, he thought Mr. Gladstone had not made sufficient allowance for the great fall in the value of land of late years, while personalty had largely increased; when the Opposition made its proposal for increasing the taxation of realty he should be prepared to argue that his plan was fair and adequate. After some further discussion the Budget resolutions were agreed to.

The second reading of the Agricultural Tenants’ (Ireland) Relief Bill was moved (April 11) by Mr. Blane, who explained that the Bill would secure the tenant against the raising of his rent upon his own improvements, bring perpetuity and other leaseholders who were excluded from the benefits of the Land Act of 1881 within the scope of that Act, and extend to Irish tenants the provisions of the Scotch Crofters Act in order that the land courts might have power to enforce a composition for arrears of rent. Mr. Macartney moved an amendment to post-

pone the second reading for six months. The Solicitor-General for Ireland opposed the Bill, and Mr. Balfour said that while failing to settle the arrears question it would reduce the landlord's interest in his land to prairie value. The amendment was carried and the second reading negatived by 247 to 190. Mr. Parnell moved the adjournment of the House (April 12) to complain of the action of Colonel Turner and the police and military at an illegal meeting at Ennis on the previous Sunday. He contended that the order to the military to charge the crowd was the result of panic and unnecessary, and accused Colonel Turner of having exceeded his duty and acted with incredible barbarity. Mr. Balfour explained that it was not until heavy stones were thrown at the police from a building that they were ordered to storm it. In doing this they had to force their way through a crowded yard, and the assistance of the military was necessary for the protection of the police. Mr. Balfour further said that the crowd was part of the illegal assembly from which the stones were thrown. The soldiers were not ordered to charge, but one or two soldiers, irritated by the stone-throwing, did use the flats of their swords, but were stopped by their officers. The debate was continued by several Irish members and by Mr. J. Morley. Mr. Gladstone observed that, as the public authority was arraigned as having been guilty of gross illegality, the House was bound to fully elucidate and ascertain the facts. The motion was negatived by 249 to 179.

Several important extra-Parliamentary speeches were delivered during the first week of the resumed sittings. Mr. Chamberlain was entertained at dinner by the Devonshire Club (April 9), in recognition of his successful efforts to effect an arrangement of the Fisheries dispute with the United States. Lord Granville presided, and made a felicitous speech, as nearly non-political as was possible in the circumstances. He would not say, he observed, whether the Liberal Unionists were wrong in refusing to vote against the Government on important matters which would involve their resignation; but he hoped that they would support the Liberals on minute matters, "which do not touch a single grey hair on the venerable skull of the Conservative party." Mr. Chamberlain lamented his own inability to glide over thin ice with Lord Granville's perfect tact; and remarked that as he could not say anything indiscreet about a treaty still unratified, he felt himself rather in the position of Figaro in Beaumarchais' comedy, when asked to edit a journal, but to abstain from expressing any opinion on the conduct of the Government, or on morality, politics, or religion—whereupon he proposed to call his journal *Le Journal Inutile*. He was afraid, he said, that he must pronounce a *discours inutile*. His speech, however, was a pleasant testimony to the revolution which had taken place in English opinion since the time when it was thought dangerous to Americanise our institutions. Lord

Salisbury addressed upwards of 8,000 persons at Carnarvon (April 10). After a few words on foreign affairs, notable only for the remark that if he had continued the foreign policy of Lord Rosebery he had not continued that of Lord Granville, he proceeded to speak on the Local Government Bill. He denied that the measure was a Radical one, and anticipated that the councillors to be elected would be to a great extent country gentlemen. He warmly defended the Tithes Bill, which he thought would remove most difficulties by making the tenant a mere channel through which the incumbent would receive his money. The speech was concluded by an eloquent argument for the Union, founded on the advantages accruing to every distinct part of the kingdom from the consolidation and the combined strength of the whole. "We have to perfect to the utmost," he said, "the great industrial and political empire which our forefathers have left us. Surely we may turn to you to join in saying this—that it is better we should, instead of wasting our time and resources and faculties in carrying out our own separate antagonisms, and neutralising mutually our forces thereby—it is better, far better, that we should teach the people that their inevitable and indissoluble fate is to be united together; that a great future lies before them; and that, together, they will carry forward to a splendid destiny the might and the grandeur of a united empire."

On the following evening (April 11) Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Sir George Trevelyan were entertained at dinner at the National Liberal Club by Sir Walter Foster, when Mr. Gladstone made a speech devoted in part to the Budget and the Local Government Bill, but mainly to the questions affecting Ireland. Quoting some remarks of Mr. Smith, to the effect that "there will be no indisposition to extend to Ireland an improved system of local government suited to its wants when it is made clear that the people are prepared to receive and work it in a spirit of loyalty to the Crown and constitution," he contended that this limitation was a breach of election pledges, and that it "put another stamp and another seal upon the principle of inequality among the three countries, and upon a union whose only merit has been that it has at all events professed—and we must believe some of its supporters—the real equality of the three kingdoms." Mr. Balfour was the guest on the same night (April 11) of the National Union of Conservative Associations at St. James's Hall. Humorously alluding to the "hideous personalities" of which he was the object, he said: "Just exactly in the same manner as I became heir to the badge that had been worn by my predecessors in office, I was perfectly aware I also became heir to all the agreeable adjectives to which my predecessors were subject. I do not believe that any new vituperative epithet has been applied to me which has not been applied to the late Mr. Forster and to Lord Spencer. But I do not say

that as the result of a careful examination of the files in the Irish Office ; I say it because I think that probably long before I came into the office every adjective had been exhausted, and that, therefore, even the ingenuity of Mr. O'Brien and his *collaborateurs* has been at fault in trying to find new methods of describing my wickedness." Ridiculing Mr. Wilfred Blunt's charges against him—which he declared were absolutely groundless—he added, "Now I am not going to accuse Mr. Blunt of falsehood. Mr. William O'Brien has testified to his veracity ; but even without depending unduly on the value of that certificate, I see no reason for attributing to Mr. Wilfred Blunt and his narrative anything more than a little ill-will and a great deal of muddle-headedness." In the course of his speech Mr. Balfour complained of the inconsistency of the attacks directed against himself by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues in the late Government. "I think," he said, "for example, that they ought not to attack as being tyrannical, barbarous, vindictive, oppressive—I cannot load my memory with all the various choice adjectives applied to us—persons who are only doing now exactly what they did three years ago. Let them say that we are wrong, that they were wrong if they like, but I want something more than a recantation of old opinions from Sir W. Harcourt. Sir W. Harcourt has recanted his opinions. He has told us he was wrong, that he has made a mistake—he has, in fact, treated his past opinions with the exact amount of respect they deserve. I want a great deal more than that. These people accuse us of crime for doing what they did two years ago. Then let them confess that they were guilty of crime when they did the things that we are doing now. It is not sufficient that they confess error ; I want them to confess sin as well. And it is not until Mr. Gladstone gets up and admits that he has for fifty years of a great public career held certain opinions with regard to Ireland and to law and order in Ireland, that he has held those opinions with the words 'Justice to Ireland' constantly upon his lips, that he has held them not only erroneously, but that he has held them wickedly—it is not until he does that that I for my own part shall cease to call attention to the extraordinary discrepancy between his present criticism and his former actions. I, of course, may be asking too much, but if he and Sir William Harcourt divided the task between them, if Sir William Harcourt would describe Mr. Gladstone as unchristian and unprincipled in his previous career, and Mr. Gladstone would describe Sir William Harcourt as brutal and tyrannical, I should then be content to ask the various persons who talk so, and more especially the Nonconformist divines who constantly send me highly moral lectures, how it came about that they discovered that our present policy was inconsistent with Christianity and with morality exactly on a particular fixed day, at the end of the year 1885, at the very exact moment when it became clear that if the

Liberal party did not make terms with the Parnellite party they would be in a great minority in the House of Commons."

Mr. Ritchie moved the second reading of the Local Government Bill (April 12), when Mr. Stansfeld objected to the bundle of small authorities created under the county authority, and also to the extension of the Poor Law system. He took exception also to the appointment of selected members, and to the divided control to be exercised over the police. Precedence was given to the debate on the second reading (April 13), and the debate was continued for several days, the Bill being read a second time on April 20. In the course of the discussion strong objection was taken to the licensing clauses, and more particularly to the principle of compensation on the withdrawal of a licence, as recognising a legal vested interest on the part of the licence-holder. The Solicitor-General insisted that upon the construction of the Licensing Acts of 1873-74 it was not competent for justices to refuse the renewal of a licence except for some special cause pertaining to the owner. He therefore held that those Acts distinctly gave to a licensed victualler a vested interest in his licence, and observed that it was upon this view of the law that the Bill was framed. That view was strongly contested by several members in all parts of the House. Mr. Chamberlain qualified his approval of the Bill by claiming for the County Councils the full control of the police. The Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was read a second time by 289 to 182 (April 18), after a discussion in which Mr. Matthews (speaking only for himself and not for the Government) opposed it. At the first sitting of the House of Lords after the Easter holidays (April 19) the Women's Suffrage Bill was rejected without a division, and the Metropolitan Board of Works (Commission) Bill was read a first time. Several Bills that did not occasion discussion were read a first or second time in the House of Lords (April 16-19). The Army (Annual) Bill and the East India (Purchase and Construction of Railway) Bill were read a third time and passed (April 19).

The freedom of the city of London was conferred on the Marquis of Hartington (April 18), "in recognition of the wise and patriotic spirit he had evinced during his Parliamentary career, more especially in connection with the events of recent times affecting the welfare of the United Kingdom." In his speech at the banquet which followed, Lord Hartington vindicated the action of himself and his Liberal Unionist colleagues in regard to Mr. Gladstone's proposals for Home Rule. Admitting that the Irish Nationalist members "are the representatives of a majority of the people of Ireland," he quoted, as bearing on the subject, the following passage from a speech of Mr. Gladstone's, made on the occasion of his receiving the freedom of the City in 1881:—"We have, I repeat, no fear of the people of Ireland in the mass. What we have a fear of is lest some should be cor-

rupted by demoralising doctrines, and lest—and it is the greatest fear of all—more, and many more, should, one by one, be terrified out of the exercise of their just constitutional rights, and unhappily induced through intimidation, and from no other motive, to make over their private liberty and the exercise of their civil rights into the hands of self-constituted dictators, and to place those rights under unknown provisions of an unwritten law dictated with ulterior purposes by an arbitrary will.” Lord Hartington asked, “Are those observations utterly inapplicable to the present time? When the present Irish representatives were selected, were no demoralising doctrines preached in Ireland? Had intimidation ceased to exist? Could it be contended that any portion of the population were free to exercise their civil rights? Was it not true now, as it was true then, that through intimidation, and through no other cause, they had placed those powers and civil rights in the hands of self-constituted dictators, who were using them for an ulterior purpose?” On the same evening (April 18) Mr. Goschen addressed a large meeting at Croydon. He pointed out that after accepting and admiring the Local Government Bill the Gladstonians had veered round, and found they must attack it upon its details. While defending his Budget he admitted that he was looking round for new taxes, for we were relying, he said, upon too few, forgetting that taxes were not merely imposts but sources of power, which enabled us to administer and to defend the country. Alluding to the subject of national defence, and to the warlike aspect of the continent of Europe, he went on to say:—“I do not know what may be the opinion of those who are following the signs of the day; I am not speaking from any secret or official knowledge when I say that it does not appear to me that we are at present living under a cloudless sky, nor do I think that it can be said that the clouds are no bigger than a man’s hand.”

Two other leading politicians—Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. John Morley—delivered public addresses on the same day (April 18). Mr. Chamberlain was the recipient of addresses of congratulation at Birmingham on the success of his mission to the United States. Speaking of the effect of his visit, he said that it had confirmed his Unionist principles. He stated that the great majority of the representative men of all classes with whom he had mixed did not approve of the policy of Mr. Gladstone’s Bills. The Americans, naturally enough, believed in their system of State rights, but “they do not grant them to people who they think will abuse them.” For instance, Utah’s claim to be a State was steadily resisted, though the people of Utah professed “their willingness to insert in their Constitution provisions making polygamy illegal.” The United States, however, did not stop there. “Not only do they refuse Home Rule to Utah, but they have passed in regard to Utah a Coercion Bill to which the

Crimes Act is a trifle." Mr. Chamberlain cited a strong example of the way in which the democracy of the United States enforced the law. While he was in America the Mayor and the whole Town Council of the city of Lincoln, the chief town in Nebraska, were sent to gaol for contempt of court on the order of a local judge. After referring more particularly to the question of Ireland, Mr. Chamberlain concluded his speech with the following passage:—"The old party lines have entirely disappeared. We have no longer to deal with Liberals and Tories. We have to deal with Unionists on the one hand and Parnellites on the other. This is a great fact which the country is beginning to appreciate. We may, if we like, recall the old party names; they no longer represent the old party ideas. The Tory party is not what it was. The Liberal party, where is that party? A common danger united all of us against a common foe, against the men who advocate illegality and who are willing to go all lengths, even to those of crime and outrage; and as a result of this a National party has at last been brought into existence. It will draw to itself all those who set national interests and national honour above party and personal matters. A future historian may yet write of the bitter controversy which has divided us, but its evils have cheaply purchased the knowledge that the great majority of the British nation are proud of the Empire, the glorious and united Empire, to which they belong. They are sensible of the responsibilities which its citizenship entails and of the privileges which it confers, and they will never be either tempted or bullied into their surrender." The occasion of Mr. Morley's speech was the opening of a Liberal bazaar at Darwen; the speech itself was chiefly noteworthy for some pungent strictures on Mr. Bright—who, as Mr. Morley told his hearers not to forget, opposed the Factory Acts—and on Mr. Balfour. Of the latter's treatment of the Irish members Mr. Morley said that it was marked by "the easy contempt of a white man for the negroes of a cotton-plantation. Their antics and their drolleries amuse him, and if they carry it too far he can always lock them up."

The Local Government Bill having been temporarily disposed of by its second reading, the House was able to give attention to the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, which was formally introduced and read a first time on April 10. On the motion for the second reading of the Bill (April 23) Mr. Gladstone moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, after Parliament shall have made the appropriations it may deem just in relief of local rates, the duties accruing upon deaths should be so fixed as to equalise the charge upon real and personal property respectively." He said that personalty now paid almost six times more than realty, and would still be charged with one-third more than it ought to be. Sir M. Hicks-Beach said that the relative taxable values of real and personal property were calculated according to the

statistics available. It would be found that realty paid more to imperial taxation than personalty. After a prolonged discussion the Marquis of Hartington expressed the opinion that the Government had done what was possible, and remarked that they did not profess to establish a complete and impossible equality by their proposals. The Chancellor of the Exchequer contended that the real estate of the country contributed enormously to the rates beyond what was paid by personal property or labour or any other form of the wealth of the country. The Government, he said, had endeavoured to adjust the burdens to the capacity of the persons to bear them. After a further protest from Sir W. Harcourt, the amendment was negatived by 310 to 217, and the Bill was read a second time.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, on the following day (April 24), moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the departure from a long-established practice in the Irish county courts, by the new system of increasing sentences in criminal cases on appeal, as in the instances of the Rev. Mr. MacFadden, P.P., Mr. Blane, M.P., Mr. Flanagan, Mr. Coffey, Mr. Kilmartin, and Mr. Higgins. The Solicitor-General for Ireland pointed out that the appeal, granted under the Petty Sessions Act, incorporated in the Act of the previous year, was in reality a rehearing of the case. The evidence was taken *de novo*, and it was the duty of the county court judge, without regard to the decision of the court below, to pronounce the judgment which the evidence warranted. The discussion was continued among others by Sir W. Harcourt, who maintained that to increase sentences on appeal was unconstitutional. He characterised the practice as brutal and ferocious oppression, and insinuated that it would not have been adopted except at the instigation of the Government. Mr. Balfour retorted that this insinuation against the county court judges was a foul libel on an honourable, learned, and independent body of men, and he challenged any of the ex-chief secretaries to say that it was justified. He indignantly denied that the slightest influence was brought to bear upon them, and said that they would have failed in their duty if they had not approached the cases in question with a fair and open mind. Mr. Gladstone protested against a precedent being set in Ireland, which was directly contrary to the practice in England. Speaking with much warmth, the right hon. gentleman went on to say that the power "of appeal which was given was given entirely in the interests of persons who should receive sentence. Parliament intended it to be a gift to the prisoner, whereas now it has been wantonly and cruelly used against him. The power was originally promised without qualification, but afterwards, when it was given, an exception was introduced, and thus a breach of faith was committed. . . . Well, the power was given with exception, and what do we find? We find that the first attempt was to evade and nullify this

power by cumulative sentences—a trick of the meanest kind, the dishonour and discredit of which I will not attempt to divide between the Government and the authorities in Ireland. There could be nothing more mean and miserable than to descend to such a trick as that, and it is a transaction which should receive the contempt of every honest man—nay, almost of every dishonest man.” The Attorney-General, replying to these strictures, said that there was not a shadow of foundation for the suggestion that the Government had interfered with the action of the county court judges, and declared that it was a wilful slander upon the judges and the Chief Secretary. Referring to Mr. Gladstone’s denunciation of cumulative sentences, the Attorney-General said:—“I was surprised to hear him making it one of the bitterest charges against her Majesty’s Government that what he styled cumulative sentences had been passed, and suggesting that they were passed with a view of depriving a defendant of the right of appeal. This was the language which the right hon. gentleman thought fit to make use of in this House—that it was ‘a trick of the meanest character’—that it was a trick which ‘every honest and even dishonest man would condemn.’ (Mr. Gladstone here interposed the remark, ‘Almost every dishonest man.’) What did the right hon. gentleman the member for the Bridgeton Division (Sir G. Trevelyan) think of that statement? On a previous occasion we produced in this House chapter and verse to show that on more than one occasion under the Crimes Act of 1882 such cumulative sentences were passed under the administration of the right hon. gentleman as Chief Secretary. Is the member for the Bridgeton Division an honest or dishonest man? I did not notice that he joined in the vociferous cheers in approval of the right hon. gentleman’s charge. But the fact is this—that it is only by imputing to her Majesty’s Government the meanest and basest motives that the right hon. gentleman can urge any charge against us.” Mr. Gladstone subsequently rejoined:—“I cannot profess to change my opinion of an act whether done by our Government or by any other Government; but I entirely agree that if there was a similar act done during our Government I personally am completely put out of court, and can have no right to make any charge against the present Government. That I beg to say in the most explicit manner.” Sir George Trevelyan disclaimed any knowledge of a case referred to by the Attorney-General, and said that if it had occurred it ought to have been remedied.

Mr. McArthur, at the same sitting, called attention to the evils of the liquor traffic among the native races in the British dependencies, and moved to resolve, “That this House, having regard to the disastrous physical and moral effects of the liquor traffic among uncivilised races, as well as the injury it inflicts on legitimate commerce, is of opinion that her Majesty’s Government should take steps to suppress the traffic with natives in all

native territories under its influence or control, and that whenever self-governing powers are granted to Crown colonies stipulations should be made for the effectual protection of the natives against the sale of strong drink." Sir J. Kennaway seconded the resolution. Sir G. Baden-Powell stated, from personal experience, that energetic measures had been taken to put down the traffic. Baron H. de Worms said that a great deal depended on the co-operation of foreign nations, and in nearly all cases assistance had been given, but the efforts of the Government in the Western Pacific had unfortunately been considerably hampered by the refusal of the United States to assist in putting down the trade. After some further discussion the resolution, verbally amended at the suggestion of Baron H. de Worms, was agreed to. Mr. Carew moved the second reading of the County Government (Ireland) Bill (April 25), and explained that its object was to abolish boards of guardians, lunatic asylum boards, and town commissioners in the case of towns of less than 2,000 inhabitants, and to establish in each county a council to which each ratepayer or cesspayer should be eligible for election. All the fiscal business of the counties would be transferred to the county councils, the union would be taken as the unit of area, and the county cess would be divided between owners and occupiers. Mr. Barry moved, "That this House, while prepared at the proper time to take into consideration any well-prepared scheme for the reform of local government in Ireland, is of opinion that at present it is not expedient to introduce a large constitutional change in that country." Mr. Gladstone, joining in the general debate, said that, in the absence of any proposals on the part of Ministers to deal with the question of local self-government in Ireland, he felt bound to support the second reading of the Bill. Mr. Balfour gave numerous instances of improper conduct by local bodies, and contended that the country was not in a condition to justify any immediate extension of popular institutions. Lord Randolph Churchill spoke in support of the measure, while Mr. Chamberlain said he should vote with the Government on the understanding that measures of local reform for Ireland were simply delayed by pressure of business. Some further discussion ensued, when the Closure was moved by Mr. Parnell, and the amendment was agreed to by 282 to 195.

The House went into Committee on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill (April 26), when Mr. Picton moved the omission of Clause 2, providing for the continuance of the tea duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that, though it might be desirable to reduce the duty on a future occasion, he should always object to its total abolition. Sir W. Harcourt sympathised with the principle of the amendment. Mr. Gladstone deprecated a division, as the rejection of the clause would create an enormous deficit in the revenue. The clause was agreed to by 259 to 98. On

Clause 3 (relating to the import duty on bottled wines), Mr. Gladstone protested against the tax as prohibitive, in the case of the lower qualities of foreign wines; as likely to encourage adulteration; and as being injurious to the friendly relations existing between this country and France. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the tax was aimed at the high-priced wines only, and he believed that it would have but an insignificant effect upon the wine industry of France. French wines would be almost entirely imported in casks. The duty would not affect Australian wines, as they were invariably imported in the cask, and the only cheap wines it would touch would be the cheap champagnes. A long discussion followed, in the course of which Sir J. Fergusson pointed out that the proportion of imported bottled wines was infinitesimally small compared with wine imported in the cask. Mr. Childers objected to the proposal as a possible interference with the French Treaty of 1860, which, he pointed out, resulted in our exports to France being increased threefold. The Chancellor of the Exchequer again denied that the Government had any idea of doing anything to injure the French wine industry in order to secure the removal of any other grievances. The clause was agreed to by 246 to 121. On Clause 4 (alterations of duties upon carriages), Mr. Anderson moved an amendment to omit "if such carriage have less than four wheels, 15s.," and "for every hackney carriage as hereinafter defined, 15s." The amendment was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and negatived by 229 to 72. On Clause 5 (giving powers to the Treasury to prohibit the use of certain substances in excisable goods), Sir Lyon Playfair (April 27) moved an amendment to allow the use of saccharine as a substitute for sugar in brewing. The Chancellor of the Exchequer objected on the ground that the proposed substitution would be a fraud on beer drinkers, and would result in the loss of a million sterling to the revenue. Mr. Gladstone agreed that the revenue must be protected so long as it did not conflict with the real interests of trade, but he thought that if the prohibition were maintained measures should be taken to check the importation of foreign beer containing this substance. The amendment was negatived by 229 to 122, and the clause was agreed to. An amendment to Clause 9, moved by Mr. Gray, for the reduction of the duty on hawkers' licences to 2*l.*, was accepted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the remaining clauses were passed. Several new clauses, moved by private members, having been negatived or withdrawn, the Bill was reported as amended (April 30).

In the House of Lords (April 24) the Musical Composition Copyright Bill, the Tithe Rent-charge Bill, and the Tithe Rent-charge Recovery and Variation Bill were each read a second time. In presenting the two last-named Bills for first reading (March 28) the Prime Minister explained that one object which

they would effect was to make tithes leviable, like income tax, as a charge payable in the first instance by the tenant, but which he would have the legal right to deduct from his rent, and the obligation to allow which the landlord could not contract himself out of. Further, they would provide that, in the case of non-payment of the tithes, there would be a power in the county court judge to attach the rent by appointing a receiver until the tithes were discharged. In regard to the Tithe Rent-charge and Variation Bill the Archbishop of Canterbury now stated that the clergy would sacrifice eight per cent. of their incomes, and he expressed the hope that means would be found to break the suddenness of their fall. The Prime Minister advocated the Bill as a judicious compromise. On this Bill being considered in Committee (May 8), an amendment was adopted on the motion of the Prime Minister, to the effect that the substitution of a three years' average for a seven years' average should not affect extraordinary tithes. The two Tithes Bills were read a third time (May 15) and sent to the Commons, where, however, they were only read a first time.

Lord Wolseley was a guest at a banquet given to Sir John Pender at the Hôtel Métropole (April 23), and, in responding to the toast of "The Army," made some strong observations on the inadequate condition of the military force of the country. The more important part of his speech was as follows:— "It is no easy matter for an officer holding a public position, as I do, in the War Office to speak in an open manner about the army. Of course it is possible to speak on various subjects connected with the discipline of the army and its organisation and its re-organisation, which has gone on for so many years; but it is no easy matter to speak as I would wish to speak, from the house-tops, about the army and not overstep the bounds which a public servant should observe. As regards the general condition of the army, I think I am justified in saying that in no previous period of our history has it been, as far as it goes, in a more efficient state. I believe that the officers are far better instructed, far more able to undertake the duties they are called upon to perform, and far more efficient to discharge these duties than I have ever known them. And I will mention to you one fact which has lately come to my notice, which speaks volumes for the discipline of our men—that during the last twelve months half of our military prisons have been shut up because we had no offenders to send into them. Under our peculiar system of government it is very difficult indeed, as I have said, for an officer to speak regarding the organisation of the army; but it is really very curious that, though John Bull goes to considerable expense in paying those whom he considers experts to advise him and the country both on the army and the navy—admirals and generals who advise him on naval and military matters—the opinions of those experts which are so highly praised are

never published, and John Bull, who pays for them, is never made acquainted with what those opinions are. We have from time to time long statements made as to the army and the navy by the gentlemen in power. I have to listen to them myself, and I often wonder how much those speeches are affected by the party exigencies of the moment, and how much they represent the real opinions of the First Lord of the Admiralty and of the Secretary of State for War. I confess myself that it is a system of which I cannot approve, and I do not believe that any admiral or general in office, or who has been in office, approves of it, because one and all of us believe that it is a system which sooner or later will land this country in disaster. We live in times when, I think, it behoves the people of England to know not only the truth but the whole truth with respect to its army and navy. We see all the nations of Europe—certainly all the great nations of Europe—with the one exception of England, armed to the teeth. As you look around on the political horizon of Europe you can gather nothing promising from it; storms threaten, but certainly no good for this country. Those who, like myself, have to study matters connected with the defences of this Empire, not only at home but abroad, put this question to ourselves, Is the army, and is the navy, as strong as it ought to be? I think very few who have studied this question would deny that it is not as strong as it ought to be. But why is it not so strong as it should be? Assuredly, as Lord Derby has said, the people of this country have never refused the Ministry for the time being any money they have asked for, either for the army or the navy; assuredly the taxpayers of this country never grudge any money which they are asked to pay for the efficiency of those services. No, the answer to the question why the army and the navy are not as strong as they ought to be is to be found in the system of our government by party—that curse of modern England which is sapping and undermining the foundations of our country, which is depriving our statesmen of the manly honesty which was once their characteristic. What do we see when any new Administration comes into office? What directly takes place? It is the same with all parties. The first thing is the endeavour made by the Minister in office to obtain some clap-trap reputation by cutting down the expenses of the army and navy. If he is enabled to produce an army and navy estimate which in some degree represents a smaller sum than that of his predecessor he plumes himself upon the victory he has gained, and he is proud that he has succeeded better than, perhaps, his opponent, who sits on the bench opposite him, and as he chuckles over his success he says, ‘See what a good boy am I!’ This is the result of what? The result of a low and vicious standard of morality which is now uppermost in men’s minds. In speaking so lightheartedly of such a matter he

forgets, in his pride of having reduced the estimates, the fault he has committed, the crime he is guilty of against the country. I hope you will pardon me for speaking so openly as I have done, but I feel deeply on the subject. I feel that we have arrived at an epoch in our history when it behoves public men to speak the truth, and not only the truth, but the whole truth." This speech, which was fully reported in one London morning paper only, naturally produced a great impression. A fortnight later, as will be presently seen, it was made the subject of some strong remarks in the House of Lords by the Prime Minister.

The *Freeman's Journal* of April 27 published the following telegram from a correspondent at Rome:—"Rome, Thursday evening.—The Pope, through the Holy Office and Propaganda, condemns the Plan of Campaign on three distinct grounds. First, that it is unlawful to break voluntary contracts freely entered into between landlord and tenant; secondly, that the land courts are available to tenants who believe that they have unfair rents to pay; and, thirdly, that the funds collected under the Plan of Campaign have been extorted from those contributing to it. The practice of boycotting is condemned on the ground that it is against the principles of justice and charity; that it has been used as an instrument of persecution against people willing to pay their rent, and against persons exercising their right to take vacant farms. The decree has been drawn up by the Congregation of the Holy Office, has received the approval of the Pope, and will be issued at once from the Propaganda."

The publication of this apparently authentic intelligence was a shock to some of the leaders of the Irish party, who had discredited rumours to a like effect which had been in circulation for some days. The Nationalist leaders took counsel with each other and with various ecclesiastics in Ireland, and finally decided to suspend their judgment on the Papal rescript until its full text should be known. Various translations of the Circular of the Roman Congregation of the Propaganda afterwards appeared. The Congregation decided by a unanimous vote that in contests between landowners and tenants in Ireland it was not lawful to have recourse to the means known as the "Plan of Campaign" and "boycotting," the Pope himself having confirmed and approved the decision. It was added, as a reason for the decision, that it was obvious that, where a rent had been fixed by mutual consent, it ought not to be reduced at the will of the tenant alone; and that it could not be lawful to extort rent from the tenants not to be paid to the landlord, but to be deposited with unknown persons. Further, "it is altogether foreign to natural justice and to Christian charity that a new form of persecution and of proscription should recklessly be put in force against persons who are satisfied with and are prepared to pay the rent agreed on with their landlord, or against persons

who in the exercise of their right take vacant farms." The archbishops and bishops of Ireland were therefore exhorted, "prudently but effectively," to "admonish the clergy and the people in reference to this matter," and "to observe Christian charity, and not to overstep the bounds of justice whilst seeking relief from the evils which afflict them."

The Bill for regulating the office of Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (read a first time on April 9) was read a second time after some discussion (April 30). An amendment for its rejection was negatived by 226 to 177. In the course of the discussion Mr. Balfour contrasted his duties with those of his predecessors, contending that, as he had to prepare his own measures and conduct them through the House, he was entitled to the same assistance as was given to the other leading members of the Government. On the Bill being considered in Committee (May 14), Mr. Heneage moved an amendment to provide that the Under-Secretary's salary should be taken from the salaries of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary. A warm debate ensued and the amendment was negatived by the narrow majority of 8, the numbers being 191 to 183. The Bill was ultimately withdrawn after the death of Col. King-Harman, who held the office of Irish Parliamentary Under-Secretary. The Land Law (Ireland Land Commissioners) Bill was read a second time (April 30) on the understanding that it should be amended in Committee by providing for the association on equal terms of lay sub-commissioners with the county court judges in cases where the landlord and tenant agreed. Dr. Clark (May 1) moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the failure of the Crofters Act and the urgent necessity of some remedy being applied. The Lord Advocate replied that the Government had had the matter under consideration with a view to propose some scheme of emigration, and he was satisfied that that was the only way in which the evils complained of could be met. Mr. Chamberlain said he was convinced that the crofters would decline to emigrate until it was proved that every other expedient—such as migration—had been tried. After some further discussion the motion was negatived by 205 to 99.

At the same sitting (May 1) Mr. Bradlaugh moved a resolution in favour of empowering the local authorities to acquire compulsorily waste and uncultivated land which was capable of cultivation or utilisation with profit, in order that they might let it to tenant cultivators. Mr. M. Ferguson seconded the motion. Mr. Seton-Karr moved an amendment declaring that, as those waste lands could not be profitably cultivated owing to agricultural depression, it would be no remedy for the present state of things to confer compulsory power of acquisition on local authorities. The House was counted out while the debate was proceeding. Sir John Lubbock moved the second reading of the Early Closing Bill (May 2), the rejection of the Bill being moved by Mr.

Blundell Maple. The amendment against the Bill was agreed to by 278 to 95.

The National Defence Bill was read a first time in the House of Commons (May 3), after which the House considered the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill as amended. Among various further amendments now proposed was one moved by Mr. Craig to limit the duty on bottled wines to wines of the value of upwards of 30s. a dozen. The Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook to investigate the subject further, and, if a system of determining value could be devised, to introduce without delay a Bill exempting from the tax wines up to the limit of value proposed. The amendment was therefore withdrawn. Sir William Harcourt then moved the omission of the clause, as a protest against the danger to our commercial relations with France which it involved. The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied that any provocation was intended, and the clause was agreed to by 207 to 115. On the order for the third reading (May 4) Mr. Gladstone again protested against the condition in which the death duties were left by the Budget, and the gross inequality of taxation as between realty and personalty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer having repeated his former arguments, the Bill was read a third time and passed. Mr. W. H. Smith announced (May 4) the appointment of a Commission, over which Lord Hartington would preside, to inquire into the administration of the army and navy, and their relation to each other and to the Treasury.

In the House of Lords (May 3), Lord Carnarvon, in a personal explanation respecting statements reported to have been made about him in this country by Mr. Parnell while he (Lord Carnarvon) was in Australia, denied that he had expressed doubts as to the guilt of two gangs of convicts in Ireland, except as to one individual, whose case he at the time stated he would further consider. Lord Carnarvon also denied that he had made any pledge for Lord Salisbury's Government on the subject of Home Rule. He had, however, two years before, on his appointment as Lord-Lieutenant, had a conversation with Mr. Parnell, in reference to which the noble lord gave the following explanation:—

“Mr. Parnell came to me and entered into conversation with me, and his statement of what occurred at that interview was this:—

“‘Lord Carnarvon expressed to me the strongest belief that only by the concession of an Irish Parliament could the Irish question be settled, and that it was to be a Parliament, and that it was to be called a Parliament, that it was to have most extensive powers, even going as far as the right of protecting Irish industries by the imposition of protective tariffs. . . . Lord Carnarvon's views, as conveyed to me, or rather as we exchanged them in our interview, were absolutely identical.’

“Now, my lords, it is perfectly true that all Mr. Parnell said

with regard to an Irish Parliament was said in that conversation, but it was said, not by me, but by Mr. Parnell; and as regards even my concurrence in what he said Mr. Parnell has allowed his imagination to run away with him. That conversation consisted in the main of questions on my part, and of answers and explanations on his part, and I never made any promise nor gave any assurance in the direction he has indicated. I repeatedly warned him that he came to me for the purpose of giving me information, that I alone was responsible for that meeting, and that no responsibility in respect to it was to be attached to any of my colleagues in the Cabinet. I could give a version of what Mr. Parnell said—a great deal passed which was no doubt intended to be confined within the four corners of the room. Mr. Parnell may forget that the conversation was private as between gentlemen. A great deal of it might have been interesting if repeated, but, for my part, I should not repeat it. My right hon. friend in the other House of Parliament was good enough to make a reply for me upon the subject, and I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to him for that speech, which was a very manly, straightforward reply in many ways, and indeed was one which in some degree does away with the necessity for my making these observations to-night. Among other things Mr. Balfour said:—‘Lord Salisbury in 1886 said, “Lord Carnarvon treated me absolutely without reserve, and I know what passed at that interview with Mr. Parnell. The statement that he gave any ground to believe that the Conservative Government would favour the establishment of an Irish Legislature is absolutely without foundation.”’ I can confirm every syllable that Mr. Balfour uttered on that occasion. I should have been wanting in my duty if I had failed to inform my noble friend at the head of the Government of my intention of holding that meeting with Mr. Parnell and of what had passed between us at the interview at the earliest possible moment. Accordingly, both by writing and by words, I gave the noble marquis as careful and as accurate a statement as possible of what had occurred within twenty-four hours after the meeting, and my noble friend was good enough to say that I had conducted that conversation with perfect discretion. Your lordships will consider whether it was likely that I should have made such preposterous statements as those which have been charged against me. I think that I have now disposed of this unfounded and ridiculous story. My opinions have been frequently alluded to during the past few months, but I do not think it necessary to go into them at the present time, nor do I think it necessary to justify the meeting I had with Mr. Parnell, as I have justified it on a former occasion. I can see no reason whatever for thinking that I was guilty of imprudence or unwisdom in the matter. Looking at the circumstances of that time, it was common-sense to ascertain the opinion of the most important

person in Ireland, and therefore I did not, when I went to that country, shut my ears to information that could be obtained from any person who was entitled to give it. It would have been absurd if I had consented to hear only subordinates and had refused to listen to the leader of the most important party in Ireland. There might have been, as I have been sometimes told there was, an error of judgment on my part; but if there was such an error of judgment it consisted in my accepting such a meeting without the presence of witnesses."

The Eighty Club entertained Mr. Parnell at a banquet (May 8), at which the leader of the Nationalist party made a rejoinder to Lord Carnarvon's reply, and spoke upon other subjects of pressing interest. He repeated in effect his former statements and maintained that Lord Carnarvon's interview with the late Mr. Dwyer Gray in 1885, and his conversation with himself on the subject of an Irish Parliament, were much more compromising to the Conservative Government of that day than Lord Salisbury was now willing to acknowledge. Proceeding to speak of the Plan of Campaign, and of its condemnation by the Papal rescript, Mr. Parnell asserted that the Irish Parliamentary party and the National League had never had anything to do with the Plan of Campaign, and that "if the Plan of Campaign should be defeated by the spiritual power of Rome and the temporal power of England it will not be a defeat of the National League." He said also that when the Plan of Campaign was originally started, in Oct. 1886, he was not able to express any opinion about it. Continuing, Mr. Parnell said:—"I was ill, dangerously ill; it was an illness from which I have not entirely recovered up to this day. I was so ill that I could not put pen to paper or even read a newspaper. I knew nothing about the movement until weeks after it had started, and even then I was so feeble that for several months, absolutely up to the meeting of Parliament, I was positively unable to take part in any public matter, and was scarcely able to do so for months after. If I had been in a position to advise about it, I candidly admit to you that I should have advised against it. I should have advised against it, not because I supposed that it would be inefficacious with regard to its object—the protection of the Irish tenants. I believe I have always thought that it would be most successful in protecting the Irish tenants from eviction and in obtaining those reductions in their rent which the Government of Lord Salisbury in 1886 refused to concede to me when I moved the Tenants' Relief Bill. My judgment in that respect has been correct. The Plan of Campaign undoubtedly has been most successful as regards the agrarian question in Ireland. It has saved thousands and thousands of tenants from eviction. It has prevented enormous suffering in Ireland. It has, in fact, pacified the country. But I considered, and still consider, that there were features of the Plan of Campaign, and in the way in which it was necessary

that it should be carried out, which would have had a bad effect upon the general political situation—in other words, upon the national question.” Mr. Parnell did not make any allusion to the subject of boycotting, notwithstanding that the practice was condemned by the Papal rescript equally with the Plan of Campaign. His silence on this subject was naturally the occasion of much public criticism at the time and afterwards.

On the following day (May 9) an address of sympathy with his Home Rule policy, signed by 3,790 Nonconformist ministers, was presented to Mr. Gladstone in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, after which he delivered a long speech dealing in part with the Budget and the Local Government Bill, but chiefly with the Irish question. In reference to that subject he recalled the events of the riot at Mitchelstown and the disturbance at Ennis. He declared that the Unionist majority in the House of Commons had broken their election pledges by supporting a policy of “Coercion.” Proceeding to speak of Mr. Parnell’s repudiation of the Plan of Campaign on the previous evening, Mr. Gladstone said:—“Mr. Parnell has very properly said he was not the author of that plan, and that he is not prepared to vindicate it. Nor am I prepared to vindicate it, but I am prepared to say it ought, like the Rebecca riots and a hundred other cases, to be fairly judged. It ought to be well considered who were the real authors of the Plan of Campaign. I say boldly that the real authors of the Plan of Campaign are the present Government, and Mr. O’Brien and those who acted with him were really, in the main, instruments in the hands of the present Government, for reasons which I will immediately tell you. What had taken place? In the year 1886 a new and most disturbing incident had arisen in the Irish land question. The fall in agricultural prices brought about a crisis, and there was a general apprehension that even judicial rents could not be paid by the tenants, and that the whole question of the land in Ireland must be reopened by the admission of the leaseholders, whom, in our supreme respect for contract, we had not consented to admit to the benefits of the Act of 1881. The Government appointed a Commission to inquire how far this was the case, and whether the rents could be paid or not. We asked from the Opposition side of the House that, while the Commission was sitting, temporary provision might be made to meet those cases where rents could not be paid. What did the Government do? They refused Mr. Parnell’s Bill, and refused even the extremely modest demand I made myself, that some time should be given to those who proved before the judicial tribunals that they could not pay rent. The Government declared judicial rents to be sacred, that it would be immoral to alter them, that faith and honour forbade it. Then came the distress, then the evictions, then Bodyke, and then the Plan of Campaign.”

In the House of Commons (May 7) the Local Government

Election Bill was considered in Committee, and several new clauses were added. The Bill was read a third time and passed (May 10). Mr. Firth (May 8) called attention to the report of the City Corporation (Malversation of Funds) Committee, and moved a resolution declaring it to be necessary, without delay, to place the expenditure of the Corporation under similar statutory restrictions to those to which other corporations in the kingdom are subject. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Howell. After some discussion, in the course of which Mr. J. Stevenson maintained that the spirit in which the Corporation's committee went about their work showed that they did not care how the money was spent, the Solicitor-General said that the Government would before long have to consider the whole question of the government of London, but it was impossible to give any pledge at present as to the mode in which the subject would be dealt with. The resolution was negatived by 156 to 133. Mr. T. W. Russell (May 9) moved the second reading of the Public-houses Saturday Closing (Ireland) Bill, the object of the Bill being to close public-houses on Saturdays at 9 p.m. in all towns of Ireland consisting of 10,000 inhabitants or upwards. The Bill was variously opposed and supported by several Irish members. Mr. Parnell approved of the principle, but objected to the question being dealt with except by local authorities representative of the people. Mr. Balfour said he would vote for the second reading on the understanding that the Bill should be referred to the Committee on Sunday Closing then sitting. Mr. Russell declined to consent to this, and moved "that the question be now put," which was agreed to by 195 to 97. An amendment for the rejection of the Bill was then negatived by 178 to 102, and the Bill was read a second time. No further progress, however, was made with it during the Session.

The second reading of the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill was moved (May 10) by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who explained that the Bill would reconstitute and make permanent the Railway Commission, and would bring canals under similar control to railways, and prevent their acquisition by railway companies. Provision was also made for vesting canals which had been abandoned in persons approved by the Board of Trade. The Railway Commission would consist of two permanent members, with a judge of the Supreme Courts of England, Scotland, or Ireland respectively as president when the court sat in either of the three kingdoms. A conciliation clause would enable traders and directors to settle disputes without going to law, and railway companies must submit a classification of goods and a schedule of rates to the Board of Trade, which if approved would be confirmed by provisional order, but if objected to would be brought before a select committee or a joint committee of both Houses. Another clause was intended to prevent undue preference without depriving the public of the advantages of competition. Mr. Mundella warmly

approved of the measure. Among the other members who discussed the Bill, Sir W. Barttelot urged the importance of maintaining and improving canal traffic, and Mr. J. Stevenson objected to restrictions on the importation of food from abroad. After a lengthy debate the Bill was read a second time and referred to the Standing Committee on Trade and Agriculture. The National Defence Bill was read a second time at this sitting without debate.

The House of Lords (May 4) considered the Musical Compositions Copyright Bill in Committee, when Lord Bramwell protested (as he had done on the second reading) against the Bill, on the ground that it took away a purchased right of property, namely, the right of producing a song or a musical composition without compensation. He moved the omission of Clause 1. The Lord Chancellor supported Lord Bramwell's view, while Lords Selborne and Herschell opposed it. The amendment was rejected without a division, and all the clauses were agreed to. The Bill was read a third time and passed (May 15). The Lord Chancellor of Ireland introduced a Bill to provide for the establishment of local courts of bankruptcy in Ireland. The Bill proposed to give power to the Lord-Lieutenant in Council to establish such courts where the extent of the population and other circumstances made it desirable. Provision was made in the Bill for the transfer of bankruptcy business from the local courts to the Bankruptcy Court in Dublin, or *vice versa*. After a short discussion the Bill was read a first time. It was ultimately passed and sent to the Commons (July 2), where it did not proceed beyond the first reading.

The *Daily Telegraph* of May 11 made certain statements, professedly "on the highest military authority," as to the "alarming condition" of the country caused by the neglect of its defences. In the House of Lords (May 11) Lord Hardinge asked the Duke of Cambridge whether the statements in question had any foundation. The Duke of Cambridge, in reply, stated that, though he had supposed he was the highest military authority, no one was more surprised than he at the statements alluded to, and he believed they were without foundation. As to those of them that had reference to the Government, he could say no more than that he believed the Government were doing all in their power to provide for the efficiency of our defences. Lord Salisbury said that the condition of the army and the state of our national defences generally were a subject which engaged the anxious thought and consideration of her Majesty's Government. If it were possible in this country to have a secret committee, he would be quite willing to lay before it all the statements made to the Government, and all the steps being taken by them; but such a thing was not possible, and if details were at all made public they must become known to all the nations of the world. Statistics which were published showed

an increase of the army and an increase in the expenditure for the navy as between 1884 and 1888. Amidst cheers he protested against the Adjutant-General (Lord Wolseley) making sensational statements about the national defences and the Government at a public dinner. If the noble and gallant officer thought it his duty to make such statements, it would be only becoming in him, as he was a member of their lordships' House, to make them in his place in Parliament, where Ministers were present to answer for themselves.

It having become known that Lord Wolseley would reply to Lord Salisbury's strictures at the next sitting of the House of Lords, the House was on that occasion (May 14) filled in all parts. Lord Wolseley complained of Lord Salisbury's not having given him notice of his intention to refer to him, and he assured the House that until he read the reports of the discussion which occurred on the 11th he was not aware of the appearance of the newspaper paragraph on which that discussion was founded. On the day after he made his speech at the dinner to Sir John Pender he received through his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, from the Minister for War, a letter on the subject, in replying to which he stated what he now repeated—that in his remarks at that dinner he intended no attack on the present Government or on any Government in particular. His reference was to all Governments. He was no politician, and he hoped he never would be; but, from a professional point of view, he highly appreciated the services of the present War Minister, who had done, perhaps, more for the wants of the army than any other Minister had in the same time. There was no difference between the Secretary for War and the Military Department; but in describing the army at the dinner, as not being in a satisfactory state, he expressed his conviction. As to Lord Salisbury's observation that if he had anything to say in public on the subject he ought to have said it in that House, his reply was that he had refrained from speaking in their lordships' House for two reasons. One was that he did not like to take part in party debates; the other that, as Adjutant-General, he did not think it right to make remarks in their lordships' House on matters of military administration when his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief was there to do so. But there was not a statement of fact in that unfortunate speech of his which was not to be found in his evidence before the Royal Commission, which had been made public. Lord Wolseley proceeded to say:—"I know that very few persons who receive Blue-books upon military matters even venture to open a page; but if anyone had done so, or if he will now take the trouble by-and-by to read that Blue-book, he will find, almost word for word, certainly every fact which I brought forward and every argument which I adduced in that unfortunate speech which has attracted so much attention. I was asked, when before that commission, 'Is it not a fact that we never tell the truth to the English people, and that they never know what our military

position really is ?' This was the answer I gave. I said, 'We never take the English people into our confidence. We never tell them what are our shortcomings. They have no means of ascertaining the military views of the highest military officers they employ. . . . I consider that the position of England at the present moment as regards its army is very unsatisfactory ; that if a hostile force of, say, 100,000 men were to land upon our shores there is no reason why that force, properly led, should not take possession of London.' It is proper that I should call attention to the fact that when I made that statement, not in a hole and corner, but before a Royal Commission, the First Lord of the Treasury was then Secretary of State for War, and the noble marquess was then also Prime Minister, and yet no comment was made on those remarks, and I was not censured in any way for them ; I was never asked for an explanation. I will ask your lordships whether it was possible for me to have said anything stronger than that in the speech referred to. What I said upon that occasion eighteen months ago, and what I said lately in the speech now under consideration, I adhere to literally word for word. As regards the substance of what I said I have nothing to withdraw or to be ashamed of. The noble marquess has forced from me what I might call an exposition of faith. I give it freely for what it is worth, in plain and unmistakable terms, without entering into those particulars to which the noble marquess so pointedly objected in his remarks the other night. When I make this statement I am fully aware of the responsibility I incur in making it. My statement is as follows :—As long as the navy is as weak as it is at this moment, her Majesty's army, dispersed as it is, cannot hold its own all over the world. Our defences at home and abroad at the present moment are in an unsatisfactory condition, and our military forces are not organised or equipped as they should be to guarantee even the safety of the capital in which we are at the present moment. My lords, I am well aware of the responsibility I am incurring in making this statement. But, at the same time, forced as I have been to make this statement, I feel that there is no need whatever for panic, because, although I am not in the secrets of her Majesty's Government, and, as the noble marquess observed, I am not aware of all that takes place in the Cabinet, I appeal to reason to show that there is no imminent danger pending over this country, and that, therefore, there is plenty of time to do all that is necessary to place at least the army in a state of efficiency before its services are required. Panic is the offspring of ignorance. For the people to realise their danger and the power of meeting it is, in my opinion, the first step towards doing all that is required. For that reason it has been my desire at all times to take the English people into our confidence, and to tell them exactly what the condition of her Majesty's army and navy really is, and what is the proportionate strength of our navy compared with those of

other countries. If there are wants and shortcomings I should like to tell them what they are." The Prime Minister, while justifying his remarks in reference to Lord Wolseley's former speech, heartily accepted that noble lord's explanation. He expressed his pleasure at the fact that Lord Wolseley was not taking the incident too seriously, because he should regard his leaving the public service as the greatest blow to military administration. The question of our national defences was one not only for the War Office and the Admiralty, but for the Foreign Office also. It was impossible to erect an absolute standard of safety. We must see who our enemy was in each particular case; but as to any details, he was sure he had the sympathy of the House, and he hoped he had now the sympathy of Lord Wolseley, when he said that they ought not to be debated out of doors.

In the House of Commons (May 14) a debate arose on an attempt by Mr. Healy to declare a letter from Mr. Hamilton, an Irish resident magistrate, announcing the conviction of Mr. Dillon for having taken part in forcing the Plan of Campaign on one of the Irish estates, a breach of privilege. Mr. Healy maintained that to take part in the Plan of Campaign was not an offence known to the law, and therefore that to announce the circumstance to the House as if it were such an offence was disrespectful to the House. Sir Charles Russell, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Gladstone, with other members, contended that no legal offence was shown to have been committed. Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, pointed out that the Plan of Campaign had been held by the Irish judges to be wholly illegal, and that, in regard to the form of the magistrate's communication to the House, it was sufficient for laymen to be told that Mr. Dillon had been convicted for taking part in proceedings the illegality of which was not open to question. The motion for declaring a breach of privilege to have been committed was negatived by 250 to 189.

We have already seen that the subject of the national defences of the country had greatly occupied public attention, both in and out of Parliament, during the session. Among other occasions when prominence was given to it was that of a deputation of members of Parliament, including distinguished members of the two services, to the Secretary for War (May 9), when Mr. Stanhope admitted the urgency of the subject, but remarked that there was no need for panic. "For even," he added, "in our present state our preparations [for the defence of the ports and coaling stations] compare not unfavourably with those of foreign Powers; but there is, if we believe all we hear, urgent necessity for immediate action. That action her Majesty's Government is now taking."

Mr. Stanhope further said:—"Speaking generally, what is wanted at the present time is not a hasty addition of large num-

bers to our army, before even we have got the barracks to put them into, but some proof that we have already organised and utilised to the full the forces already available. It is to this that the attention of the Government is at the present time directed, and our object may be said to be to so organise these multifarious forces as to be able to produce at short notice a field army thoroughly available to defend England and primarily to protect London. . . . We are working out in detail, and as rapidly as possible, a scheme for this purpose. It is not one which necessarily involves the expenditure of much money, though what is immediately necessary is being found, but it does require patient and persevering organisation. You would not expect me to make public the details of our scheme, but it may be explained generally as follows:—We see our way to preparing for the organisation of a third army corps partly composed of Regulars and partly of Militia, while in support of these all the Volunteers not told off for the defence of ports will be concentrated as rapidly as possible. The National Defence Bill, which I have recently introduced into Parliament, will give us some of the powers which are deemed to be necessary for rapid mobilisation. The points of concentration and the lines to be defended being carefully laid down beforehand in every detail, we have only to take steps to enable that concentration to be as rapid as possible. As regards transport, which is often alleged to be our greatest difficulty, it can, we believe, be fully met for the purposes of home defence by adequate organisation, and without seriously increased expenditure. All the Volunteers not told off to garrisons will be organised in brigades, a brigadier being nominated and made responsible for such preparations as can be made in peace time. It is difficult, of course, absolutely to estimate the number of Volunteers on which we can rely; inasmuch as a prolonged period of anxiety would compel some of the men to return to their civil pursuits; but allowing a liberal margin for such a necessity, and on the other hand remembering the enormous reserve of trained military strength which this country possesses in the Volunteers who have recently passed through the ranks, we have no doubt of the necessary numbers any more than we have of the zeal and efficiency of the force. One important part of the force will consist of the Volunteer Artillery, to which we hope to be able to issue 250 mobile and 80 heavier guns. And if our hope should be realised and this great addition made to the artillery strength of the country there can be no doubt that an enormous step will have been taken towards placing it upon a satisfactory basis. In answer, therefore, to the question which you have put to me, it is a satisfaction to be able to say that I believe we are making some progress in the direction which you desire. You will observe, gentlemen, how largely we are depending upon the patriotism and intelligence of the Volunteers. That force may rest assured that it will be called upon only if, unhappily, any

grave danger to the security of this country is to be apprehended; but I feel absolutely confident that they will loyally co-operate with us in enabling their services to be utilised to the utmost possible extent, if, unhappily, the occasion should arise, by previous organisation. Our danger at the present moment does not lie in want of numbers, but in incomplete preparation, and I venture to make an appeal to you, as members of the House of Commons, to give me your cordial assistance in averting it. There are some, indeed, who seem to take a malicious pleasure in emphasising the pettiest error which must arise in the most perfect administration. The errors and defects of the War Office may have been great, and may have been frequent; but I look to you, and rely upon you, to support the earnest efforts of the Minister who is now addressing you in the difficult task which admittedly lies before him."

Imperial defence, as distinguished from national defence, formed the subject of a series of resolutions moved by Mr. Smith in the House of Commons (May 15). Mr. Smith pointed out the expediency of ratifying the agreement for naval defence made between the Government and the Governments of the Australian colonies. It was proposed to issue out of the Consolidated Fund sums not exceeding 850,000*l.* for building, arming, and completing vessels to add to the Australian squadron, and sums not exceeding 2,600,000*l.* for the defence of certain ports and coaling stations. A million and a half of this sum would be expended on the fortification of the military ports in the Channel and Gibraltar and Malta, which would be ample to put those places in a condition of complete security. The expenditure on the ports would not include the cost of ammunition, which would amount to 900,000*l.*, and would be included in the ordinary Army Estimates. On the first resolution, which ratified the arrangement with the Colonies, Mr. Labouchere strongly objected to the arrangement. Lord G. Hamilton pointed out that it was for the defence of British commerce in Australian waters, and that the ships would remain the property of the British Government, while the Colonies would pay for the maintenance and the annual cost of them. After a desultory conversation the resolution was agreed to by 85 to 37. The next three resolutions, prescribing the method of raising the money, were also agreed to. On the fifth resolution, authorising the issue of 2,600,000*l.* for the defence of the ports and coaling stations, Sir W. Barttelot expressed dissatisfaction at the limited nature of the reference to the Royal Commission on the defences of the country, and commented upon the deficiencies of our naval and military services, especially in the matter of organisation. Mr. E. Stanhope said that every effort was being made to complete the defences both of the military ports and the commercial ports, and if a further outlay should be needed the Government would not hesitate to ask for it in a supplementary vote. Pro-

gress was reported at midnight while the discussion was still proceeding.

Mr. Jesse Collings moved the second reading of the Small Holdings Bill (May 16), observing that the Bill proposed to empower local authorities to acquire land compulsorily for the purpose of reselling it to agricultural labourers and others in small holdings of from one to forty acres, one-fourth of the purchase money to be paid and three-fourths to remain as a permanent mortgage, and constituting a first charge upon the property. The Bill was supported and opposed on both sides of the House, but the debate stood adjourned at half-past five (under the Wednesday rule), and was not resumed during the session. The second reading of the Employers' Liability Bill was moved by Mr. Matthews (May 17), who explained that the Bill would exclude from the definition of common employment those principal managers and agents to whom the employer expressly delegated his authority. Employers and workmen would be allowed to contract out of the Act where a system of insurance against all accidents was established, to which the employer would contribute in the proportion which his liabilities under the Act bore to the whole range of accidents, and the solvency of which he would be required to guarantee. In regard to seamen, the liability of the shipowner would be limited to accidents occurring in a British port. Mr. Broadhurst opposed the doctrine of common employment and objected to workmen being allowed to insure themselves out of the Act and to the limits of compensation, which he characterised as utterly inadequate. Mr. Fenwick also opposed the provision enabling workmen to contract themselves out of the Act. The debate extended over a considerable part of two sittings. The Bill was read a second time (May 18) and was referred to the Standing Committee on Law. The House afterwards adjourned till May 31 for the Whitsuntide vacation. The House of Lords had adjourned two days previously.

In a speech addressed to the Conservative Association of Battersea (May 16) Mr. Balfour replied to Mr. Gladstone's address to the Nonconformist Ministers at the Memorial Hall. He also discussed very fully Mr. Gladstone's strictures on the Irish County Court Judges and the Government in respect of cumulative sentences and of the increase of sentences on appeal. Referring to the last-mentioned subject he said:—"Now, the main contention of the Gladstonian Separatists is this. They say that it may or may not be legal, but it has never happened before, and that it is a monstrous precedent to set. Sir W. Lawson, who is a distinguished member of that party, asked me to provide a return of the cases in which there has been an increase of sentences on appeal, and he asked it in a tone in which a man asks a thing which he does not suppose will be granted, or which he thinks will redound very much to his own credit if it is granted. However, I was for the truth coming out, whatever it might be, and

although I was totally ignorant of any precedents upon the subject, and had no idea whether there had ever been any such cases, I told Sir W. Lawson that he might certainly have his return. Well, the return has rather startled me; and I think it will rather startle him. The result of the return is that the procedure which has been declared by Mr. Gladstone to be unheard of in Ireland, until quite lately, proves to have occurred in every single year of Mr. Gladstone's two Administrations. There has been no year in which there has not been one increase of a sentence on appeal in those Administrations, and I think the number has risen in some years to three or four. The facts are now before Parliament; and yet Mr. Gladstone, knowing that this return was asked for, could not deprive himself of the satisfaction of attacking the Government on this point, even at the risk of being refuted by facts when those facts became known. The facts now are known. I laid the return on the table of the House of Commons to-day. To-morrow Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Harcourt will know that in saying that these County Court Judges acted without precedent they grossly calumniated them. I am curious to see whether Mr. Gladstone or Sir W. Harcourt will have the grace to apologise to these gentlemen." On the question of cumulative sentences Mr. Balfour went on to say:—"I now come to the last topic on which I shall have to engage your attention, and it is the case of what are called cumulative sentences. Under Mr. Gladstone's Crimes Act of 1882, and under the Crimes Act of last year, every man convicted was given a right of appeal provided his sentence was more than a month. If a man was brought up for several offences it is clear that it is in the power of the resident magistrate to give him, let us say, a month for one of the offences and a fortnight for two of the others, making a total term of imprisonment of two months; a term which, though exceeding one month, does not carry the right of appeal because each particular sentence was not more than a month. Now I myself am not prepared to say—I am far from being prepared—I do not think that that is necessarily wrong. I think a County Court Judge should only act in that manner with good reason; but I am not prepared to say that there may not be good reason for cumulative sentences which do not carry with them the right of appeal. That does not appear to be Mr. Gladstone's opinion. I will read to you the moderate and self-contained language in which Mr. Gladstone gave vent to his opinions on this point in the House of Commons.

"He said:—'We find that the first attempt was to evade and nullify this power by cumulative sentences—a trick of the meanest kind, the dishonour and discredit of which I will not attempt to divide between the Government and the authorities in Ireland. There could be nothing more mean and miserable than to descend to such a trick as that, and it is a transaction which should receive the contempt of every honest man—nay,

almost of every dishonest man.' Now, unfortunately for Mr. Gladstone, we found that this 'trick of the meanest kind, the dishonour and discredit of which he was unable to divide between the Government and the authorities in Ireland' was a trick which had been played by Lord Spencer. We found a very remarkable case of a newspaper editor who had received in Lord Spencer's time a cumulative sentence, and this case was quoted in the debate in the House of Commons. What happened? Mr. Gladstone was rather taken aback; but Sir G. Trevelyan, who was in office when the case occurred, got up and said that he knew nothing about it, and that he, quite concurring in the condemnation passed upon it, was quite ready to admit that it was a dreadful thing, which never could have happened if he had known about it. Mr. Gladstone alluded to this incident in the speech at the Memorial Hall. He said:—'A curious incident occurred. Upon inquiry they'—(that is, I)—'discovered that this was not the first time that such a practice had happened in Ireland. They allege that they found—and I am not in a condition to dispute it—that the same thing had been done under Lord Spencer's Government—a thing perfectly possible, not with the knowledge of Lord Spencer, not with the knowledge of Sir G. Trevelyan, not with my knowledge. . . . When such a thing is discovered Sir G. Trevelyan and our friends at once not only declare their want of knowledge of it, but their shame and regret that it should have existed.'

"Now, I have one or two observations to make upon that. Mr. Gladstone appears to think we discovered this solitary instance of the enormity of Lord Spencer's Government by groping among ancient records. This is wholly inaccurate. I knew of it, not because it was a case of cumulative sentence, but because it was a press prosecution. Now a press prosecution is a thing which no Government undertakes, or ought to undertake, without a careful study of all the facts. I was anxious to find out exactly what Lord Spencer did in the matter of the press prosecution, and it was in connection with that prosecution, and nothing else, that I made the accidental discovery of this cumulative sentence. That is the first point. The second point is that it is wholly untrue that Lord Spencer was ignorant of this, and it is absolutely incredible that Sir G. Trevelyan was. I am unwilling to drag Lord Spencer's name into this controversy, for I believe him to be a man of honour, but he is unfortunate in his apologists. I do not know whether he authorised, in an unhappy moment, Mr. Gladstone to make this statement on his behalf. If he did he was most ill-advised, for there could be no question whatever that he was directly cognisant of every fact connected with the case; and I think that it is wholly incredible that Sir G. Trevelyan should be ignorant of it. This, recollect, was a press prosecution. Sir G. Trevelyan had stated in the House of Commons that no press

prosecution could be instituted without Lord Spencer's knowledge and without his knowledge. I therefore conceive that that fact alone makes it difficult to believe that Sir G. Trevelyan was ignorant of this case. Sir G. Trevelyan was in Dublin at the time. The fact that this cumulative sentence had been passed, and the fact that the criminal had asked through his solicitor for an increase of sentence in order that he might appeal, appeared in the account of the transaction given in the *Freeman's Journal*. Are we to suppose that Sir G. Trevelyan was so totally ignorant of what was passing with regard to the most important transaction pending while he was in Dublin as not to notice what occurred in a trial which was reported in the principal Nationalist newspaper in Ireland? But that is not all. I do not know whether any of you recollect the name of a certain Mr. O'Donnell. You will probably hear of it soon enough at all events. Mr. O'Donnell was at the time a very important Parliamentary representative of the Nationalist party, and he wrote a letter to the *Times* against Mr. Gladstone, against the Mr. Gladstone of 1882, which the Mr. Gladstone of 1888 might well envy, because he anticipated the very words in which Mr. Gladstone has criticised this proceeding. He called attention to this very question of the press prosecution, and to the fact that there had been a cumulative sentence, and he said that in his opinion this was evading the right of appeal given by the Act of 1882. Now is it to be credited, taking all this into consideration, that Sir G. Trevelyan did not know of this case? But even that is not all. I told you that I came upon that case purely accidentally. Since Mr. Gladstone has been good enough to describe it as a trick of the meanest kind, dishonourable, miserable, and contemptible, I have made—I will not say anything like a complete investigation, but a few more inquiries, and I find that this was far from being a solitary case. That case was mentioned over and over again; it was mentioned in the *Freeman's Journal*, it was mentioned by Mr. O'Donnell in a letter in the *Times*, and I find that cumulative sentences were given over and over again. Now is it not painful, is it not disgusting, to find men in the position of Mr. Gladstone and Sir G. Trevelyan sheltering themselves behind their bad memories in this way, and, while they are sheltering themselves behind this imaginary ignorance, attacking the unfortunate permanent officials in Ireland who worked for them in 1882? Recollect that Mr. Gladstone, while absolving Lord Spencer and Sir G. Trevelyan, threw the blame on what he called the traditions of Dublin Castle. Surely nothing meaner, nothing more dishonourable, nothing more discreditable, nothing more deserving the contempt of every honest, and almost every dishonest, man was ever done than to hand over those Irish officers, who had served Lord Spencer and Sir G. Trevelyan and Mr. Gladstone faithfully in the most difficult times, to the contempt and the obloquy of an English audience in order that they

might blast the reputation of a political opponent and a political party."

After this forcible answer by Mr. Balfour to Mr. Gladstone's strong charges and imputations, it would seem that Mr. Gladstone was asked by a correspondent for an explanation of the position he had taken. A letter from Mr. Gladstone to "a correspondent," dated May 19, was published, in which the leader of the Opposition complained that when the practice of increasing sentences on appeal and of imposing cumulative sentences was challenged in the House of Commons, the Government gave the Opposition no intimation "that there were precedents for this shameful practice." He added: "We are now, however late, informed that the same thing has been done in former years when with my political friends I was in power. It was without our knowledge, and it is with knowledge in matters of executive action that responsibility begins." It is to be observed that Mr. Gladstone did not attempt to meet, otherwise than by this assertion, the case of constructive knowledge made out by Mr. Balfour against Lord Spencer and Sir G. Trevelyan. It is noteworthy also that on May 19 he had apparently forgotten the frank avowal which he made in the House of Commons on April 24. He then said, as we have already set forth: "I entirely agree that if there was a similar act done during our Government I personally am completely put out of court, and can have no right to make any charge against the present Government. That I beg to say in the most explicit manner." From the tenor of this letter to a correspondent, in which there was no withdrawal of the charge of trickery, and of mean, discreditable, and dishonourable conduct urged against the Government, it was evident that Mr. Gladstone did not, at a date less than a month after the voluntary avowal in Parliament, consider himself "put out of court" by the revelations of the acts of his own Government.

CHAPTER IV.

The Southampton Election—Mr. Gladstone on the Southampton Election—Birmingham Liberal-Unionist Association—Mr. Labouchere on Foreign Policy—Trustee Savings Banks—Imperial Defence Resolutions—Contagious Diseases Acts (India)—Sir William Harcourt on Mr. Jesse Collings and the Liberal-Unionists—Banquet to Mr. Jesse Collings—Local Government Bill in Committee—Clergy Discipline Bill—Transference of Civil Servants—The Libel Law Amendment Bill—Death of the Emperor Frederick—Addresses of Condolence from both Houses of Parliament—Dinner to the Irish Parliamentary Party—Ayr Election—Letters by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Chamberlain—Life Peers Bill—Local Government Bill: further Progress in Committee—Supply and the Army Estimates—Motion for Scotch Disestablishment—Vote of Censure in respect of the Irish Administration—Channel Tunnel Bill—Companies' Bill—National Defences—Lord Rosebery on Scottish Home Rule and Irish Representation at Westminster—Sir William Harcourt on the Bye-Elections—Thanet Election—Mr. Gladstone at Hampstead—Irish Drainage Bills—Mr. Conybeare's Suspension—Local Government Bill again—Oaths Bill—O'Donnell *versus* the *Times*—Personal Explanation by Mr. Parnell—Application for a Select Committee Refused—Charges and Allegations Bill—Personalities and other Features of the Debates—Discussion on Irish Affairs in the House of Lords—Vote of Confidence carried *nem. con.* on the Motion of the Duke of Argyll—Local Government Bill and Charges and Allegations Bill in the House of Lords—Sir George Trevelyan's Answer to the Duke of Argyll—Mr. Gladstone at Sir Wilfrid Lawson's—Other Political Speeches—Banquet to Ministers at the Mansion House—Mr. Morley at Nocton Park.

THE chief event of the Whitsuntide recess was the election (May 29) of a member for Southampton, in place of Admiral Commerell, resigned. The candidates were Mr. F. H. Evans, Gladstonian Liberal, and Mr. A. E. Guest, Conservative. Both candidates were local men, and represented local interests. Mr. Evans was deputy-chairman of the Union Steamship Company, in connection with which, at the time of the election, he was endeavouring to establish direct steam communication between Southampton and New York; and Mr. Guest was a director of the South-Western Railway Co., and in that character had, it was alleged, caused the Didcot Railway to stop at Winchester instead of being carried on to Southampton. Politics apart—and in this contest politics were kept almost wholly apart—Mr. Evans had very much stronger claims on the constituency than his opponent. But while neither Home Rule nor any other strictly political question influenced the election, the questions raised by the Licensing Clauses of the Local Government Bill had much to do with the result of the contest. These clauses, and especially the recognition of a legal vested interest in a public-house licence, had aroused much adverse feeling throughout the country, and that not only among organised teetotallers, but on the part of moderate men generally of all parties. The election for Southampton was taken advantage of to test the public feeling on the subject. Mr. Evans was returned by a majority of 885 over his opponent, and, while his return was largely due to his

stronger local claims, it was admittedly also due in a considerable degree to the unpopularity of Mr. Ritchie's Licensing Clauses.

Mr. Gladstone practically admitted this in an address which he delivered to a party of tourists from Rochdale at Hawarden (May 26). A day or two later, at Birmingham (May 29), Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that in 1880 Mr. Gladstone declared in favour of compensation in cases where a licence that had not been forfeited by any abuse was to be cancelled for the public benefit. He put the case of the licence-holders somewhat tersely as follows:—"When any legitimate interests, which had been brought into existence with the sanction of the Legislature, were interfered with on public grounds, it was the duty of the community to compensate those whose interest was disturbed."

On the previous day (May 28) Mr. Chamberlain accepted the presidency of the newly founded Birmingham Liberal-Unionist Association, which took the place of the old "Caucus," that organisation having fallen into desuetude from the acceptance by the population of Birmingham generally of the principles of the Liberal-Unionists. Mr. Chamberlain declared that the present Government had placed the Irish tenants in a more favourable position than that of any other tenantry on the face of the globe. Alluding to the success of the Government in putting down crime in Ireland, and to the welcome intervention of the Pope by the condemnation of boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, he said that the moment was a propitious one for considering what might further be done for Ireland, and done with safety. He recommended large Government measures for fostering the development of the country by drainage and improved modes of communication; a final dealing with the land question in the sense of a purchase measure; and then, but not till then, a liberal increase of local government.

The House of Commons reassembled after the Whitstuntide recess (May 31) and at once went into Committee of Supply, several Civil Service votes being carried. The sitting was largely appropriated, however, by Mr. Labouchere, who condemned the retention of Suakin, criticised the action of the Government as regarded Eastern Africa, asked for an explanation of some alleged negotiations committing this country to the Powers composing the Triple Alliance, and raised the question of the refusal of the Government to take part in the French Exhibition of next year, which he characterised as "boycotting the Republic of France." Sir J. Fergusson replied that Suakin was governed by the Egyptians and not by this country. He asserted that the Government had made no engagements with foreign Powers which were not known to the House and the country; while Mr. Smith protested warmly that the relations of the Government with France were of a very cordial nature. Mr. Howell called attention (June 1) to the position of trustee savings banks, contending that the relationship between those banks and the State

was unsatisfactory and ought to be revised. The use of the words "Government security," "Government savings banks," or of other words implying more than the law authorises, was, he said, calculated to deceive depositors, to create a false impression of security and to damage the cause of thrift; and he urged, moreover, that the managers of such banks should, as formerly, be made responsible for the safe custody of deposits committed to their care. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, recognising the importance of the question as affecting the working classes, maintained that it would be a great misfortune if any undue alarm were created in the minds of depositors as to the solvency of these banks. Criticising the terms of the resolution, he admitted that there was much that was unsatisfactory in savings bank management, but the Government could not assent to make trustees liable for defalcations, as such a provision would defeat its own object by preventing substantial men from accepting the position. He suggested that the motion should be negatived, and promised an inquiry into the operation of the Act of 1863, and all the questions raised in the resolution, which, he said, should be of the fullest and broadest character. After this undertaking the motion was negatived without a division.

On the adjourned debate on Mr. W. H. Smith's Imperial Defence Resolutions (June 4) Lord C. Beresford said that improved organisation was wanted, and opposed additional expenditure until it was ascertained what standard of efficiency was necessary. He maintained that the navy was not adequate to the defence of our commerce on the seas, and contrasted it unfavourably with the French navy in respect of fast cruisers. Lord G. Hamilton pointed out that to provide 140 cruisers would necessitate an outlay of twenty-one millions and an annual additional expenditure of over four millions. Discussing the possibilities of an invasion, he stated that to transport 100,000 men would take 480,000 tons. Her Majesty's Government believed that an increase of strength in the Navy would be effectually realised by the programme which they were pursuing. After a protracted debate the resolution authorising the expenditure of 2,600,000*l.* on coaling stations was carried on a division by 206 to 85. The next resolution, authorising the raising of the money by loan at 3 per cent. interest, was carried by 216 to 136. On the next following resolution, providing that from and after the year 1894 all dividends received in respect of the Suez Canal shares, after the payment of the bonds issued for the purchase of the shares, should be applied in paying off the loan, Mr. Bradlaugh called in question the value of the shares as a security, having regard to the terms on which they were held and the cost to this country of protecting the Canal by the occupation of Egypt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer insisted that they were a valuable security, their actuarial value at the present time being 9,800,000*l.*, and appealed to the House to allow the resolution to

be passed ; but Sir G. Campbell spoke against it until midnight, when the Chairman left the chair. A debate of some importance occurred (June 5) on the Contagious Diseases and Cantonment Acts in India. Mr. M'Laren called attention to the operation of the Acts, and, after describing in detail the regulations in force under them, moved a resolution affirming that the suspension of the regulations was insufficient and insisting on the repeal of the Acts. Sir J. Gorst stated that if the Council of the Governor-General thought fit to repeal the Acts altogether, the Secretary of State would acquiesce in that course, but he deprecated any interference by the House with the legislative independence of the Council. The resolution was, however, agreed to without a division. The Libel Law Amendment Bill was considered in Committee (June 6), and several clauses intended to relieve newspaper proprietors and editors from liability in certain cases of libel were adopted.

Speaking at Golcar, near Huddersfield (June 2), Sir Wm. Harcourt made an attack on Mr. Jesse Collings and on the Unionists who had resisted the refusal of the Allotments Association to re-elect Mr. Collings as its chairman. He alleged that Mr. Collings's Unionist supporters were bound to support his Small Holdings Bill also, and he taunted the Liberal-Unionists with refusing to join the Government. They were their servants, he said, but afraid to wear the Tory livery. A day or two afterwards (June 5) a banquet was given to Mr. Jesse Collings by the Liberal Union Club, Lord Hartington presiding. In proposing Mr. Collings's health Lord Hartington dwelt with marked emphasis on the shabby treatment Mr. Collings had received from the Gladstonian Liberals, who had turned him out of his position as president of the Allotments Association because they wanted to manipulate the association on behalf of the Home Rule movement. Replying to Sir Wm. Harcourt, Lord Hartington disclaimed the imputed obligation to adopt the principles of the Small Holdings Bill. Mr. Chamberlain made a further reply to Sir Wm. Harcourt. It was not the agricultural labourer, he said, who specially interested Sir Wm. Harcourt ; adding, "There is another body of unskilled workmen at present out of a job who lay their loss of remunerative employment entirely at the door of the Liberal-Unionist party."

On the House of Commons going into Committee on the Local Government Bill (June 8) Sir Henry James moved an addition to Clause 1 providing that boroughs containing 50,000 inhabitants should be included in the fourth schedule to the Bill and be constituted as counties of themselves. Mr. Ritchie expressed the willingness of the Government to assent to the principle of the amendment, which he suggested should be carried out by a separate clause. The clause was then agreed to. An amendment to Clause 2 enabling clergymen and other ministers of religion to be county councillors was agreed to. Mr.

Stansfeld moved an amendment (June 11) requiring all councillors to be elective. The amendment was supported by Mr. Gladstone, but was negatived by 250 to 214. At the same sitting an amendment providing that the selected members of the councils should be called "county aldermen" was agreed to. We have already referred to the opposition aroused by the Licensing Clauses of the Local Government Bill. These clauses were considered at a meeting of Liberal Unionist members of Parliament immediately after the Bill went into Committee, and it was determined to ask the Government to abandon them. Representations to that effect were afterwards made to the Government on behalf of the meeting, and this circumstance, together with the general manifestation of feeling on the subject throughout the country, induced the Government to drop the clauses. Mr. Ritchie announced (June 12) that they would not be proceeded with. An amendment to Clause 2 introducing a system of proportional representation was moved by Sir John Lubbock and negatived by 372 to 94, while an amendment for payment of the travelling expenses of members, moved at the same sitting (and further discussed June 24), was negatived by 248 to 199. An amendment constituting the chairman of a county council an *ex-officio* justice of the peace, whether he possessed the proper qualification or not, was agreed to (June 14 and Clause 2 was carried.

The House of Lords reassembled on June 4, but no business of public importance was dealt with for several days. On the question of the third reading of the Clergy Discipline Bill (June 12) the Archbishop of York strongly opposed the measure on the ground of its arbitrary character, and because no appeal to a superior court was permitted to a clergyman condemned on matters of fact. The Bill was, however, read a third time and passed, and sent to the Commons, where it was read a first time (June 14) and was not further proceeded with.

In the intervals when it was not making progress with the Local Government Bill the House of Commons was occupied with business of somewhat minor importance. Mr. Jennings called attention (June 22) to alleged abuses connected with the reorganisation in public offices, and especially referred to the reorganisations in the department of the Accountant-General and the Secretary of the Admiralty, which he maintained had been injurious to the public interests. He moved a resolution providing that in any further reorganisation officials who were still able to render service to the State should be transferred to other departments. Mr. Childers justified the reorganisation, while Lord George Hamilton stated that the work of the Admiralty could be done with a less staff, and that reductions could be made by which 40,000*l.* might be saved. The motion was fully discussed, and was carried by 113 to 94. The Libel Law Amendment Bill was considered in Committee (June 18);

the remaining clauses were approved, and the Bill passed through Committee. The Customs (Wine Duty) Bill, which imposed a duty of two shillings and sixpence per gallon on wines above 30s. a dozen in price, and one shilling on wines of less value—the duty being limited to sparkling wines—was read a second time (June 14). The Bill passed through Committee without amendment, and was read a third time and passed (June 21).

The illness of the Emperor Frederick of Germany, which, during the latter part of May and the early part of June appeared to take a milder form—insomuch that hopes of his Majesty's partial recovery, if not of his complete restoration to health, began to be entertained—suddenly developed very grave symptoms towards the middle of June. Disquieting rumours were mentioned in the House of Commons (June 14), when Mr. Smith stated that no intelligence had been received from Berlin during the day. A little later, however, he announced that a telegram had just been received affirming that inflammation of the lungs had set in, and that no hopes of his Majesty's recovery were entertained. The Emperor's death occurred on the following day, and the fact was notified to each House of Parliament amid expressions of sympathy and regret. Addresses of condolence to the Queen and the Empress Frederick were moved in each House (June 18).

In moving the address in the House of Lords, after some introductory remarks, Lord Salisbury said:—"My lords, her Majesty may well feel the deepest grief at the loss that has overtaken her. Grief at a bereavement, at a loss, is proportionate to the expectations that have been legitimately formed; and never were expectations formed more sanguinely or with more apparent justification than the expectations which attended the future career of the Emperor who is borne to his grave to-day. It seems as though there was accumulated upon his head every possible qualification for a life of glorious, splendid, and peaceful usefulness. Great experience, true aptitude, and courage in war, high reputation for culture and for knowledge in the arts of peace, a deep and well-understood sympathy for all the highest and best aspirations of his people, the support of a consort never surpassed in her ability or in her affection and constant enthusiasm for right—all these things seemed to fit him for a career of power and splendid capacity for good, a career that might well have been as prolonged as that of his illustrious father. All these expectations have been dashed by an inscrutable decree. We can only bow to it, and offer our deep sympathy to his royal relatives for their deep loss, and to the Government and people of Germany for the bereavement of a ruler upon whom such high hopes were set. But even with his short reign he has left an example that we may cherish. He has shown under circumstances of singular trial the indomitable spirit by which his race has made the greatness of Germany and its own. He has

shown a steady courage which even a fell disease could never daunt, and a devotion to his duty in circumstances which would have led meaner natures to the abandonment of all hope. He died at his post with the devotion of a soldier, under circumstances which gave none of the encouragement that lightens the soldier's fall. He has left an example which may be of most precious value, not only to sovereigns and those who may follow him, but to all sorts and conditions of men, and it is with a feeling that we are performing no act of mere formality in rendering homage to one of the highest and noblest natures that ever adorned the throne that I move the addresses that I have now the honour of laying on the table."

Mr. Gladstone, in seconding the Address in the House of Commons, which was moved by Mr. W. H. Smith, spoke as follows:—"I am sure that every man among us feels that on this occasion we are discharging very much more than a formal duty, and, in truth, if we did not entertain that sentiment we should differ from the whole of Europe and the entire civilised world. I greatly doubt whether there has ever been a case in which one so exalted in rank and station as was the late Emperor has had such claims—I will not say merely upon the admiration, but upon the sympathy and pity of the world. Sir, it is touching to reflect on the enhancements of that great trial—the circumstances under which it occurred, the peculiar slowness and certainty of the disease, the extreme strength of constitution of the sufferer, and the great advance in the resources of medical science which, aided by its most skilful professors, permitted a considerable but unavailing prolongation of life which we ventured to hope might lead to recovery, but which was, in truth, but an addition to suffering. Our recollections of the Emperor Frederick reach back for a long period of years, for it was in the first period of his happy marriage that he made a deep impression upon the minds of the people of England, and they felt that their interest in him was a personal interest, not only because of his association with our beloved Sovereign, but also on account of the qualities which he displayed in early life—the high intelligence, the wonderful simplicity and gentleness of character, the kindness which laid him open to the access of all men; and those as time went on were destined to be followed up by fresh displays of the qualities I have stated. When he came back to this country after the war of 1870 it was impossible not to be profoundly struck with the fact that, after he had shown that in skill and valour he was worthy to take his place among the heroes of the world, he still displayed in a peculiar degree all the modesty of his youth. It seemed as if all were conscious of these facts but himself. His character remained precisely as it was before he had had an opportunity of manifesting to the world the claims he was so well entitled to make upon its admiration. Sir, there may be a disposition to regret that the reign of the

Emperor Frederick was too short for the display of the qualities of the ruler, but there is another view which, I think, will change that into thankfulness. The circumstances attending his ascent to the throne made him still more conspicuous to the eyes of the world, and I have no doubt caused a yet deeper impression of the invaluable qualities of his mind and character both upon the German people and upon mankind at large. If there was a high estimate formed of him before he became Emperor, it was fully realised by those wise views of the condition of Europe which were at the very earliest date made known to the German people and the nations around. So far as human sorrow can be alleviated, either by the expression of sympathy or by glorious recollections or by yet more glorious hopes, all that consolation will be enjoyed by those who are now mourning over the death of the German Emperor. But one thing remains to those, and it is this—the recollection of his great qualities, of his singular union of wisdom with virtue and with valour, his known attachment to the liberties of his country, and his respect for its constitution—all those winning qualities, and a fortitude greater in degree than that of many a soldier, and, perhaps, of many a martyr—all those things constitute a great and noble inheritance for the German people; and we trust that that great nation will treasure the recollection of the Emperor whom they have lost as among the most precious possessions that can fall to the lot of any people upon earth.”

The Irish Parliamentary party were entertained at dinner by Mr. Parnell (June 13) in honour of those of their members who had undergone imprisonment under the Crimes Act. The occasion was chiefly noteworthy for the omission from the toast list of the toast of “The Queen.” The first toast was that of “Ireland, a Nation.” This was proposed by Mr. Sexton, who said that it was an avowal of determination and hope, and that he gave it as a man who shared with them that determination and hope on behalf of the cause to which they had given the service of their lives, of the cause which, he trusted, they would endeavour to serve, whether it were militant or triumphant, so long as life remained. Mr. Parnell, in proposing the toast of “Our Guests,” declared that, as Mr. Forster had failed to put down the Land League, Mr. Balfour would fail to put down the National League. He described both those organisations as constitutional movements, and spoke of the second of them as being invincible and unconquerable. Mr. Dillon, who responded to the toast, charged Mr. Balfour with making a distinction in the treatment accorded to various classes of prisoners, two Roman Catholic priests, in an instance to which he referred, having been sentenced as first-class misdemeanants, while an Irish member of Parliament, for the same offence, was sentenced as a common felon. For this alleged unfairness Mr. Dillon denounced Mr. Balfour as “a coward and a dastard.” The only

remaining toast, except that of the chairman, was "America and Australia," the entire sympathy of both of which countries Mr. Parnell claimed to possess.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in an article upon this entertainment, made the following remarks:—"Mr. Parnell's banquet last night to the Parnellites was a very interesting function. It was interesting alike for its host, for its guests, and for the harmony between them. From each point of view it marks a stage in the advance of the Party. Hitherto Mr. Parnell's ascendancy over his colleagues has been largely due to the *hauteur* with which he treated them. Many tales—more or less authentic—are told of him in this connection, of which the following is perhaps as instructive as any. One of the more ardent spirits of the Party, fresh from a success in the House, ran to his leader to announce the good news. 'We've won, Parnell, we've won; we've——' 'Mr. Parnell, if you please,' was the Irish leader's only response. But last night he was 'hail fellow well met' with his followers. He is now so sure of his ascendancy, that is, that he can afford to unbend."

Considerable political excitement was occasioned at this time by the bye-election for the Ayr Burghs, consequent on the death of Mr. R. F. F. Campbell, the former member. Mr. Campbell was a Liberal Unionist, and was returned at the General Election of 1886 by a majority of 1,175 over Captain Sinclair, a Gladstonian Liberal. The seat was naturally regarded as a tolerably safe one for the Liberal Unionists, but a strong effort was made by the Gladstonians to secure it—an effort vigorously met by the other side. But the Liberal Unionists were placed at a disadvantage by the fact that their candidate, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, was a stranger to the constituency, while Mr. Sinclair, the Gladstonian candidate, had local claims. Moreover, Mr. Campbell had been the most popular Liberal in the district, and had been returned so triumphantly for personal rather than political reasons. Mr. Sinclair was now elected (June 16) by a majority of 53 over Mr. Evelyn Ashley. The contest was marked by a public correspondence, begun by Mr. Gladstone, who, in a letter to a local correspondent, charged the Liberal Unionists with having supported "coercion" in Ireland, and refused local government to that country until it should have surrendered its national aspirations, in breach of their election pledges. Lord Hartington replied to these charges in a letter addressed to the honorary secretary of the West of Scotland Liberal Association. Lord Hartington wrote:—"With reference to coercion, I believe that the position of Liberal Unionists generally was very similar to that which I took up in my address to my constituents in 1886. In that address, while I denied that coercion was the necessary alternative to Home Rule, I admitted that there was a point at which any Government might be compelled to resort to measures which might be described as coercive, and I did not

limit this necessity to what Mr. Gladstone calls an outburst or excess of crime. When systematic resistance to and defiance of the law are resorted to by a political party for the purpose of obtaining political or social objects I consider that the necessity which I described has arisen. On the question of local government Mr. Gladstone has more than once attributed to me certain declarations, on the authority, as I believe, of a speech made by Lord Spencer. It would be more satisfactory if Mr. Gladstone would quote my own declarations in my own words. So far as I am aware, I have never said anything to indicate that I consider the renunciation of national aspirations by the Irish people to be the necessary condition for the extension of local institutions in Ireland. I have spoken of the necessity for a clear and final decision on the question whether the reform of the government of Ireland is or is not to be based on the principle of the recognition of a separate Irish nationality by the creation of a separate Irish Parliament, and I have asserted that as a preliminary to the extension of local liberties the supremacy of the law ought to be re-established. But, far from desiring the abandonment of national aspirations by the Irish people, I have repeatedly pointed out that in the case of Scotland the strongest national sentiments, and even distinct national sentiments and distinct national institutions and laws, are compatible with the maintenance of Imperial legislative authority and one Executive Government."

Mr. Chamberlain also took part in the correspondence. In a letter to the secretary of the Ayr Radical Union he wrote:—"It is untrue that the Liberal Unionists, as a Party, or any of them as far as I know, have pledged themselves against such strengthening of the law as may be necessary to secure its due and equal observance in all parts of the United Kingdom. It is also untrue that the Liberal Unionists as a Party, or any of them, have declared that they will not agree to an extension of local government in Ireland until Ireland has renounced her national aspirations. By Ireland Mr. Gladstone really means the political faction which takes its pay and its policy from the enemies of this country. But even in this limited sense his statement is inaccurate. For myself, I have always been ready, without the least reference to this section, to concede to Ireland in principle the same measure of local government which I desire to see granted to England and Scotland. But I have maintained, in accordance with the views expressed by Mr. Gladstone's colleagues, Lord Spencer and Mr. Morley, that the settlement of the land question must precede or accompany this concession if it is not to be productive of great injustice and possibly of civil strife."

In the House of Lords (June 18) Lord Salisbury presented a Bill dealing with the constitution of the House, the provisions of which were directed to the creation of life peers and to the ex-

pulsion from the House of members guilty of discreditable practices. He explained that in the opinion of the Government the privilege of creating life peers ought to be guarded, as it was one much more likely to be abused by a Ministry than was that of the creation of hereditary peers. The Bill proposed that Her Majesty should have power to create by letters patent peers for life, but that no more than five life peers should be created in any one year, and that there should be no more than fifty of them at any one time. There would be two categories, out of one of which three life peers and out of the other of which two life peers might be created in a year. The first included persons who had been for two years judges of a superior court in any part of the United Kingdom, persons of at least the rank of rear-admiral or major-general, ambassadors extraordinary, persons who had been five years governor-generals or governors in any part of Her Majesty's dominions outside the United Kingdom, or lieutenant-governors in India. The second category embraced all persons not included in the first whom Her Majesty might think fit to create life peers for special merit. As to black sheep among the members of that House, he doubted that the evil existed to the extent which some persons supposed, but as it did exist the Bill gave power to the Sovereign, on an address from the House of Lords, to deprive any peer of his right to receive a writ of summons. It, however, enabled Her Majesty, on the advice of her Ministers, to again issue a writ of summons to a peer who had been expelled, and thus to restore him to that position of which he had been deprived.

The Bill was read a first time after a debate in which it was somewhat coldly received, the opinion being generally expressed that it was too limited in its scope; and that opinion was reflected in the criticisms of the press. It was read a second time on July 10, but was not carried to any further stage.

On the Local Government Bill being again considered in Committee of the House of Commons (June 15), Mr. Heneage moved an amendment to Clause 3 transferring the control of the police and the appointment of Chief Constable to the County Councils. Sir W. Barttelot contended that, as the magistrates were responsible for the maintenance of law and order, it would be dangerous to deprive them of the supervision of the police. After much discussion the amendment was negatived by 264 to 218. An amendment to omit the sub-section of Clause 3, which transferred to the County Councils the power of hearing appeals relating to the licensing of gang-masters, and to the granting of pawnbrokers' certificates, was agreed to (June 18) by 246 to 171, while an amendment transferring the visitations of prisons to the County Councils was negatived by 259 to 187. Clause 3 was then agreed to, as were also Clauses 4, 5, and 6. Clause 7 was carried (June 19) after an amendment, moved by Sir W. Barttelot, for continuing the sole control of the police in the

hands of the magistrates had been defeated, and one moved by Mr. J. Morley, depriving Quarter Sessions of the appointment of Chief Constable, and transferring the entire management of the police to the joint committee, had been agreed to. On Clause 8, which proposed to transfer to the County Councils the powers of certain Government departments and other authorities, Mr. Chaplin moved an amendment, which was accepted by Mr. Ritchie, requiring those powers to be transferred by Order in Council. The amendment was debated in two sittings, and was carried (June 22) by 306 to 224. Amendments definitely excluding School Boards and Boards of Guardians were agreed to. After Clause 8 had been approved (June 28), Mr. Ritchie moved the omission of Clause 9, which gave powers to the County Councils as to the closing of public-houses on Sundays and certain other days. The retention of the clause was strongly advocated by members of the Gladstonian Opposition, but the Solicitor-General pointed out that, as the other licensing clauses had been withdrawn, this must also be relinquished, and the clause was negatived by 275 to 213. Clauses 10 and 14 (dealing with licensing questions) were then struck out. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the Government to retain Clause 10, transferring to the County Councils the power to grant public-house licences, but Mr. Ritchie said that it was impossible for the Government to recede from their determination. Clause 15 (after being amended) and Clause 16 were agreed to (June 29).

Among the miscellaneous business done by the House of Commons, the Libel Law Amendment Bill was considered on the report stage (June 20), when a new clause for the consolidation of actions brought by one person was agreed to, and several amendments were adopted. The Bill was read a third time and passed (June 24). In Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates (June 21), Mr. Hanbury moved to reduce the vote for stores by 1,000*l.* as a protest against the system under which bad and defective stores were passed into the Government departments at Woolwich. Mr. E. Stanhope admitted that the system had been lamentable, but steps had been taken to improve it. Every precaution would be taken to prevent Government work being given to sweaters. After discussion the vote was negatived by 131 to 95: majority 36. On the vote for Ordnance Factories, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman urged the Government to give more work to private firms, to which Mr. E. Stanhope replied that the Government would employ private firms as far as possible. Mr. Fowler protested against the vote being proceeded with until the evidence taken before the Select Committee on Naval and Military Accounts with respect to the Ordnance Department was published. Lord R. Churchill also complained of the accounts, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who admitted the reasonableness of Mr. Fowler's protest, moved to report progress, but after some dis-

cussion the motion was withdrawn and the vote postponed. Dr. Cameron (June 22) moved a resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Esslemont, affirming the expediency of disestablishing and disendowing the Church of Scotland. He asserted that the Established Church did not number half the population, and that its churches were much fewer than those maintained by the Free Church and the United Presbyterians. By one of these bodies connexion between Church and State was considered sinful and unscriptural, and a large majority of the Scotch people looked upon it as unjust and inexpedient. As to disendowment, he maintained that Parliament had undeniable authority over the greater portion of the endowments, while, as to teinds, they were national property, and should be applied to national purposes. What these purposes should be he regarded as a matter for future consideration; at present, he said, all he desired Parliament to do was to affirm the principle. The Solicitor-General for Scotland contended that Dr. Cameron had made out no case for disestablishment, and especially commented on the absence of any alternative scheme, without which, he maintained, it was absurd to consider the question. Statistics proved that the Church of Scotland had never been stronger in the affections of the people, and it had always done everything in its power to remedy abuses, to do away with everything in the nature of prejudice, and to make itself as comprehensive as possible. Dealing with the political side of the question, he taunted Mr. Gladstone with his silence on the subject, and characterised the motion as a move for political advantage on the part of aspiring politicians. Sir George Trevelyan supported the motion, and emphasised the unfairness of applying funds that belonged to the nation to the advantage of one sect. The motion was negatived by 260 to 208.

A discussion on the administration of the Crimes Act, which occupied two sittings, was initiated by Mr. John Morley (June 25), who, pursuant to notice, moved a vote of censure upon the Government. He declared that "coercion" had failed, and taunted the Government with being the dupes of the Irish loyalists. He protested against the conviction of Mr. Dillon, and repudiated the existence of conspiracy. Finally he insisted that the decisions of the resident magistrates proved them to be wanting in common-sense, and incapable of administering either law or equity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, remarking that the existence of a conspiracy was practically not denied by the Irish members. He showed by reference to statistics that, as the result of the policy of the Government, boycotting and agrarian outrages had greatly diminished, murderers had been brought to justice, and the Plan of Campaign had been broken, while there was other evidence to show that great progress had been made in restoring the supremacy of the law. Mr. Gladstone (June 26)

complained of the systematic refusal of the Government to furnish the House with accurate information, and commented upon the issue of a proclamation for the purpose of depriving Mr. Dillon of the right to be tried by a jury, the infliction upon him of the maximum sentence, and the requirement that he should wear the prison dress. Discussing the Killeagh case, he said the statement that there was ample evidence of conspiracy was directly opposed to the facts, and asked whether the convicting magistrates were still to be allowed to continue to administer the Coercion Act. Mr. Balfour maintained that the Government had used all diligence in furnishing such information as could properly be given. With regard to Mr. Dillon, he was subjected to the ordinary treatment of an ordinary prisoner for an ordinary offence. Referring to the Killeagh case, he censured Mr. Gladstone's charge against the resident magistrates, and said that he had no intention of dismissing either of them. As to the assertion that there was no evidence of conspiracy against the prisoners, Baron Dowse in his judgment had declared that there was ample evidence of conspiracy at common law. The experiment which the present Government had initiated to restore law and order had already succeeded beyond their expectation. The motion was negatived by 366 to 273.

Sir Edward Watkin moved the second reading of the Channel Tunnel Bill (June 27), and Sir M. Hicks-Beach moved to postpone the reading for six months. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in support of the Bill, and explaining his reasons for changing his opinion, remarked that the opposition of his Government to the tunnel was not on the merits or the principle of the scheme, but was one of time only. Tracing the history of the scheme from 1865, when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was first approached on the subject, he said Lord Palmerston's Government merely refused to guarantee the tunnel without in any way opposing its construction, and the Government which followed took the same view. He next reviewed the history of our relations with France during the present century, contending that there was less likelihood of a French invasion now than there had ever been, and he denied that there was any need to entertain apprehension for the safety of the English end of the tunnel. Military men, who, he said, had not always been against it, opposed it on engineering grounds only, and their political objections were only of recent date. Too much reliance, he argued, ought not to be placed upon their views, and, as he believed the commercial advantages of the tunnel would be enormous, and that the military objections had been over-stated, he should support the second reading. Sir E. Hamley pointed out that no new argument had been advanced in support of the proposal, except the one that if France could invade us by the tunnel we could also invade France; but this was met by the fact that

France could bring against us ten men for every one of ours, and he maintained that, even if it was impossible for a foreign invader to obtain possession of the English end of the tunnel, it would not be impossible for the enemies we had at home to seize it. As regarded Mr. Gladstone's conversion to the scheme, he denied that it was based upon adequate information. After some further discussion the amendment was carried by 307 to 165. The depressed condition of agriculture in Wales was discussed (June 29) on a motion by Mr. T. Ellis urging the Government to take steps to secure fairer conditions of tenure, and a readjustment of rent more equitably corresponding to the fall of prices. The motion was debated at some length, and was ultimately negatived by 146 to 128.

The House of Lords read the Companies Bill a second time (June 28), the Bill having been introduced on June 14 by the Lord Chancellor, after a discussion in which it was urged by some noble lords that the Bill created needless difficulties. It was considered in Committee (July 17), and reported as amended (July 26), but did not proceed further. The subject of the defences of the country was again discussed in the House of Lords (June 29) on a motion by the Earl of Wemyss to resolve "That, having regard to the recent statements of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, of the Adjutant-General, and of high naval authorities as to our defective armaments, and having also regard to the increased armaments of foreign nations on sea and land, this House welcomes the proposal of Her Majesty's Government for an increase of our defensive means, and confidently looks to their forthwith taking such further measures as will give ample security to our Empire and just confidence to the country." Lord Wolseley, recurring to the subject of invasion, contended that 150,000 or 160,000 tons would be amply sufficient to transport 100,000 men, and that France had in her ports ample tonnage for the purpose, and could collect and ship 100,000 men in one night. Lord Harris detailed at some length the steps taken by the War Department of the present Government to strengthen the national defences at distant stations and at home. The Duke of Cambridge said he believed there existed the danger that if war broke out England might not be able to hold her own among other nations. The Earl of Northbrook asserted that at no time since the introduction of armour-plating was our Navy in a better condition as compared with the navies of other nations than it was at that moment. Earl Granville asked for a declaration as to the intention of the Government with respect to Dover Harbour. The Marquis of Salisbury stated that the works at Dover must be postponed in favour of those of greater importance elsewhere. As regarded invasion, it would be impossible for France to get 100,000 men to a port opposite to this country without news here as to her preparations, for which the ordinary traffic of her rail-

ways must be put out of gear. England must lose the command of the Channel to make an invasion possible. The resolution was then formally agreed to. The Trade Marks Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords (June 29), and passed its third reading, and went to the Commons (July 23).

Lord Rosebery addressed a meeting at Inverness, called by the Liberal Association of that burgh (June 14). Treating principally of the question of Home Rule, he made a noteworthy allusion to the proposed demand of Home Rule for Scotland. Having premised that "any considerable amelioration of the landed population of the country—the population that lives by and on the land"—must be sought in a great measure by the extension of local government, he proceeded to say:—"In regard to local government, I come on to another Scottish question, which is alluded to in one of your later resolutions. I am inclined to think that local government in Scotland should precede any form of Scottish Home Rule which may be considered desirable to adopt upon reflection. I think you will admit, gentlemen, those of you who have heard my name before, that I am not backward in asserting the claims of Scottish nationality. But this is a question which it is not wise to associate too much with that of Irish Home Rule. Each question, in my humble opinion, should be dealt with on its merits. In the first place, the question of Irish Home Rule has been before the country for not less than ninety years. It has been before the country ever since the Irish Parliament has been abolished; and it cannot be said of the question of Scottish Home Rule that it has come up before us, except in these latter days, in a somewhat immature form." Lord Rosebery went on to enforce wider differences between Scotland and Ireland in respect of the question of Home Rule. He spoke of Ireland as being further removed from Great Britain than France is, while it "is inhabited by a race not less distinct from our own than the French." "The vast majority of the inhabitants," he added, "adhere to a form of religion which predominates in France, but does not prevail in this country. Consider that analogy for a moment. Consider what would have happened if we had retained Calais and we had endeavoured to govern Calais on the principles on which we govern Ireland, with an absolute disregard of the wishes of the country, and a Government purely and entirely located in London. I venture to think that that would have been impossible."

Lord Rosebery also expressed some novel opinions as to the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. He spoke as follows:—"Now take the case of preserving the 103 Irish members just as they are at present—that they may sit at all times, on all questions, at all seasons. How would that work? I do not think it is possible to conceive that these Irish members would be able to attend the House of Commons with any regularity. I think they would be engaged in settling their own local

affairs in the Dublin legislature. There is no superabundant supply of public men in Ireland more than there is in other parts of the kingdom, and I suspect that the public men of Ireland would be chiefly employed in Dublin. Well, then, the elections take place. You leave these 100 members out of calculation. You have a majority, say, of 40 members for the reigning Minister, and all goes well, because a majority of 40 is an excellent majority; but some cause of discontent arises between the local Government in Ireland and the imperial Government in this country. The 100 Irish members suddenly determine that they will go over and attend Parliament and turn the Government out. Of course, they would have no difficulty in doing that. They leave the Government in a minority of 60, we will say, and, having accomplished that work, they return to Ireland. The new Government comes in in a minority of 40, and unless by any means it can allure back the 100 Irish members by whom it got power it is likely to remain in a minority for some considerable time. I only point that out to you as being a possibility under the retention of all the Irish members in the House of Commons, as being that which may not impossibly become a probability. Then there is the case of retaining all the 100 members for imperial questions as distinguished from local questions. As regards that, he will be a fortunate man who gives a very good definition of imperial questions as separated from local questions. But what would be the effect? I think you would find it somewhat difficult to get the 100 Irish members over to attend Parliament regularly under any circumstances, but what would the difficulty be if they had to sit in a vast ante-room when a local question was being discussed, waiting for the bell to ring to summon them to discuss imperial questions? I think you would find in practice that this would be a very considerable difficulty. But there is a third solution, which I confess I consider very favourably myself. I think, considering that the Irish had their local Parliament in Dublin, that it would be very fair that their contingent in the imperial Parliament should be largely reduced. And with a reduced representation of Ireland in the imperial Parliament you would preserve the symmetry of the imperial Parliament, and you would not run the same risk of the dangers to which I have called your attention. There is, of course, another solution—and I like to call the attention of my thoughtful fellow-countrymen to these questions, because I am sure they will thresh them out better than I can—there is the system of delegation for imperial purposes which obtains in Austria-Hungary. The delegations in Austria-Hungary are deputations from the Parnellites of those two countries that meet annually or bi-annually to discuss the affairs common to the two States. That is another solution. I prefer, I confess, a reduced representation; but, as regards Irish representation in the imperial Parliament, if that

is your only difficulty in accepting our principles, I venture to say that you have very little to desire."

Sir William Harcourt spoke at Derby (June 19)—dealing mainly with Irish topics and the Local Government Bill—and at Stockport on the following day (June 20). At the latter place, in response to an address presented to him by the local Liberal Association, he said that whatever merit might belong to him was "due to one cause, and to one cause alone—that I have refused to betray the party to which I belong, and that I have not deserted the chief under whom I serve." Referring to the recent bye-election, he said:—"Ah, the elections at Southampton and Ayr have had a sober and educating effect. The Liberal Unionists are beginning to think of their latter end. Southampton and Ayr were warnings, and the shadow of the division of Thanet is over them." But the shadow of the division of Thanet was not a troubled one, for the seat for that constituency, rendered vacant by the death of Colonel King-Harman, was won by Mr. James Lowther (June 29) with a majority of 658 over Mr. E. Knatchbull-Hugessen. To Mr. Gladstone, who spoke at a garden party at Hampstead (June 30), the return of Mr. Lowther suggested the following modest reflection:—"If it is true that we might have done better, it is certainly true that we might have done worse." After some references to the Local Government Bill, Mr. Gladstone recurred to the alleged broken promises of Liberal Unionist members, who had pledged themselves at the general election to oppose "coercion." In his further remarks upon the Irish question Mr. Gladstone made a pointed attack upon the resident magistrates and county court judges of Ireland. "Matters are being disposed of," he said, "by a set of gentlemen called resident magistrates. I will only say of them I have no doubt there are many good men among them, but some of the worst men among them have been chosen to do the work. It depends upon the Government who shall be chosen to do the work. With respect to these gentlemen, we cannot shut out from view the fact that they are all dependent upon the Government—they hold their office from the Government. The county court judges look for promotion to the Government, the resident magistrates look for the continuation of their office to the Government, and it is these who practically work the government of Ireland."

The Plan of Campaign, which had recently been condemned by Mr. Parnell, received some justification at the hands of Mr. Gladstone. "Do not suppose," he said, "that I think the Plan of Campaign is a good thing in itself, or that I speak of it as such. I lament everything in the nature of machinery for governing a country outside the regular law of the country. But there are circumstances in which that machinery, though it may be an evil in itself—and it is an evil, because it lets loose many bad passions, and gives to bad men the power of playing them-

selves off as good men, and in a multitude of ways relaxes the ties and bonds that unite society—I say there are many circumstances in which it is an infinitely smaller evil to use this machinery than to leave the people to perish."

In the House of Commons (July 2) Mr. Balfour introduced three Bills for the drainage of lands within the catchment areas of the rivers Bann, Barrow, and Shannon. Explaining the provisions of the Bills, he said that navigation would be entirely separated from drainage—the tenants would be dealt with, and not the landlords; the Board of Works would continue to have charge of the Shannon, but the other two rivers would be in the hands of boards on which would be represented the areas benefited, including the uplands and the towns included in the catchment areas. The localities, he said, would have the opportunity of accepting the drainage schemes submitted to them. The works would be carried out at the expense of the State, the localities being charged with the maintenance. After a prolonged discussion, in which the Bills met with a general support, they were read a first time. On the question of the second reading, however, Mr. Conybeare opposed the Bills—or rather the first of them, having reference to the areas affected by the river Bann—and the Irish members left the House when the vote was taken. The second reading was carried (July 19) by 189 to 64. A motion for referring the Bill to a select committee was also opposed by Mr. Conybeare, and, it being midnight, the debate, which was not again resumed, stood adjourned. The other two Bills did not reach a second reading. Mr. Conybeare was suspended from attending the sittings of the House for a month (July 20) for publishing an attack upon the Speaker, in a letter to the *Star* newspaper, in connection with the proceedings on the second reading of the Bann Drainage Bill.

The House of Commons resumed the consideration of the Local Government Bill in committee at Clause 17, which was added to the Bill (July 3). On Clause 18, at the same sitting, Mr. Caine moved the omission of the sub-section transferring the liquor licence duties, and suggested as a substitute the transfer of a portion of the inhabited house duty, a course which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said was not practicable, and the amendment was negatived by 192 to 165. Mr. Ritchie then moved an addition to the clause, providing that the licence duties collected in a county should be allocated to that county. To this Sir W. Lawson moved an amendment providing that the duties collected throughout the country should be distributed to each county in proportion to the population of the county. After a long discussion this amendment was negatived by 240 to 187, and Mr. Ritchie's amendment and the clause were agreed to. Clause 19 was struck out on the motion of Mr. Ritchie, and Clause 20 was agreed to. On Clause 21, having reference to the allocation of probate duties, considerable discussion took place,

occupying part of three sittings. It was ultimately agreed that the distribution should be in proportion to the average number of indoor paupers during the five financial years prior to March 25, 1888, and the clause was then carried (July 9), as also was Clause 22. Clauses 23 and 24 were carried after some slight amendments. The next following clauses, to 29, were agreed to. On Clause 30, which provided for certain quarter sessions boroughs named in the Fourth Schedule being treated as counties, Mr. Ritchie moved to amend the clause so as to include all boroughs of 50,000 population, upon which Mr. Rowntree moved to include boroughs of 25,000. Mr. Ritchie's amendment was carried by 255 to 79. Clauses 31, 32, 33, and 34 were agreed to (July 10). On Clause 35 (application of the Act to all boroughs with populations under 10,000), Mr. Wharton proposed to transfer the control of the police in boroughs under 20,000 population to the County Councils, but the amendment was withdrawn and the clause agreed to. An amendment to Clause 36, providing that there should be no selected councillors in the County Council of London, was negatived (July 11) by 187 to 155. An amendment, moved by Mr. Firth, to vest the appointment of Sheriffs of London in the new County Council was negatived by 187 to 155. An amendment, proposed by Mr. Ritchie, enlarging the membership of the London Council to twice the number of the Parliamentary representatives of the existing electoral divisions was agreed to. Professor Stuart moved an amendment (July 12) for transferring the control of the Metropolitan Police to the County Council in the same way as the police was to be controlled in the boroughs constituted as counties; it was negatived by 220 to 150. Clause 37 was agreed to at this sitting. Clause 38 was amended (July 13) by the transference of the appointment of the Recorder, Common Serjeant, and Judge of the City of London Court from the Corporation to the Crown. Clauses 39 and 40 having been passed, those relating to District Councils—41 to 50—were struck out, and the subsequent clauses dealing with boundaries, constitution of new boroughs, urban districts, unions, &c., were discussed in considerable detail. The following were the chief amendments in the remaining parts of the Bill. On Clause 66 the borrowing powers of the County Councils were limited (July 16) to one-tenth of the annual rateable value of the rateable property in the county. On Clause 67 a provision was inserted (July 17) permitting polls in schools and public rooms; while it was made legal for a County Council or any of its committees to meet beyond the limits of the county. Clause 82 was amended by the proviso that no paid permanent official should sit in Parliament. The remaining clauses of the Bill, with some unimportant amendments—except Clauses 103, 104, 105, and 106, which were struck out—were agreed to (July 17). Several new clauses were added (July 18 and 19), among them being one for vesting the appointment of coroner in the County Councils,

and the Bill was reported as amended (July 19). It was again considered, as amended, at two sittings (July 26 and 27), when a few further but unimportant amendments were made, and several new clauses were added, and the Bill was read a third time and passed (July 27).

Sir William Harcourt, on the occasion of the passing of the Bill, congratulated Mr. Ritchie on the ability, the conciliatory demeanour, and the strong common-sense he had displayed in the conduct of the measure.

The ordinary business which occupied the attention of the House of Commons during the month of July, and until the adjournment to the autumn, was limited in extent but as to some of it important in character. The Oaths Bill passed through Committee (July 4), after having been amended by the insertion of a proviso requiring any person who objected to be sworn to state either that he had no religious belief or that the taking of an oath was contrary to his religious belief. This amendment was moved by Mr. Bradlaugh, in pursuance of an engagement on the subject which he had made with the Attorney-General. No opposition to the engagement was understood to be offered by his own party at the time it was entered into, but it was subsequently made the occasion of a party attack upon Mr. Bradlaugh among his constituents, and the amendment was only carried by a majority of 6. The Bill was reported and again considered (July 11), and was read a third time and passed (Aug. 9). The Railway and Canal Traffic Bill was reported from the Grand Committee (July 16) and was read a third time and passed (July 25).

The chief business before the House had reference to certain charges against Mr. Parnell and other Irish members which transpired in the course of the hearing of the action, in the Queen's Bench Division, of O'Donnell *versus* the *Times* newspaper. Mr. Parnell asked leave (July 6) to make a personal explanation in reference to these charges. Premising that he had attended in court in the anticipation that he would be called as a witness and would have the opportunity of answering the charges on oath, he went through certain letters read by the Attorney-General, who represented the *Times* as leading counsel, pronouncing those attributed to him to be palpable and absurd forgeries. As to a facsimile letter, which formed one of the number, he remarked that the signature to it was in a form which he had not used since 1879; Egan's letter, he was convinced, was an undoubted forgery, and, though he thought Byrne's letter might be genuine, he denied that he had ever given him 100*l.*, or any other sum, at any time. Speaking of the whole series of letters, he insisted on the inherent absurdity and improbability of supposing that he would have been so foolish as to put himself into the power of men who had a halter round their necks. Mr. M'Carthy explained that he paid the 100*l.* to Mr. Byrne by

his own cheque, as representing subscriptions to the League received by Byrne and passed through Mr. M'Carthy's banking account. The subject then dropped for the time being. It was revived (July 12) by Mr. Parnell, who asked whether the Government would assent to the appointment of a select committee to inquire and report as to the authenticity of the letters affecting members of the House read by the Attorney-General at the trial of "O'Donnell v. Walter." Mr. W. H. Smith said the Government maintained that the proposed tribunal was unfit to deal with the question, but they were willing to propose to Parliament to pass an Act appointing a Commission, with full power to inquire into the allegations made against members of Parliament by the defendants in the recent action.

A Bill "to constitute a special Commission to inquire into the charges and allegations made against certain members of Parliament and other persons by the defendants in the recent trial of an action entitled 'O'Donnell v. Walter and another'" was introduced by Mr. Smith (July 16). In giving notice of the Bill some days previously, Mr. Smith intimated that it was offered for the acceptance of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, implying that if they chose to reject it the Government would not proceed with it. That position was shortly afterwards abandoned, and the Government announced their intention of proceeding with the measure in any case. The debates upon it were marked by much warmth and by some personalities. Mr. Smith having admitted that Mr. Walter, "as an old friend," had called upon him since the matter had been before the Government—insisting, however, that Mr. Walter had in no way influenced the determination of the Government—Sir William Harcourt charged the Government with having acted in collusion with the *Times*. Another personal matter, of which the Irish party and the Opposition made a grievance, was the fact that the Attorney-General, the official legal adviser of the Government, was in this case the private adviser of the *Times*. Mr. Smith, in reply to questions on the subject (July 19), said that neither directly nor indirectly had the Attorney-General received any materials from the Home Office in conducting the case of the *Times*. He declined to say that the Government would not take the Attorney-General's advice, or that he should not attend the Cabinet in regard to the Bill or the appointment of the Commission. The fullest liberty of action, he said, would be retained by the Government. Still another personal matter were the objections raised, with the sanction of Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone, to the appointment of Mr. Justice Day as a member of the Commission, while yet another such matter was a charge by Mr. Parnell against Mr. Chamberlain that he had divulged Cabinet secrets to the Irish members in order to secure their support for his own ends. Mr. Chamberlain gave an emphatic denial (July 31) to Mr. Parnell's accusation. He did not remember, he

said, having had any direct intercourse with Mr. Parnell before 1882, although he admitted that communications passed between them through third parties. The first had reference to Mr. Parnell's release from Kilmainham Prison. On another occasion Mr. Parnell submitted to him, in his own handwriting, a scheme of local government for Ireland, which he consented to lay before the Cabinet, and after the murder of Lord E. Cavendish Mr. Parnell came to his house with Captain O'Shea, but nothing took place between them except what was honourable both to Mr. Parnell and to himself. Moreover, every communication which passed between them, whether direct or indirect, was disclosed to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, and other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone said that as regarded the local government proposals Mr. Chamberlain's statement was in accord with the facts, but he was unable to confirm his statement with regard to the circumstances relating to Mr. Parnell's release until they were recalled to his recollection. A newspaper correspondence followed between Mr. Parnell, Captain O'Shea, and Mr. Chamberlain, in the course of which Mr. Chamberlain was clearly vindicated from any imputations upon his honour as a Minister.

Apart, however, from these personal aspects of the debates, the Bill was strongly resisted on general grounds. Mr. Parnell complained (July 23), Mr. Gladstone supporting him, that the inquiry was not one into the conduct of himself or of members of Parliament individually accused, but was an inquiry into the doings of the Land League and National League. Endeavours were made at every stage to narrow the scope of the investigation, while on the part of the Government it was urged that the judges ought to have the fullest discretion as to the extent to be given to the inquiry. The Bill was read a second time (July 24). It passed through Committee without any material amendment (July 30 to Aug. 2), and was read a third time and passed (Aug. 8) by 180 to 64.

The proceedings of the House of Lords during the month of July and until its adjournment to the autumn do not require more than a short record. A discussion on outrages in Ireland during the previous two years was introduced by Lord Camperdown (July 3), in the course of which Lord Spencer said that he regarded the existence of a powerful body interfering in the relations of landlord and tenant as an unhealthy sign, and that he did not approve of all the acts of the League, which, however, he contended, was a perfectly legal association, and had the sympathy of the mass of the people. Replying to the statement that the Central Executive of the League denounced crime, the Duke of Argyll asked how it was that the Executive did not give effect to its censure by dissolving the branches which advocated outrage. The debate collapsed on the warning

from Lord Coleridge that its continuance was undesirable having regard to the action of Mr. O'Donnell against the *Times* newspaper, which was then proceeding.

Mr. O'Donnell's action having suddenly terminated, the Duke of Argyll took advantage of the freedom of debate thus recovered to move (July 12) a vote of confidence in the Irish policy of the Government. He sharply criticised Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and his view of Irish history. Of the former he remarked that it reminded him of a cottage built by an old woman on the edge of the ocean, which, she said, would be most comfortable if it only kept out the ocean. Speaking of Mr. Gladstone's notion that Ireland was very happy until it was conquered by England, he referred to the "Annals of the Four Masters" and other ancient Irish authorities to show the lawless habits of the native Irish before the English invasion. The Duke also strongly animadverted on the present attitude of Sir George Trevelyan as compared with his acts and opinions when Irish Secretary. No peer having risen to follow the Duke of Argyll, the Lord Chancellor, after a short pause, put the question, and the motion was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*, amid much cheering and some laughter at the silence of the Opposition. Subsequently (July 20) Lord Beauchamp moved that the names of the peers present on the 12th inst., when the vote of confidence was carried without a dissentient voice, should be printed and circulated with the minutes, and the motion was agreed to. The Libel Law Amendment Bill passed through its several stages, and was read a third time (Aug. 3). Other Bills of no special importance also received the attention of the House. The Local Government Bill was read a first time (July 27). Very little discussion arose on the second reading (July 31). The Bill passed through committee after being amended in several trifling particulars, and was read a third time and passed (Aug. 9). The Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) Bill was read a second time (Aug. 10) on the motion of Lord Salisbury, who said that the Government proposed the Commission, not with satisfaction, but as the only means of dissipating a great scandal. Lord Herschell contended that Mr. Parnell and his Parliamentary party had been treated with great unfairness. Criticising the constitution of the Commission, he observed that the questions to be submitted to it were political questions, and for a decision of such questions a Commission of Judges was not a proper tribunal. But, as the Government had resolved that a Commission of Judges should decide those questions, regard should have been had to their political opinions, because it was ridiculous to suppose that the Judges had always been up in a balloon and were insensible to the political feelings which influenced their fellow-men.

The Bill was considered in committee and reported on the following day (Aug. 11), and at the same sitting was read a third

time and passed. Parliament adjourned on August 13 till November 6.

In the busiest days of the Session, when the Government were vainly trying to avert the necessity for an adjournment to the autumn, politicians were also busy making political speeches out of Parliament. Sir George Trevelyan, addressing a garden party at Hampstead (July 14), expressed the sense of anger with which he had heard the speech of the Duke of Argyll two days before in the House of Lords. He would have given, he said, 100*l.* to have been able to reply to his face. In the Duke's elaborate attempt to make out that in old days he (Sir George Trevelyan) was as Mr. Balfour, and Lord Spencer as Lord Salisbury, he could not accuse them of ever having said an insulting word against a man who could not answer them. Mr. Gladstone made a speech at a dinner party given by Sir Wilfrid Lawson (July 18) to the Members of Parliament for Northumberland and Westmoreland. He spoke with satisfaction of the Local Government Bill, denuded though it was of many of its important provisions; repeated his congratulations to the Liberal Party on the proof furnished by the bye-elections that they would triumph at the next General Election; inveighed against the Government for not granting Mr. Parnell a Committee of Inquiry to deal with the charges brought against him in the *Times*, which he called "the old, the constitutional, the convenient, and the perfectly efficient" method of investigating such charges; and yet expressed his hope that the offer made by the Government, though he deemed it "absurd" and "wrong in every point of view," would not be rejected "if it is made in any manner compatible with considerations of practical justice." But Mr. Gladstone maintained that it would only be made so compatible if definite issues were to be laid before the Commission, and it were not allowed to travel into all the points raised by the Attorney-General's speech of twelve hours' length at the O'Donnell trial. He would not say that the definite issues should be limited to the authenticity of the letter to which Mr. Parnell asserted that his signature had been forged; "but I say," Mr. Gladstone added, "that the field of investigation ought to be occupied by issues that are in themselves of a definite character." Mr. John Morley, in a speech at Morpeth (July 21), also referred at considerable length to the Charges and Allegations Bill. Anticipating certain possible results from the investigations of the proposed Commission, Mr. Morley made the following observations:—"We know that bad work went on in Ireland in the winter of 1880-81, but that is no reason why we should shrink or flinch from a policy which aims at putting an end to that state of things. If it should be proved that the Land League was, in some respects, a criminal organization, I call your attention to one terrible and damning result of such a verdict. Everybody agrees that the Land Act of 1881, which erected a tribunal to put a stop to the exacting of unjust, exorbitant, impossible rents, was

a great measure of justice and beneficence. Why, all of us constantly take the credit for the Land Act of 1881. The Conservatives take the credit for it, as proving how eager and willing Parliament is to make good laws for Ireland. But, gentlemen—and I defy contradiction—I say, and it is notorious, that no Land Act would have been passed if there had been no Land League. It is a humiliating confession—most humiliating. It says little for the spontaneous justice, the spontaneous interest of England, in these poor, neglected, unfortunate peasants of Ireland. We have got to take it as it is, and, with reference to Ireland, Parliament is like the unjust Judge; it always yields only to abundant importunity. We know it already, but, supposing they prove it over and over again that the Land League had in it some elements of a criminal organization, you have, I say, the terrible and the damning fact that it needed that organization to open the eyes of England to the wrongs that Ireland was suffering, and to force Parliament to rescue the Irish tenants from the grasp of the rack-renter and the oppressor.”

Lord Rosebery and Mr. Balfour addressed different assemblies on July 25. Lord Rosebery spoke at the opening of a new Liberal club at Stanstead (Essex), and Mr. Balfour at a banquet given by the Grocers' Company, whose guest he was. The former speaker pointed out the advantage enjoyed by a Conservative Government in the fact that it could get its Bills passed. It was only a Tory Government, he said, who could get such a measure as the Local Government Bill through the House of Lords. That House was “a delicate and dainty feeder in the matter of legislation. What it takes from one hand it rejects from another.” Of the Charges and Allegations Bill he said that it was “aimed at one particular class of Irish members, or five-sixths of the Irish members in the House of Commons,” yet he appeared to take credit to the House of Lords for reading the Bill a second time by the consent of the whole House. Mr. Balfour's was an amusing speech, in which he rallied Mr. Gladstone's Government on passages in their Irish administration which could not now afford them pleasant reminiscences. “I admit,” he said, “that in recalling these unpleasant facts to the remembrance of some of our friends on the other side I am reminding them of circumstances which they would gladly forget. I believe the late Prime Minister, for instance, would, if he had the power, burn the whole of ‘Hansard’ between the years 1880 and 1885. After all, this is not true of another gentleman to whom I have alluded, one of the most distinguished of my predecessors in the office of Chief Secretary. Sir George Trevelyan would not blot out his career as Chief Secretary if he could. He is under the impression—he believes—that as Chief Secretary he was a fine fellow. He is constantly reminding us of the great deeds he did in that capacity, but the embarrassment to which he is put in that proceeding really affords me more

entertainment than I can describe. It is his business to abuse Mr. Arthur Balfour; it is his pleasure to praise Sir George Trevelyan. But the difficulty he labours under is this—that he has to abuse Mr. Arthur Balfour for precisely the same things for which he praises Sir George Trevelyan, and the result is a most singular and happy confusion which makes his speeches better reading than those of any of his colleagues on the front Opposition bench.”

Politico-garden parties were a peculiarity of the summer months. They were frequent in the pleasant neighbourhood of Hampstead, and Mr. Chamberlain followed a good example in giving one at his residence at Highbury, in Warwickshire (July 28). In his address to his guests he reviewed the work of the Session, and spoke at some length on the Charges and Allegations Bill and the attitude towards it of the Irish members. On this particular subject he said:—“When these charges were first made the Irish members indignantly repudiated them in the House of Commons. They refused to go to a jury for reasons which they gave; but they demanded an inquiry. They did not make this demand at first, but as the pressure on them grew stronger they made the demand. They said, ‘Give us a fair tribunal, give us a committee of the House of Commons, in which only we can have confidence; and we require—we demand—that these charges shall be investigated.’ I want to point your attention to this. At this time they did not ask for any limitation in the inquiry; all they asked for was a fair tribunal. They said, ‘We cannot trust an English jury, give us a tribunal we can trust; we are anxious and dying to have charges affecting our honour and integrity investigated.’ Well, the Government have taken them at their word. I do not see the signs of pleasure that I should have anticipated now they have got the fair tribunal they asked. And nobody can deny—they do not deny it themselves, it was admitted in the debate—that the tribunal of Judges is one to which no person can take exception. A more honourable, impartial, intelligent, and experienced tribunal it would be absolutely impossible for any innocent man to come before. Now they say they object to the scope of the inquiry; they do not want the whole of the matters to be inquired into; they wish to restrict the investigation to the narrowest possible limit. They will not have the sympathy of the public of this country in making this absurd demand. What is it we want inquired into? Let us put persons altogether aside. What we know is that there has been for years a political and constitutional agitation in the past, but shading off by imperceptible degrees into criminal conspiracy. At the head of this organisation are men who pose in the House of Commons and on the platforms in England and Scotland as leaders of a great constitutional movement. At the bottom of that agitation are Ford, Egan, and O'Donovan Rossa, men of dynamite and

the dagger, men of assassination and of outrage. It is perfectly well known, it is not denied, that the men at the head of the organisation have been in close communication with these men at the bottom. They have been intimate with them, they have been in their pay; they have accepted the funds which Ford in America has collected for them; but they say, and I for one devoutly hope they say so with absolute truth, that they have no cognizance whatever of their evil practices. Then why should they attempt to shield them? If they are innocent, why should the guilty go free? I will not believe it possible that members of Parliament in the position of these Irish gentlemen could be capable of descending to the level of the criminals of whom I have been speaking; but then all the more because they are innocent, because they are incapable of crime, they ought to welcome an investigation which would show to the world that they are indeed innocent, and which would show who has been guilty. We want to know upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of turning a political and constitutional agitation into an agitation for the furtherance of crime. That is the inquiry we want to have; and we will not allow its scope to be limited. However important may be the definite charges brought against individual members of Parliament, of more importance is it to know the whole history of this descent, of this evil conspiracy."

Mr. Chamberlain discussed also the bye-elections, and, treating them by way of argument as favourable to Mr. Gladstone, made the following speculations as to the future:—"As to the prospects of the future, suppose Mr. Gladstone were successful, as I have said, at the elections, and that he again brought in his Bill or something like it; suppose he carried it, he would have, you may be quite certain, once more to submit it to the country before it was passed into law. Once more the country would have to pronounce, and in my opinion the country even now, although it might be willing to give Mr. Gladstone another trial, is not prepared to accept the Bill which it rejected by so large a majority some time ago. Even if they carried it and allowed this Bill to be tried in Ireland, even then they are only at the beginning of the difficulties in their path. I do not hesitate to say you will have to face a state of things almost amounting to civil war in Ireland, for one thing is absolutely certain; that the people of Ulster, who are the most sturdy, the most resolute, the most industrious, and the most intelligent part of the whole population of Ireland, will never submit to be placed under the control of a Dublin Parliament. And then I should like to see the Gladstonian party tested by its new principles, and I should like to see the men who abuse us because we are willing to coerce criminals, I should like to see them coercing a million or a million and a half of the most loyal and the best of her Majesty's subjects because they will not yield allegiance to a Parliament in which they have

absolutely no confidence, because they will not be false to their existing allegiance to the Queen. I have said I do not fear the future. I am quite certain that, although we are only in the middle of the battle, yet in the end victory will wait upon our banners."

Sir William Harcourt, at Stoneleigh Park (Aug. 6), taunted Mr. Chamberlain with having, "like a wise man, begun to consider his latter end," and what he should do if his party were beaten at the next election, and at the next after that. His speech, however, was mainly an attack upon the *Times* newspaper, and upon the Government for its alleged collusion with the *Times*. Mr. Balfour, on the same day, addressed an out-door gathering at Eridge Park, and, rebutting in the course of his speech the charges of motives and collusion urged against the Government, proceeded to say:—"I never have relied upon the accusations advanced by the *Times*; I have always found sufficient material for my political controversies in the contemporary facts of Irish history. I have never had to go back beyond the year 1885 to prove that the Irish leaders desired to obtain what they call the freedom of their country by illegal and anarchic means. I have not had to rake up the ancient history, or the comparatively ancient history, of 1881 and 1882 to know that these gentlemen have, and boast of having, used the most scandalous forms of intimidation in order to obtain their political objects. I have never, therefore, had any motive to bring into the indictment against my political opponents any of the subject-matters which are to come before this Commission. But I say this, that if, as we may all hope, Mr. Parnell and his friends can prove themselves guiltless of those darker crimes of which they are accused, I fail utterly to see how we are doing them anything but the greatest service which they can claim at our hands by providing them with a judicial tribunal, armed with the amplest powers, for investigating the truth. Now I have told you that, as far as I am concerned, the case which I have made, or believe myself to have made, against the Gladstone-Parnellite party will not be one whit weakened if every single word in the pamphlet '*Parnellism and Crime*' were proved to be a baseless accusation."

The customary banquet to Ministers, ordinarily given at the end of the Session, took place at the Mansion House (Aug. 8). Lord Salisbury, in responding to the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers," and referring to the causes of the intended adjournment of Parliament till the autumn, remarked that "it is impossible not to feel that the wisdom of Parliament is great, and that the eloquence of Parliament is great; but the eloquence is getting into the way of the wisdom." The Prime Minister's speech was chiefly noteworthy for its important allusions to foreign affairs. After expressing his confidence in the desire of the rulers of the world to maintain peace, he proceeded as follows:—"Let me say one or two words about subjects which have occupied us in past

years; and from the standpoint of the present it is difficult to imagine how much of confusion and of danger were associated in the past with the names of Egypt and Bulgaria. At present in Egypt everything is going on up to and beyond the utmost wishes that we could have formed. There are still dangers on the frontier; they are not dangers that we fear, but they are dangers that should remind us not to abate the precautions that we have taken. Internally, the financial difficulty, which at one time seemed almost insuperable, has, thanks mainly to the ability of Sir E. Vincent and those who work under him, been entirely surmounted, and Egypt is among the solvent Powers of the world. These things are very cheering. They do not alter in the least degree the point of view from which we contemplate our Egyptian policy. To us it is not an annexation of territory that is desirable; all we wish is that there should be an Egypt self-sustaining, strong enough to master internal disorder or to repel an external foe. Until we can be satisfied that that state of things exists we shall remain to assist Egypt; the moment we are satisfied that it exists we shall gladly relieve ourselves from an unnecessary burden. With respect to Bulgaria, all, so far as external appearances go, tends to future tranquillity and peace. I think we may venture to hope that a conviction is stealing over the minds of the principal statesmen of Europe that the best thing to do with Bulgaria is to leave it alone, to leave it to its own development, to leave it to the decision of its own inhabitants, to leave it to the path which they who have shown such high character, such great courage, who have shown themselves worthy to be the foundation of a great nation, shall choose as the path best fitted for their own national destiny and prosperity. I believe that such a course will best suit all the nations of Europe. Undoubtedly it will suit England, which desires nothing except the freedom and independence of the Bulgarian people. I believe it will suit Germany, who has constantly professed that the matter is one of indifference to her. It will suit Austria, who desires the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*. And I believe that, well considered, it will suit Russia, whose one preoccupation it is not to be false to the gallantry of her soldiers who have shed their blood like water in securing the freedom of Bulgaria."

Mr. John Morley was the first politician of eminence to renew in the autumn recess the political struggles which had gone on in Parliament. He addressed (Aug. 18) a large meeting in the grounds of Nocton Park, Lord Ripon's seat near Lincoln. His speech was chiefly occupied with criticisms on the Local Government Bill, and on the Irish administration of the Government. To the Local Government Bill he denied the democratic character imputed to it. "You will hear a great deal about it," he said, "from those gentlemen" (the supporters of the Government); "they tell you that it is democratic, and that it shows

trust in the people. Let any labouring man or small shopkeeper in a Lincolnshire village ask himself how that Act has made his voice one atom more important in the affairs that come closest to his daily life. Let him ask whether he has more control than he had before over the charities of the district, if charities there be. Has he any more control over the education of his parish? Has he any more control over the relief of the poor? Gentlemen, I say that this is the way to test all these fine speeches and all these high pretensions, and I submit to you that unless and until you bring public business home to the doors of the people concerned, until you bring home to them the public business which concerns their daily lives, all these fine speeches and all these fine pretensions come to nothing. Practically little has been done, and nothing will be done until the power is in the hands of bolder men, with a truer faith in popular principles."

The *Times* remarked, *à propos* of this attack upon the great measure of the Session :—" Nothing can be conceived more contemptibly small-minded than Mr. Morley's criticism on the Local Government Bill. Let the reader compare it with the speeches on the same subject in the House of Commons of Mr. Morley's colleagues, Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Henry Fowler. If Mr. Morley really holds the opinions with which he endeavoured on Saturday to indoctrinate the agricultural labourers of Lincolnshire, why did he not get up like a man in his place on the front Opposition bench and protest against Sir William Harcourt's eulogium on Mr. Ritchie's Bill?"

After adversely dwelling upon some incidents in the debate on the Charges and Allegations Bill, and on the whole policy of the Government towards Ireland, Mr. Morley said :—" I have never concealed my opinion that there are plenty of difficulties in the way of setting up any form of government in Ireland. But a lion in the path becomes a mere mouse if the two nations understand one another. We have done something to promote that understanding. We shall go on and strive against the present Government. We shall go on, at whatever sacrifices to ourselves, trying to undo, day by day, the mischief which, day by day, they are doing. . . . We, I say, shall persist, in season and out of season, in undoing the mischief that these men are doing. We know that we are moving towards Home Rule; and in the meantime we are every day battering down the wall of prejudice, antipathy, distrust, and suspicion which has so painfully and so lamentably divided the people of England from the people of Ireland."

CHAPTER V.

The Recess—Mr Gladstone and the Neapolitan prisoners—Lord Selborne's disclosures—The Eisteddfod—The Liberal Unionist Campaign—Mr. John Morley at Ipswich and Newtown—Mr. Balfour at Glasgow and Manchester—Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen in Scotland and Yorkshire—The National Liberal Association at Birmingham—Mr. Gladstone's reception and speeches—The Sackville incident—The Parnell Commission—The Education Commission and the School Board Election—The Autumn Session—Prolonged debates—The extension of the Ashbourne Act—The National Defences—Suakim Expedition—The Irish Nonconformist—The Liberal Metropolitan programme.

MR. MORLEY'S speech to the Lincolnshire Liberals found a sonorous echo in Flintshire—and it seemed not unlikely that the Parliamentary recess would bring no cessation from the strife of tongues. The appointment of the Special Commission happily put a stop to the attacks too frequently made by Unionist speakers on the members of the Land League; but no similar restraint was imposed by custom or courtesy on those members of the Opposition who hoped, by denouncing the acts of the Government in Ireland, to render its policy odious in the eyes of English and Scotch electors. Parliament was not formally adjourned when Mr. Gladstone received at his country seat, Hawarden Castle, a large deputation from Burslem and the Potteries, bringing with them, for his acceptance, a specimen of their handicraft in the form of a decorated vase. In the centre was the symbolical figure of Liberty, supported on either side by Homer and Dante, Mr. Gladstone's most favourite authors. At the back of the vase the figure of St. George was represented between those of William Wallace and Brian Boru, and on the base the figures of Ireland, with bowed head, and Poland, with hair unbound.

In accepting the present Mr. Gladstone paid a graceful tribute to the work of Josiah Wedgwood and his family, and the influence for good they had exercised upon English pottery, and especially to the truth and beauty of the forms introduced by Wedgwood ware. Subsequently Mr. Gladstone addressed the fifteen hundred workmen who had accompanied the deputation. Referring to the emblematic figures of Poland and Ireland, the artist, he said, had had to go all the way to St. Petersburg, "from a free country, with six millions of voters, to a land where the absolute will of the sovereign was the mainspring of government." But even in Russia the parallel was not complete, for the Russians declared that their only difficulty was with a portion of the upper classes. Russia, moreover, laid Poland under subjection because her people were enemies whose successful hostility would be fatal to her existence, whereas Ireland was never hostile to England, had never invaded her people, but she had been invaded by England without cause. For 700 years she had been kept in

subjection, and now she was being denied equal rights with Englishmen and subjected to coercion by a Government which obtained power under false pretences. Much would have to be said about the Parnell Commission, whose inquiry he hoped would be of a judicial character; but it was well to point out that, instead of placing Mr. Parnell on equal terms with the *Times*, the Nationalist leader was to be subjected to an investigation ruinous in its pecuniary effect. If the charges against him were declared proven, his political existence would also be killed, while his opponent the *Times*, to whom the cost of the inquiry would be a mere flea-bite, would not suffer by disproof and would be secured against future proceedings. He approved Mr. Parnell's action in initiating proceedings at Edinburgh, where justice would be meted out fairly to both sides. Out of eighty-five Nationalist members, twenty-one had been sent to prison, not for ordinary crime, of which there was singularly little in Ireland, but for the conduct which had done much to keep down crime. These gentlemen, not generally very wealthy, but most of them independent, were put, when they went into prison, on a footing of equality with all the felons of the country, and this, in Mr. Gladstone's eyes—for he confessed that he “did not like to be mealy-mouthed in such a case”—was “a shameful, an inhuman, and a brutal proceeding.” Even the Government of Naples, bad as it was under King Bomba some thirty or forty years before, did not put its political prisoners into the company of felons, but kept them apart. But here the Irish Government, in a “humane, civilised, household-suffrage country,” sent distinguished members of Parliament to prison for political offences to associate with felons, to wear the prison dress, to sleep on the plank bed, and to discharge menial offices. If they refused to comply with this discipline they were put into solitary cells and fed upon bread and water. Dealing next with the Ridley and Mandeville inquests, Mr. Gladstone condemned the conduct of the Government in seeking first to evade inquiry, and then to slander the character of the deceased, and finally to accuse Mrs. Mandeville and the doctors of being perjurers. He pointed out that in the Mandeville case the jury, which included five Conservatives and the sexton of a Protestant church, were unanimous, yet Mr. Balfour declared that their verdict ought to be treated with contempt. He laid on the shoulders of the Liberal Unionists the blame for a system of government of which these instances were samples. He reminded them that each voter had a share of responsibility for the acts of the Government, and he appealed to them to labour for the happiness and peace of the country, and for the relief of Ireland from the bonds of the burden which prevented her people cherishing those warm and unbroken affections which, since the Liberal party had taken up their cause, they had taken every opportunity of manifesting.

Putting aside the evidence of their onslaught on the Govern-

ment for acts of which they had shown the hardship ruled with the law and not with those who applied it, Mr. Gladstone's parallel between the Irish prisons and those of Naples in 1851 drew forth many indignant protests. It was, moreover, shown that Mr. Gladstone in his celebrated pamphlet on Poerio and his brother prisoners had declared that they were surrounded by felons, were loaded with heavy chains, confined in an atmosphere so fetid that the prison doctors refused to enter, and could only obtain the small favour of a division from the criminals in the same room by the payment of money. The *Daily News* alone, among the London and provincial papers of importance, welcomed Mr. Gladstone's speech as a "most powerful and thrilling arraignment of the Government policy in Ireland" ever delivered, and it stood equally alone in accepting without demur or reserve the assertion that the treatment of political prisoners under King Bomba of Naples was not quite so bad as Mr. Balfour's treatment of them in Ireland. The majority of the public organs expressed their regret and despair that it was found necessary to introduce personal charges so malignant into the language of political controversy.

Apart, however, from the good taste of such a method, it was not likely that Mr. Gladstone's version of King Bomba's rule would be allowed to pass without challenge. A correspondent of the *Times*, in contradiction of Mr. Gladstone's reminiscences, quoted a passage from a letter written to Lord Aberdeen and made public in July 1851 (*Times*, July 22), in which Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the prisoners in the *bagno* of Nisida, which he had personally visited, said:—"Among these I myself saw a political prisoner, Romeo, chained in the manner I have described to an ordinary offender—a young man with one of the most ferocious and sullen countenances I have seen among many hundreds of the Neapolitan criminals." Of the Baron Poerio, the special object of his interest in 1851, Mr. Gladstone went on:—"Never before have I conversed, and never probably shall I converse again, with a cultivated and accomplished gentleman, of whose innocence, obedience to law, and love of his country I was as firmly and as rationally assured as of your lordship's or that of any other man of the very highest character, whilst he stood before me amidst surrounding felons, and clad in the vile uniform of guilt and shame."

Mr. Gladstone sent to a news agency the following reply:—"My statement of Monday last is absolutely correct, but a correspondent of the *Times* to-day very properly reminds me that in 1851 I printed a statement that I had seen in the island of Nisida a political prisoner chained to an ordinary criminal and clad in the prison dress. Thirty-seven years have passed, and I did not remember the circumstance when I spoke. In order to be perfectly fair, it should be remembered that the political prisoner was suffering under a sentence for high treason. Still,

in this case the conduct of the Neapolitan Government under King Bomba was worse than that of the British Government is now. On the other hand, it is the fact that on a different day and in another prison—the Vicaria—I saw a political prisoner (confined, I presume, on some minor charge), who wore his own dress, in a roomy cell of his own, and who conducted me freely through the rest of the prison with (I think) six barred iron gates or doors between us and the more open part of the prison. This is the case which I compare with the brutal conduct now pursued in Ireland. What have we come to when there is ground for such comparisons ? ”

To this the *Times* replied :—“ So far as Mr. Gladstone’s general statement is concerned, it is refuted by other passages in his letters beside the special instances quoted. Thus he wrote on the same occasion :—‘ I have walked among a crowd of between three and four hundred Neapolitan prisoners, murderers, thieves, all kinds of ordinary criminals, some condemned and some uncondemned, and the politically accused indiscriminately. This swarm of human beings all slept in a long, low, vaulted room, having no light except from a single and very moderate-sized grating at one end. The political prisoners, by payment, had the privilege of a separate chamber off the former, but there was no division between them.’ ”

To these charges the Neapolitan Government had made an official reply, and some non-official apologists had also endeavoured to stem the popular feeling which had been aroused in Europe by Mr. Gladstone’s revelations as to the treatment of political prisoners in the kingdom of Naples. One of these latter, Mr. Gladstone noted, “ alleges that political offenders are kept quite separate from common felons.” On this he simply remarked :—“ I might refer to my own ocular testimony ; but it is enough to say that here again the Government (of King Bomba) are silent.” With this the controversy in the newspapers was allowed to drop : but the unfortunate remark was over and over again brought up by speakers on both sides, and with ever-renewed acrimony. A similar display of personal hostility was shown towards Mr. Gladstone for his article on Mr. Forster in the *Nineteenth Century* (Sept.), in which he had paid a sincere tribute to his former colleague’s character and power. The point at issue between them had been the release of Mr. Parnell from Kilmainham in 1882, with reference to which Mr. Gladstone maintained that no difference existed between Mr. Forster and the rest of the Cabinet up to the moment of Mr. Forster’s resignation. This view was, to a great extent, opposed to that to which Mr. Forster subsequently gave expression ; but the utmost that could be said was that the Prime Minister’s recollection of the sequence of events differed from the Chief Secretary’s. But the Unionist organs, instead of admitting this view, insisted that the object of Mr. Gladstone’s article was to suggest that Mr.

Forster had deliberately intended to place before his friends, and that his biographer had been allowed to put before the world, an intentionally misleading version of the events. Mr. Gladstone was satisfied with Mr. Parnell's promise to put a stop to criminal outrages in the South and West of Ireland, while Mr. Forster wished to have guarantees not only of Mr. Parnell's good intentions, but also of his ability to carry out such a promise; but what probably decided him to resign was his knowledge of the antecedents of the agent Sheridan, whom Mr. Parnell proposed to employ to quiet the discontent in the West. The use of such a go-between opened Mr. Forster's eyes to the real nature of the communications which had been going on between Mr. Parnell in Kilmainham and the Cabinet; and he suddenly arrived at the determination to take no part in the new policy of the majority.

The controversy, however, was not allowed to rest here, for after a few weeks' interval Lord Selborne, who had been Mr. Gladstone's Lord Chancellor, in a letter to the *Times* (Sept. 19), took exception to a statement in the same article, which ran as follows:—

“The question, raised by the Government of 1882 with respect to the release of suspects, was absolutely confined to such prisoners among them as were not themselves associated with crime; and it was as the first-fruits of this consideration that Mr. Parnell and two brother-members were set at liberty. There was, therefore, a unanimous judgment of the Cabinet of 1882 that these gentlemen were not associated with crime; although not less than six members of that Cabinet have in 1888 been either actively or tacitly supporters of a Parliamentary inquiry instituted, *inter alia*, in order to ascertain whether they were so associated, or whether they were not.”

After expressing his surprise at reading such a statement, Lord Selborne said he would not willingly have chosen such a time to say anything connected with a subject about to undergo judicial investigation. But, as Mr. Gladstone had done so, the statement, if called in question at all, must be called in question now. Lord Selborne therefore addressed a letter in identical terms to some of the members of the then Cabinet, for the purpose of ascertaining whether their recollection differed from his own on two points:—“As to the premiss, I said that, according to my own recollection of what then passed (which was tolerably clear), and my confident belief, no such question as that assumed in it was ever brought before or considered by any Cabinet in 1882—the distinction made by the words ‘not themselves associated with crime’ being evidently now put forward as meaning more than ‘not imprisoned on suspicion of being guilty of some particular crime.’ As to the inference, I stated that as to myself I knew it to be, and as to most of my colleagues I believed it to be, unfounded, and that my own inference (and to my know-

ledge Mr. Forster's also) from what passed on April 30, 1882, between Mr. Forster and Captain O'Shea was in the opposite direction." Lord Selborne continued :—"Lord Hartington and Lord Monk Bretton in their answers very properly refer to what was said by Mr. Gladstone himself in the House of Commons on May 2, 1882. The words in *Hansard's Debates* (which may be presumed to have received Mr. Gladstone's own revision) are :— 'I have to state that directions have been sent to Ireland for the release forthwith of the three members of this House who have been imprisoned since October last under the powers given by the Protection of Person and Property Act. The list of persons similarly imprisoned will be carefully examined further, with a view to the release, in accordance with like principles and considerations, of all persons who are not believed to be associated with the commission of crime. This measure has been taken by the Government on its own responsibility, after gathering all the information which it was in their power to extract, either through the medium of debate in this House or by availing themselves of such communications as were tendered to them by Irish representatives, and this without the slightest reference to their previous relations to those Irish representatives, but simply with relation to what they believed to be the public interest. But they deemed it to be a part of their duty to ascertain, so far as might be in their power, the views and intentions of those hon. gentlemen who are chosen to represent Ireland in this House with reference to the present position of public affairs in that country.'

"To some, perhaps" (proceeds Lord Selborne), "there may not seem to be much difference between the words now used by Mr. Gladstone, in the statement of his premiss, and 'not believed to be associated with the commission of crime.' To me these last words appear to point to that kind of complicity which (if established by proof) would make the suspected persons criminally responsible as parties or accessories to the commission of particular crimes. It was not as to the three members of Parliament that those words were used at all. Their direct application was only to the rest of the imprisoned suspects—I believe more than 800 in number. As to the three members (whose release was first, separately, and absolutely directed), the grounds of their detention were intimidation or incitement to intimidation—nothing else ; crimes, indeed (as Mr. Forster truly said), but not in Mr. Gladstone's sense. As to them, the question to be decided in April and May, 1882, had reference to the future only, not to the past. They had offered assurances, which (as to the future) Mr. Gladstone and others thought satisfactory. Their enforced absence from Parliament was the subject of remonstrance and complaint on the part of their Irish colleagues. Even between Mr. Forster and Mr. Gladstone the only question was not whether they should be released, but as to the time. . . . The question is not what any one else, but what six or more of Mr. Gladstone's

former colleagues, whose recent action or silence (for he appears to put both under the same censure) now seems to him inconsistent with what passed in 1882, understood and intended six years ago. As to this, I cannot but think that they are themselves the best witnesses."

The replies of Lord Selborne's six correspondents may be thus briefly summarised: Mr. Bright said positively that the distinction now drawn by Mr. Gladstone "was not discussed or considered by the Cabinet of 1882," or even "suggested." Mr. Chamberlain, while admitting that in his own opinion Mr. Parnell was innocent, believed that the majority of his colleagues thought otherwise, and that in any case "the question of Mr. Parnell's association with crime was never brought before the Cabinet." Lord Hartington had "no recollection whatever" of any such question "being raised or decided in the Cabinet." Lord Northbrook was "quite certain that there was no unanimous judgment of the Cabinet that Mr. Parnell and his two brother-members were not associated with crime." Lord Carlingford agreed with Lord Selborne that "the question of their association with crime was not brought before or considered by any Cabinet in 1882." Lord Monk Bretton—better known as Mr. Dodson—"never considered that the Cabinet, in releasing those it did, pronounced any judgment expressly or tacitly on the grounds of their arrest," but only held that there was no sufficient reason for detaining them.

Mr. Gladstone immediately replied: "I have read in the *Times* of to-day the letter of Lord Selborne's which comments on my recent statement that the proposal of May, 1882, for the release of Mr. Parnell and other suspects, was, in the intention of the Cabinet, absolutely confined to persons not themselves associated with crime. I have also read the appended communications from several of our late colleagues. I will lose no time in taking the steps which are indispensable in order to enable me to support my statement in the *Nineteenth Century* by conclusive documentary evidence."

This was understood to imply that Mr. Gladstone was unwilling to make, without the Queen's sanction, any further revelation of what had taken place at a Cabinet Council; whether that permission was withheld, as rumoured, or granted under certain restrictions which Mr. Gladstone was unwilling to accept, did not transpire, and the controversy was allowed to drop. Subsequently, at the request of a correspondent, he explained that it was the sitting of the Parnell Commission which obliged him to keep silence on debatable topics which might come before the Court.

A temporary lull succeeded this outburst, and people had time to reflect upon the lessons of the naval manœuvres which had been taking place round the coast. The results pointed very plainly to the fact that under the changed con-

dition of naval armaments an effective blockade of an enemy's port was almost illusory, except perhaps by a force wholly disproportionate to the available forces of the blockading power. The impossibility of protecting commerce afloat as well as open seaboard towns from capture and surprise seemed almost equally proved; for when the three weeks' campaign was over it was decided by the umpires that the enemy had practically ravaged the coasts and destroyed the commerce of the country.

The rejection of the Fisheries Treaty by the United States Senate had been too clearly anticipated to provoke the expression of any feeling but of regret that the removal of an unnecessary cause of friction between two friendly countries should have been again postponed; whilst the President's Message proposing retaliatory measures was regarded rather as an electioneering device than as the desire to provoke a quarrel. The *Standard* alone among the English press took a serious view of the "slight" which it contended had been put upon this country, affecting to see in the suggestion an infringement of the treaty of 1871; but the somewhat intemperate and hectoring article by which it expressed its views met with absolutely no echo in the English press or among English politicians of any shade.

After prolonged negotiations Baron Henry de Worms was able (Aug. 30) to state that the Treaty for Suppressing Sugar Bounties, for which he had long been labouring, had at length been signed by the majority of the Powers interested. Unfortunately the United States, France, Brazil, Denmark, and Sweden, for various reasons, held aloof. The signatory Powers nevertheless bound themselves to cease giving bounties to sugar manufacturers and to exclude all bounty-fed sugar from their ports. In the English press the terms of the treaty were attacked by a host of doctrinaire Free Traders, who pretended to find in its clauses a violation of the Cobden article of faith; but the majority of experts and practical men, irrespective of party, maintained that the slight restrictions imposed could not raise the price of the commodity, whilst they would probably revive an almost ruined home industry.

The lull, however, was but temporary, and it seemed at one moment likely to end in a serious storm. Mr. Gladstone having many months previously promised to attend the Eisteddfod held this year at Wrexham (Sept. 4), the managers of the Liberal Association expressed the hope that he would on the same day speak at a meeting of their body. To this proposal Mr. Gladstone at once consented, to the dismay of those devotees of Welsh literature who did not happen to be adherents of Mr. Gladstone's policy. A brisk correspondence ensued, in the course of which the managers of the Eisteddfod attempted to obtain from Mr. Gladstone the promise that he would abstain from making a political speech on such an occasion. To this Mr.

Gladstone declined to assent, and, in the long run, carried out his original plan. His political speech, which he delivered first, was, as he said, to be regarded as being made to an overflow meeting of those who could not find room at the Eisteddfod. A great part of this speech was devoted to justifying his comparison of Ireland with Poland and Naples. He had not, as some supposed, compared despotic institutions with institutions which, even in Ireland, "happily and despite the wishes of some," still included many of the elements of freedom. He had compared Ireland with Poland in this respect only, that in all Europe there could not be found a case in which Home Rule legitimately claimed by the mass of the population had been withheld, and so as to produce disastrous consequences, except in the case of Poland and Russia with its despotic and aristocratic institutions. He had not often to speak with great satisfaction of the policy of Austria, but for years past Austria had given a liberal measure of Home Rule to the Poles of Galicia. His statement with regard to the Neapolitan prisoners was, he said, that, while the British Government was causing the imprisoned Irish members of Parliament to associate with felons in taking their exercise, he had himself seen a political prisoner in Naples, in a gaol which contained 400 homicides and other felons and criminals, in a room of his own, completely apart from all the rest—if he remembered aright, at some distance from them—and no more interfered with by them than if he had been in a country many hundreds of miles off. But it had been discovered with triumph that he had also seen—and this he had not recollected distinctly at the time—other political prisoners who were differently treated. It had never been his intention to pretend to give a full account of the treatment of political prisoners in Naples—as had been supposed, possibly through some slight error in reporting, altering "prisoner" into "prisoners," or possibly by some casual error of his own in saying the one for the other. All that was then revealed to him was revealed by secret, clandestine means; and therefore he was not foolish enough to convey the absurd idea that he was going to give a distinct account of the treatment of all the political prisoners in Naples. He had seen there political prisoners of two characters. One of these consisted of a body of men distinguished in public life and eminent in the country, who had been tried and convicted of high treason, with respect to whom the Government of Naples always said it was a great mercy not to put them to death. "When I saw these political prisoners unquestionably I saw them in prison dress, and one of them, but not the others—I saw five or six together—was chained to an ordinary felon. That is a great abomination; but pray observe that at any rate this was a man who had been found guilty by such tribunals as the country afforded of high treason. These Irish members are not guilty of high treason, but of acts which, so far as I can see, have really excited on their

behalf a very large amount of approving sympathy in this country. They are guilty of acts which are offences, for the most part, against the outrageous law which was made last year by the Tory Government and the Tory Parliament and the dissentient Liberals in the Tory Parliament. I saw myself a political prisoner who had not, I believe, been convicted for high treason, and who did not wear the prison dress, and from him I learnt that the rules applicable to himself with regard to a free apartment were applied by the Neapolitan Government to prisoners generally." He then went on to speak of the case of Mr. Mandeville, but he was not, as he said, competent to form an opinion whether that person's death was due to his imprisonment; but he would say that the way in which Mr. Mandeville was used in prison was a disgrace to the Irish Government. Under diarrhoea he was fed with bread and water. Not a doctor in England—except Dr. Barr—but would condemn that treatment; and Dr. Barr had told Mr. Mandeville that he had not had punishment enough, and that it would be good for him if he had a little more. Now there was a distinction, not very capable of definition, but perfectly comprehensible, between the offences of these gentlemen which were not attended with any serious consequences to life or person and the base offences dictated by private greed or private passion. As Mr. Gladstone believed that his cause was absolutely sure, he was not impatient at its being slow. As for the Government's declaring they were the friends of law, wherever there was anything legal which did not suit them, the law was immediately cried down as perverted and falsified. Mr. Balfour had said that the verdict at the inquest on Mr. Mandeville ought to be treated with contempt, and yet the jury had contained five Tories and one other "who must be a Tory, as he was a sexton of the Disestablished Church." One result of the opposition to the Irish claims was, he said, that in Scotland and Wales it had caused people to think a great deal more about their own cause, and Wales would not be the patient, almost sheeplike, political unit in the future that she had been in the past. When the Irish question was disposed of she would stand upon a far more commanding ground than would have been the case but for the opposition to the claims of Ireland. She would find herself in tolerably close alliance with Scotland; and before many years were over all that she could justly claim would be granted by the British Parliament.

The Eisteddfod speech, which was delivered a few hours later, although possibly intended to stimulate the Particularist tendency in Wales, had considerable interest, and was one of Mr. Gladstone's most agreeable efforts. He gave Queen Elizabeth, and, indeed, the Tudors generally, great credit for sympathy with Wales; and quoted an authority for the statement that Henry VIII. repealed the Penal Acts against Welshmen and the Welsh tongue, which were in force when he ascended the throne. Elizabeth, moreover,

had caused the translation of the Scriptures into Welsh, and that was the greatest stimulus which the Welsh language and literature ever received. The most amusing part of Mr. Gladstone's speech was his examination of Shakespeare's feeling for the Welsh, which he showed to be much more friendly than his feeling for either the Irish or the Scotch, and this he attributed in great measure to Elizabeth's liking for the Welsh, Shakespeare being something of a courtier. He remarked on the fact that Shakespeare should have produced a Welsh clergyman at Windsor, Welsh clergymen not being very plentiful at Court, and pointed out that Shakespeare speaks of the "trusty" Welshman, the "loving" Welshman, and the "hardy" Welshman, and that the combination of these three characteristics of the nation gave a true friendly picture of Welsh character. Mr. Gladstone even regretted that Hawarden, which Simon de Montfort had wished to include in Wales Proper, had been by higher authority determined to be only one of the border districts.

The really interesting aspect of Mr. Gladstone's speeches was the further development of the "particularism" which had taken so firm a hold of his mind. Not in Ireland only, but in Wales and Scotland a separate political life and interests were to be recognised, and the attachment of those countries to the imperial rule was to be strengthened in proportion as they felt themselves less bound by the ties of a common responsibility. In view of the temper of the times and the growing dislike of authority, there was an obvious advantage to be gained at the polls by exaggerating local importance; but statesmen of all countries who viewed the tendency of English Liberalism without regard to party schisms augured ill of the outcome of a policy which would weaken the central power in the moments of crisis and danger. An instance, however, of the alterations which such a policy had for a certain body of men was seen at the Trade Union Congress which met about this time at Bradford, where the delegates by an overwhelming majority (82 to 18) adopted a resolution in favour of the formation of a Labour Party in Parliament. Workmen by this proposal were to return members of their own class, irrespective of political considerations, and these delegates, paid by their fellow-workmen, were to give their support in Parliament to the party which might earn it by active legislation in their interest.

The temporary cessation from party speeches which followed Mr. Gladstone's appearance at Wrexham was cordially approved by all except Mr. Davitt and the extreme section of the Nationalists. In a letter addressed to the *Daily News* (Sept. 12) Mr. Davitt complained that their English allies were "exhibiting an apathy towards eviction brutalities in Ireland, which looked like a left-handed concurrence in the policy of coercion as a means of thinning the Celtic population." This complaint, however, met with no endorsement from the Radical press and failed to

draw to the platform any of the Radical leaders. On the other hand, the Liberal Unionists, who, more than even the Conservatives, felt it necessary to keep themselves and their views prominently before the public, met in public conference at Bradford (Sept. 19), where Mr. Chamberlain monopolised the chief honours of the assembly. As a sort of preface to the Unionist campaign of the autumn, Mr. Chamberlain, in authorising the publication of certain articles which had appeared in the *Birmingham Gazette*, added a few lines in his own name, in which he showed that coercion was not the only policy in Ireland on which the Unionists relied. Starting with the proposition that the real grievance of Ireland lay in its wretched poverty and in the lack of energy and enterprise of its people, he suggested three remedies, either of which might be tried : either the Imperial Parliament should give to Irish industry that direct help and guidance which were not necessary in the richer parts of the United Kingdom ; or a safe plan for converting tenants into owners of land might with State aid be tried ; and lastly, when the quarrel between the owners and occupiers of land had been well assured, an extension of local self-government might be granted. Meanwhile he maintained that it was the duty of all Governments, and especially of democratic Governments, to maintain order and to make the land respected.

The choice of Bradford as the starting-point of the autumn campaign of the Liberal Unionists was in many respects well-inspired. Its electors had been honourably represented by the late Mr. W. E. Forster, whose personal attitude in the first acute stage of the Liberal dissensions had been prominently brought before the public during the summer. Mr. Forster's seat was now held by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who had taken totally different views of the Irish question, and had thrown in his lot with the extreme wing of the Radical party. His conduct had, however, received the approval of his constituents, thus suggesting that their views had materially changed since Mr. Forster's death. If, therefore, the Liberal Unionists could bring back the Bradford electors to their former views, they might reasonably hope that their policy was making way among the Yorkshire Radicals ; and it was to these that Mr. Chamberlain especially addressed his speech. Lord Hartington, moreover, who was unable to be present, wrote to the president of the conference his views on the situation :—" In Ireland the policy of our opponents has more and more shown itself to be based on the principles of disorder and lawlessness, which seem to be meeting with increased acquiescence on the part of their English allies ; while the events of the present Session have proved that the Unionist alliance is capable of providing the country with a policy of a distinctly popular and practical character." Lord Derby, in a letter which was also read to the meeting, thus defined the teaching of the Radical party :—" The idea of our Home Rule

friends seems to be, first, that to call an offence political is equivalent to saying that it is no offence at all; and, next, that to plunder their neighbour is a legitimate, or at least an excusable, act if it is done with a view to promote the interests of a disaffected party." These opinions practically furnished Mr. Chamberlain with a text for his speech. Recognising the difficulty of saying anything new on the subject of Home Rule, his chief aim was to impress upon his hearers the distinctive failures of the two parties into which English Liberals were unhappily divided. He began with an ungrudging eulogy of the late Mr. Forster, whose views in his lifetime he had not always shared, but whose aims he fully recognised, and with whom he believed co-operation in a just policy towards Ireland would have been possible in spite of their widely different opinions. But now Mr. Chamberlain confessed that he had at last begun to think that the great breach in the Liberal party over this question would never be healed. He declined to be tempted into the region of personal recrimination, and though the Gladstonians charged the Liberal Unionists with treachery, baseness, and inordinate ambition he would only reply that there was "not one Liberal Unionist from the highest to the lowest who had gained anything, or who could possibly have gained anything, by separating himself from his party." He claimed for the Liberal Unionists that they had "deliberately sacrificed personal ambition and everything that public men held dear in pursuance of an honest conviction," and because, in the dying words of Mr. Forster, they were "trying to serve their country." Mr. Chamberlain ridiculed a recent statement that the Liberal Unionists had deserted Mr. Gladstone on a question of detail, and commented on the absurdity of supposing that any trivial or unimportant matter could have made it possible for one who had been a Radical all his life, and who had not changed any of his opinions, to cordially support a Conservative Government, or for the bulk of the Liberal party to transform themselves into the allies of Mr. Parnell, and be hand and glove with men whom three years ago they denounced as the enemies of their country. Forgetting somewhat his promise to put aside personalities, Mr. Chamberlain then went on to taunt the adherents of Mr. Gladstone with no longer being Liberals. Liberals had a policy and a flag, but Mr. Gladstone's followers had only a leader. They knew not what his policy was, and they did not know and did not care into what ditch he was going to lead them. Mr. Gladstone himself had deliberately chosen to enshrine his proceedings in mystery and refused to trust the people. The great difference, he contended, between the two sections into which the Liberal party had been split was that the Unionists held that the law of the land ought to be maintained, even though it involved the payment of rent, and they were not prepared to accept any scheme of self-government for Ireland from the hands

of Mr. Parnell, even though it came through Mr. Gladstone. The Gladstonian proposals amounted to an agrarian revolution, which would lead to the confiscation of all property in land and to a political revolution which would end in the separation of Ireland and Great Britain.

Mr. Chamberlain further declared that the Unionists, both Liberal and Conservative, "refused absolutely to surrender to the party of violence and disorder," and that so long as Mr. Gladstone declined to give any assurance of guarantees and securities to accompany his Home Rule scheme the Unionists would continue to oppose his return to power. Turning to the actual members for Bradford, he compared to the Girondists of the French Revolution "those short-sighted politicians, the Shaw Lefevres, the Illingworths, and Cravens, in their blind belief that they could control the storm in Ireland, instead of being carried away by it," and he condemned them for "lending their respectability to cover the outrages of the National League and the dishonesty of the Plan of Campaign." As to the outcry about coercion, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the coercion which ought to be denounced was "the coercion of the weak and the oppressed, the shooting of old men and young women, mutilation and outrage and violence of all kinds established by the decrees of a secret tribunal, the coercion of the midnight assassin and the Moonlighter, the coercion which denied the rites of burial to the dead and the rites of religion to the living." But that was not the coercion which was denounced by the Gladstonians; they only denounced the coercion of the law. He maintained that at the present moment there was no more coercion by the authorities in Ireland than in England and Scotland. The only coercion was that men must obey the law, and there was greater liberty of speech and licence of the press in Ireland than in any other country in Europe. The only difference in the administration of the law was that under the Crimes Act certain offences which were punishable in England were in Ireland to be tried before magistrates instead of before juries, and the only reason for the difference was that under the pressure of the National League no jury could be relied upon to give a verdict in accordance with its oath. Mr. Chamberlain further pointed out that every man who had been imprisoned under the Crimes Act had undoubtedly committed the offence with which he was charged, and in proof of this he cited the case of Mr. Dillon, who had been imprisoned for inciting the tenants not to pay their rents, and to support the Plan of Campaign. This had been declared to be illegal by the highest court in Ireland, it had been disapproved by Mr. Parnell, and it had been condemned, on the grounds of religion and morality, by the Church of Rome. Mr. Dillon boasted that he would defy the law, and he openly broke it, and no Government could have lived for a day if it had refrained from prosecuting him. If the law was

wrong, the proper course was to amend it; while it existed it must be obeyed. Mr. Chamberlain then recapitulated the various advantages which the Irish tenant enjoyed, and how favourably, in view of recent legislation, he stood when compared with men of the same class all over the world. Lastly, he maintained that there would be no evictions in Ireland at all to-day were it not for the pressure put upon the tenants by the National League, and the dramatic eviction scenes which had been got up had only been organised to procure the sympathy of a body of Englishmen who, to gain eighty-six Parliamentary votes, had been content to surrender all the principles upon which society existed.

On the following day, speaking to a smaller and more select audience, Mr. Chamberlain examined the situation from a more tactical point of view. Premising that there was no precedent in English politics for the existence of three parties, all independent, the union of two of which was absolutely necessary to form a majority, the right hon. gentleman acknowledged that when this position was first brought about he believed it would only be temporary. He thought that if only a final settlement of the Irish land question could be obtained—and he would do his best to assist in procuring such a settlement—the whole Liberal party would once more fall into line again, and proceed with the various reforms upon which they were all agreed, and which included a large measure of local government for Ireland. He admitted that it was by no means certain that local government in Ireland, under any circumstances, would be satisfactory to Englishmen or in accord with our ideas, for wherever Irishmen had established local government for themselves, whether in the Irish municipalities or in the cities of America, it had proved a government that was inefficient and corrupt. Still, if Irishmen had a strange liking for inefficient and corrupt government, he did not see why we should interfere with this peculiarity, so long as no injustice or injury was done to other people. Believing at first, then, that the differences which broke out in the Liberal party were merely temporary, it was unnecessary and undesirable for the Liberal Unionists to decide upon anything in the nature of a final arrangement or alliance with the Conservative party. Mr. Chamberlain proceeded amid cheers:—"But my hopes have been entirely disappointed, and I think, so far from getting nearer to our Gladstonian friends, that the distance between us has become greater as time has gone on. In pursuit of this Irish question, and especially in consequence of the new alliance which the bulk of the Liberal party have formed, they have adopted new principles altogether foreign to Liberalism and altogether foreign to the idea of good government at all." Under these circumstances the Liberal Unionists had been drawn closer to the Conservative party in defence of principles which were above party, and to these principles they were prepared to sacrifice all personal ambition and all party interests.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to speak in the highest terms of the way in which the existing Government had acted on Unionist much more than on Conservative lines:—"I approve of the policy of the Government as far as it has gone. I am in part responsible for it; I am prepared to defend it and support it. I will do nothing—I will not raise a finger to destroy this Government so long as I know that the Government which would take its place is pledged to a principle and a policy of which I entirely disapprove, and which I believe would be fatal to the best interests of the country." At the same time he urged upon Unionists generally—Liberal and Conservative—that they should set about constructing a good alternative Irish policy to Mr. Gladstone's, though he confessed that he "should not think it his duty to sulk in his tent," even if his advice were not followed. Mr. Chamberlain concluded with some advice on party organisation, recommending the Unionists of both wings, while uniting for a common purpose, to preserve their political individuality, and not to merge themselves into one party, but to remain Liberals and Conservatives, loyally allied, but each section prepared to make concessions to the other, the Liberals in abandoning for a time the expectation of realising some of their reforms, the Conservatives abandoning anything in the shape of a reactionary policy. In this way there might be raised out of the clash of parties a party greater than all others—a party of the nation.

A week later Mr. Chamberlain attended a conference of the Midland Unionists at Nottingham, where Mrs. Fawcett took the opportunity of asserting that, from her own knowledge of her late husband's opinions, he would have supported the Unionist cause had he been still alive. Mr. Chamberlain necessarily went over much of the ground he had traversed in his speeches at Bradford and reiterated the reasons he had there given for supporting the Government and resisting the Gladstonian party. He, however, was altogether silent upon the subject of the "National Party," from which he had seemed to expect great things at Bradford. He described Mr. Gladstone's plan of Irish Home Rule as having been, in racing parlance, "scratched," and said that the Gladstonians were relying for success not upon any tangible principle, but upon the strength of party ties, upon the dislike of Liberals to "coercion," and upon the sympathy of the British electorate for the supposed wrongs of Irish tenants. He could get no answer from their leaders to the three questions which he was constantly putting to them, How did they propose to secure the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament? Did they intend to meet the opposition of Ulster by "coercion" of its loyal people? How did they propose to deal with the land question? Mr. Morley declined to answer these questions on the ground that Mr. Chamberlain and all the world knew what Mr. Gladstone's policy was. Mr. Chamberlain went on to describe the Irish party as a "kept party," and their leaders as, without

exception, profiting by their patriotism. This familiar charge, about which the Parnellites were not supposed to be sensitive, provoked indignant denials from Mr. Biggar, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Morley, and from the Convention of the Irish National League of Great Britain, held in Birmingham (Sept. 26). Mr. Chamberlain reminded his audience of Mr. Redmond's declarations as Mr. Parnell's delegate at the Chicago Convention of Aug. 1866:— 'I assert here to-day that the government of Ireland by England is impossible, and I believe it to be our duty to make it so.' He illustrated by several shocking but unimpugned stories the coercion practised by the League in Ireland and pointed out, in conclusion, that "the Parnellite policy is only to drive you by weariness of outrage and disorder into making sacrifices which they know that they cannot recommend to you by argument."

To these attacks Mr. John Morley was deputed to reply at a large Liberal gathering at Ipswich (Sept. 29), and, contrary to his usual custom, he allowed himself to adopt a line of bitter hostility towards Mr. Chamberlain personally instead of addressing himself to the difficulties of the Irish question, although he owned at the outset of his speech that his main object was to convince those wavering Liberals whose distrust of Mr. Gladstone's scheme had led them to hold aloof from the polls in 1886. The method he adopted to effect this purpose was for so practised a rhetorician somewhat singular. He began by complaining of the Liberal Unionists for not assisting the Gladstonians in opposing and embarrassing the Government during the Session, and retorted upon Mr. Chamberlain, with considerable neatness, the charge of being a Girondist. According to Mr. Morley, the Girondists were "men who made fine speeches about freedom and right and other matters, and then they lost heart and turned back." The imputation of sordid motives had better come only from men who were not of Mr. Chamberlain's eminence, and Mr. Morley added, "If this sort of language comes of consorting with gentlemen, I think our friend would have done better to keep to vulgarians like you and me." He then animadverted on Mr. Chamberlain for taunting Mr. Parnell with the receipt of 40,000*l.*, and for suggesting that "the Irish members were only patriots because they were well paid, and were quite willing to undergo a little mild imprisonment on the chance of sharing Mr. Parnell's plunder." Mr. Morley pointed out that it was Mr. Chamberlain himself—the author of "the elegant and savoury phrase that the Irish members were a kept party"—who was the first to co-operate with the Parnellites, and who even boasted that he had brought forward a plan which he derived from Mr. Parnell. Dismissing for a moment what he termed the "nauseous and cynical vulgarities" of Mr. Chamberlain to shower praises upon Mr. Dillon, he returned to Mr. Chamberlain once more, and disputed his assertion that all the men who had been convicted under the Crimes Act had been rightly condemned.

Turning to the question of evictions, Mr. Morley made much of the fact that they were carried out, not for the moderate rents sanctioned by the Act of 1887, but for the arrears of the unjust rents which had prevailed before the passing of that measure. It was childish and absurd to throw the responsibility of evictions for unjust arrears upon Mr. Dillon or upon the Gladstonians. At the same time Mr. Morley was willing to admit that some of the men who would not pay their rent were dishonest, though he reminded his hearers that Mr. Chamberlain had himself owned, both in and out of the House of Commons, that Parliament ought to have provided a remedy for unjust evictions and had not done so. As for outrages, Mr. Morley confessed, in an exceedingly brief passage, that they were "abominable," and that "those who perpetrated them were the worst enemies of the Irish cause," but he denied that the Parnellites were responsible for them. To Mr. Chamberlain's demand that Mr. Gladstone should produce his policy, Mr. Morley replied that Mr. Chamberlain knew very well what that policy was, and all the world knew it—it was that "laws for the government of Ireland should be conducted by such men as Mr. Dillon, who believed in and loved their countrymen, and not by men like Mr. Chamberlain, who despised them." As for Mr. Chamberlain's, they were "not serious plans—they were pricks of conscience." The statement contained in one of the plans attributed to Mr. Chamberlain, that Mr. Gladstone had proposed to make the State the direct rent-receiver in Ireland, Mr. Morley met with a point-blank denial. It was an astounding misrepresentation of the sort which always prompted one of Dickens's characters to exclaim, on hearing some very astonishing statement, "Arter that, let's have a glass of wine!" It was distinctly stipulated in Mr. Gladstone's Bill that the State should not be the rent-receiver or collector. The proposal of Mr. Gladstone was that an Irish central State authority, and not the Imperial authority, should be the rent-receiver. Arguing that the land-war in Ireland would have to be closed at the same time as the political war, he denounced Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to establish various provincial legislatures in Ireland as far more dangerous to the union than was Mr. Gladstone's plan. But what, he asked in conclusion, was to be thought of the statesmanship of men who propounded any plan whatever for extending local government in Ireland when they believed the Irish people to be corrupt and venal?

The contribution made to the discussion by the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Balfour) at Glasgow (Sept. 29) was not of a nature to soften the tone in which the campaign was being carried on. For reasons which seemed paramount with the party leaders, but altogether unintelligible, except for party purposes, to the public, defamation on one side was answered by reckless scorn and recrimination on the other. For upwards of

two hours Mr. Balfour revelled in contradicting the assertions, disputing the inferences, and upsetting the "facts" urged by his opponents in their attacks upon his administration of the Crimes Act in Ireland. He complained bitterly of the "ingrained and ineradicable falseness" of the statements made by Mr. Gladstone that prisoners detained under the Act were barbarously treated, their health undermined, and their lives endangered. Not content with these general denials, he followed step by step Mr. Mandeville's career after leaving prison "in excellent health and spirits," according to the *Freeman's Journal*, and, according to his own account a month later, "without a feather knocked out of him." He cited the unshaken evidence of Dr. Moore that Mr. Mandeville had, seven months after leaving prison, died of an acute inflammatory disease of the throat, the germs of which could not have been more than a few days in his system before his death. Referring next to Mr. O'Brien, whom he described as eager to pose as a martyr who would accept no indulgence from his gaolers, he revealed the fact that he was all the time receiving sandwiches three times a week from his friends outside. Mr. Balfour then turned the tables on Mr. Gladstone by describing the case of a man named M'Namara, who had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment during Mr. Gladstone's government, but after three months went mad and had to be released. He declared once more that Mr. Gladstone, Lord Spencer, and Sir George Trevelyan had treated their political prisoners in precisely similar fashion, and that Sir William Harcourt had defended their action in Parliament.

Speeches of this sort, brilliant and incisive as they were, only served to aggravate the Opposition and to make the breach between English and Irish more difficult to heal. No dispassionate reader was likely to be influenced either by the random attacks of the one party or the bitter denials of the other, whilst partisans were even less likely to be influenced by opponents who aimed rather at blackening one another's character than at suggesting a compromise by which the national welfare of English and Irish would be alike furthered. The only visible result of the actual tactics pursued was an increased acrimony in the dealings of opponents who hitherto had treated each other with courtesy and respect and a constant succession of letters addressed to the press by ministers and ex-ministers defending their utterances or wrangling over verbal differences.

It was therefore of little avail that Lord Hartington in his visit to Scotland should extol the benefits of the graces of "moderate Liberalism," as he did in a speech at Nairn (Oct. 2), so pacific in its tone that it was generally characterised as "non-political." At Inverness (Oct. 3), however, his address was scarcely open to the same rebuke, for he spent much time and pains in replying to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery. To the

former's objection to "Dissentient Liberals" retaining their seats on the front benches of the Opposition side of the House of Commons, Lord Hartington explained that the front Opposition bench was reserved by custom for Privy Councillors who were not members of the Government. Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, Mr. Bright, Mr. Heneage, and he himself sat there by as good a right as Mr. Gladstone himself; and their friends and supporters very naturally liked to sit behind them. They had not changed their opinions, and saw no reason for shifting their seats. Other men had a right to change their opinions if they liked, but it was too bad of them to blame their neighbours because they could not change so fast. "No one dreams of imputing blame to a weathercock because it changes its direction according to every wind that blows, but it would be rather a strong measure if the weathercock were to blame the fixed points of the compass because they do not change their position with equal alacrity." The alliance with the Conservative party had been useful to the country by producing a great advance in that party both of policy and sentiment, as had been proved by several useful measures. The same could not be said for the alliance between the Liberals and the Parnellites, which had issued simply in the subjection of the former. Words used by Lord Rosebery three years before on the supposed alliance between the Conservatives and Parnellites, Lord Hartington said, would apply exactly, with changed names, to the present situation. "Mr. Parnell," he had said, "and not Lord R. Churchill, will be master of the situation. He, and not Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, will be the real leader of the House of Commons." Substitute Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Harcourt, and you had the case as it now stood. As long as this was so Lord Hartington saw no chance of a reunion of the Liberal party. One important argument on the Home Rule policy, which had hardly received sufficient attention, was forcibly urged by him. Lord Rosebery had said that Scotland was not yet ripe for Home Rule, and that the question of Ireland should be considered by itself. But Lord Hartington pointed out that it was impossible to do this. Home Rule granted for Ireland would quicken the demand for it in Scotland and Wales, and then certainly in England also. The British Empire would be dissolved into a federal union. A new Constitution would have to be framed; and he was not prepared to take the first step in so tremendous a revolution without a great deal more consideration of its results. Of the obstructive tactics by which the Irish party had won their power, "an insidious poison instilled into our Parliamentary system," and of the patronage accorded to it by Mr. Gladstone, he spoke in terms of well-merited indignation. "I shall never cease to wonder," he said, "at the conduct of that statesman, who, during fifty years' connection with the affairs of this country, has won his greatest triumphs in the House of

Commons, in condoning and apparently forgetting the injury that has been inflicted upon the dignity, the power, and usefulness of the House of Commons."

Lord Hartington then passed on to make some severe remarks on Mr. Gladstone's persistent endeavours to discredit and bring into contempt the administration of the law in Ireland, citing as an instance the method employed in Mr. Dillon's case. "Any breach of the law," said Mr. Gladstone, "is a public evil. But the true authors of this evil are the Government and Parliament," and, as he added afterwards, "the electors." "This, then," Lord Hartington argued, "is the position of the case. An illegality has been committed; it is admitted apparently that it was committed by Mr. Dillon; but Mr. Dillon is the only person who is not responsible. The Government is responsible; the majority who support the Government are responsible. Everybody is responsible except Mr. Dillon." Lord Hartington concluded by expressing the fullest confidence in the justice of the Unionist cause, repeating his firm determination to adhere to and support it.

In the short lull which followed Lord Hartington's speeches in Scotland, public attention was riveted on a succession of horrible murders occurring within a short distance of each other in White-chapel. In each case the murderer—for it was presumed that only one person was implicated—escaped, leaving behind him no trace of either his motive or of his identity. A senseless cry was raised in some quarters against the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police (Sir C. Warren), who had made himself unpopular with a certain section of the Radicals by his stern repression of all attempts to hold meetings in public thoroughfares. The failure of his subordinates to discover a clue to the White-chapel murderer was made the text of repeated inefficiency and defective control. For a time the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) shared with the Chief Commissioner the reproaches which, whilst ostensibly levelled against the system, were in reality censures upon those who were responsible for its working. It was in vain the more sober organs of the press pointed to the small force of police by which the lives and property of five millions of people were as a rule satisfactorily protected; public temper and popular unreasonableness were aroused and an action was required to appease the multitude. Unfortunately for himself, Sir Charles Warren, in apparent ignorance of the rules of the service, had thought fit to defend himself and his administration in a signed article in *Murray's Magazine*, and in this way he gave the Home Secretary the opportunity of at once enforcing official discipline and satisfying public clamour. Sir Charles Warren, who had some months previously had a misunderstanding with Mr. Matthews on the position of independence claimed by Mr. Monro, the head of the Detective Department, again offered his resignation, which after a short delay was accepted. Attention, how-

ever, had been called by these outrages to the conditions under which a large number of persons, not necessarily or of their own free will criminal, were herded together regardless of the common decencies and requirements of civilised life—neglected by those whose duty it was to make the surroundings of the poor at least healthy and safe by a fitting supply of light, air, and water. It was therefore hoped by a few that the many would at length be brought to throw off the apathy with which for so long the well-to-do had regarded the claims of the wretched and the outcasts, and Government was urged to take into consideration some comprehensive scheme for dealing with poverty-stricken districts, where the local authorities habitually neglected their duties.

The announcement that Mr. John Morley would address the Welsh Liberals at Newtown (Montgomeryshire) revived the flagging interest in political questions, more especially as it was well known that Welsh Liberals were divided amongst themselves, not only upon domestic questions but upon the greater question of the proposed National Welsh party. Seeing the success which had attended the Irish demands, and inferring that cheap land was the natural outcome of Home Rule, certain of the popular leaders not members of Parliament proposed to establish a Welsh Home Rule party on the model of Mr. Parnell's agitation. Putting the Principality before the Liberal party, they conceived the idea that by some distinct organisation they might, like the Irish, obtain their farms at less than the market price. In many respects the Welsh had equal considerations, as Mr. Gladstone and other Liberal leaders had frequently told them, with the Irish. The Established Church was in many districts repugnant to the national feeling, which had displayed itself in an obstinate refusal to pay tithes; the Welsh language was not only largely spoken throughout the Principality, but had a literature which was said to be full of beauty and merit; and the country was governed, not by a separate executive, but as so many English counties.

It was therefore under somewhat delicate circumstances that Mr. John Morley found himself (Oct. 8) in the presence of a large and enthusiastic assembly of Welshmen at Newtown; but the difficulties of the situation in no way daunted him. The earlier part of his speech was devoted to a general attack on the impotence of the Unionist party, of which he predicted the speedy overthrow. Having declined to formulate a definite policy in regard to the future of Ireland, he then passed on to the consideration of those political questions that had a special interest for a Welsh audience. It was being said, he admitted, that by advocating Home Rule for Ireland the Liberals had called up a monster in Wales; but he maintained that the extension of the franchise naturally led to the raising of new questions. He admitted also that important Welsh questions, such as intermediate education and land tenure, had been delayed, and he

ridiculed the attempts of the Government to deal with the anti-tithe agitation as measures unworthy of a political architect, and only worthy of a "jerry builder." On the subject of the Church in Wales, treating only the political side of the question, he thought that the opinion was growing among English Liberals that the Establishment in Wales constituted as well as a moral wrong a practical grievance. "A very lamented friend of mine," he added, "and one who did much to stir and enlighten English interest in Celtic literature, Mr. Matthew Arnold, almost, I think, a month before he left us, warned the Tory party to set this matter in order. Mr. Matthew Arnold was a very strong Unionist, and, more than that, he was a very strong man for Establishment; but he felt that the present application of the tithe is a thing which cannot be defended. Then they have the audacity to say that this question has been raised because we want to buy over the Welsh vote, which, for that matter, I thought we had. They say we want to buy over the Welsh vote by talking about the Church. But I am always fond of going to my opponents for evidence, and I will read you a few words from certainly one of the most able men, powerful men, solid and hard-headed men of the Unionist party. I mean Lord Derby. What did Lord Derby say in 1885? I will tell you what he said. He said:—'If the representatives of Scotland desire Disestablishment of their Church it is not for England to oppose them, and for myself I consider that Wales has a strong claim to be separately dealt with. In Wales Nonconformity forms the bulk of the population. The Welsh people constitute in many respects a distinct nationality.' You see it is not the Separatists only who say that Wales is a separate nationality. It is not the Separatists only who say that it is equitable and expedient in the interests of peace, in the interests of right, to listen to the demands of the Welsh people in respect to the Welsh Church."

Coming at last to the question of political organisation in Wales, and the necessity of dealing with Irish grievances before touching Welshmen, Mr. Morley significantly remarked:—"One little arithmetical fact to be borne in mind is that twenty-six is a smaller figure than eighty-six"—in other words, that it was the weight of the Irish vote which decided the urgency of Irish claims. Meanwhile Mr. Morley urged his audience to make use of the county councils, and to make them as powerful as possible—to federate them over wide districts—until perhaps at length they might constitute a Welsh National Council. On the following day Mr. Morley expressed his meaning still more plainly, and said that while the Welsh councils would give precedence to the Irish question they would go on discussing the other topics before them, so that when the time came Parliament might be ready, as the Liberal party would assuredly be ready, to deal faithfully and promptly with them.

There is little to be gained in following step by step the various speeches which poured in ceaseless flow from platforms all over the kingdom. The staple of all was the same—the Irish question—and it was treated on both sides with so little novelty or originality that it was surprising that audiences could be found to listen to the oft-repeated assertions and equally oft-repeated denials of tyrannous government and persistent persecution. Neither Mr. W. H. Smith at Gloucester nor Lord Rosebery at Leeds on the same day (Oct. 9) added anything to our previous views of the political situation; but the latter in an address to the Chamber of Commerce (Oct. 10) was happy enough to get away from Ireland to make some useful remarks on general politics, protesting at the same time against the unreasonable delay of Englishmen in arriving at any clear idea of a colonial policy. His speech in the main was a plea for the federation of the empire. He held that the cause of that empire was commerce, without which we should possess but two islands in the Atlantic not altogether friendly to each other. He urged that our commerce and our colonies would in future be the main factors in determining our foreign policy. In every continent it was through the interests of our colonies and dependencies that we were coming into contact, sometimes into hostile contact, with the great European Powers and the United States. The colonies therefore would make their voices heard in the Foreign Office unless the connections were made less loose and unsatisfactory than at present. If Australia and Canada were to remain English, Lord Rosebery urged, they must be admitted to a much larger share in imperial affairs, and to a much more influential voice in the determination of imperial policy. No great benefit would be obtained without a sacrifice, and the sacrifice England must make, if she wished to keep her colonial empire, was the diminution of her insular freedom of action. On a subsequent occasion (Oct. 24), speaking at Glasgow to the West of Scotland branch of the Imperial Federation League, Lord Rosebery and Lord Brassey urged again the importance of federation to a British foreign policy. The latter pointed out, with great cogency, that to a great extent trade follows the flag: our trade with Canada, for instance, being far more important and elastic than our trade with the United States. From this he argued that we ought to give the colonies a predominant influence over our foreign policy, and to do all in our power to give them that influence in such tangible form as would bring home the idea of federation to the colonial mind.

In a totally different way Mr. Leonard Courtney's speech to his constituents at Liskeard (Oct. 11) was a refreshing contrast to the majority of the speeches of the recess, bearing in mind what so many of his colleagues seemed in danger of forgetting, that the "great idea of the Unionist party was to hold an even balance between the contending factions in Ireland." He

was as frank about the unwisdom of Colonel King-Harman's appointment as about the recklessness and indecency of the debate on the Parnell Commission. With regard to the action of the Government in this matter, he gave expression to a sentiment, which had been common everywhere but in the House of Commons, as to the desirability of withdrawing the offer when the terms were cavilled at. He declared, moreover, his opinion that if the letters attributed to Mr. Parnell had been acknowledged by him they would not have injured his character much. Four members out of five would, under the circumstances, have written the one explaining away his denunciation of the murders. Their importance had been exaggerated, but of course, as Mr. Parnell had solemnly denied them, he would, if they were proved to be authentic, be politically ruined. The debate on the Parnell Commission was, said the Chairman of Committees, the worst scene he ever saw in the House of Commons. Party feeling rose so high that "reason seemed to be abandoned, and the very Bench itself was bespattered." He could see no reason for the creation of a special tribunal, and thought the Government wrong in consenting to one; but still he was not prepared to say that the investigation would do no good. Whichever way the decision went, however, it would have no effect upon the Irish question, which was independent of the character of any individual. "If Mr. Parnell's character were utterly blasted for ever, we should not have got rid of the Irish difficulty. If Mr. Parnell's character were established for ever, the difficulty would remain." A few days later, addressing his constituents at Bodmin (Oct. 16), Mr. Courtney said that the whole difficulty in Ireland had reference to the land. But it had been agreed among Gladstonians that the question of Irish land must be determined by the Imperial Parliament before any Irish Parliament was set up. It was therefore a satire on the whole business that because of the Irish land question the Constitution was to be reconstructed and an Irish Parliament set up, and yet that the land difficulties were to be settled before an Irish Parliament was to be called into existence. Over and over again it had been said by Gladstonians that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was to be maintained. But if anyone trusted to that he trusted to a delusion, as was shown by the history of the colonial parliaments, which nominally were subject to the Imperial Parliament, while as a matter of fact its authority was not felt at all. Two years previously Mr. Courtney had conceded that there was one class of questions over which the Imperial Parliament might be said to have supremacy—namely, those dealing with the relations between the colonies and foreign countries. But he was now disposed to withdraw from that statement. For we were bound by treaty to let the Chinese enter any part of the British dominions, and, nevertheless, Australia now insisted on keeping them out. Even in such a matter the control of the Imperial

Parliament went for nothing. After speaking of the vagueness of the proposals about Home Rule, he declared that not a single case had been made the subject of coercion which was not liable to be tried in England if it had occurred there. He had said that the experiment of resident magistrates trying these cases must be watched; but he was now astonished at the fewness of the errors they had committed. With regard to the proclamation of meetings, he advised that those who thought a meeting was illegally proclaimed should bring an action against anybody who arrested them, and so test the question. This had been his advice to the Salvation Army people when he was at the Home Office, and it had been followed successfully. For himself, he should not be content with the simple policeman's work. There must be established in the counties of Ireland as full and free a local government as had been set up in England.

It was seldom, however, that criticism so independent and counsel so sound were heard on the platform. The aim of the majority of speakers of all shades was to bring before their hearers the keenness of parliamentary life and to gain votes from the electors. In spite of a cheap press, which disseminated over the country the reports of the proceedings of the House of Commons, neither party could afford to rely upon the supposition that every voter was a newspaper reader, whilst every elector might, if he cared, attend a public meeting. Each centre, therefore, of political life was in turn visited by the most prominent speakers of different shades of opinion, who sought to put in the most vivid way before their audience their respective opinions. Thus it was that day after day rival politicians stated and restated their views to sympathetic audiences all over the country. In most cases the brunt of the battle fell upon the Liberal Unionists, who displayed not only energy but resource, though it must be added that the Gladstonians began to show a far greater confidence in their cause than they had previously evinced, and more determination to bring it to a successful issue.

The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in addressing the Plymouth Conservative Association (Oct. 17), bantered the Radicals on the notion that a Conservative Government was "contrary to the order of nature, and repugnant to the moral law," but pointed out that the present Administration, even though its Irish policy did not suit its opponents, was admitted by them to have done good work in many other directions. He taunted the Gladstonians in general and Mr. Morley in particular with having one Home Rule nostrum for Ireland and quite another, or rather none at all, for "gallant little Wales," and attributed this difference in the treatment of the two countries to the fact that while Ireland returned eighty-six Nationalists to the House of Commons, and could, therefore, make herself "inconvenient" to a party, Wales

had only twenty-six Gladstonian members, and therefore her support was not of so much importance. Sir Michael pointed out that the power of the law was every day increasing in Ireland, and the power of the National League was on the wane, and he quoted the statistics recently adduced by the Irish Viceroy in proof of this. Under these circumstances he appealed to Irish Conservatives to make a fresh and vigorous stand in support of the party which had so greatly helped them, and not to let all the Irish parliamentary seats go by default to the Nationalists. At the same time he warmly advocated a reform of the Irish Government, and, speaking as one who had held the office of Irish Secretary for a longer time than any other member of the House of Commons, he cordially endorsed Mr. Courtney's suggestion that the Irish Secretary had too much to do, and that a good deal of his work should be handed over to other responsible heads of departments sitting in Parliament. Irish local government also needed reforming.

Two days later, in a speech at Newton Abbot (Oct. 19), Sir Michael Hicks-Beach confined himself mainly to indicating the lines on which and the principles by which the Conservative party could best meet its adversaries in the field, his chief theory being that the party should aim to be thoroughly national, and should not yield to that "extraordinary cosmopolitan sympathy" under the influence of which so many Radicals appeared to convince themselves that "what was wrong was done by our countrymen, and what was right was done by our enemies." He strongly recommended the maintenance of the alliance with the Liberal Unionists, especially as such questions as the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Scotland and Wales were in the air, and were supported not alone by extreme Radicals, but by the regular Opposition. However, as the great bulk of the Liberal Unionists and the Conservative party were agreed in opposing such a policy, he anticipated no great difficulty in defeating it. It would be foolish in the extreme to jeopardise such an important alliance by any insistence on minor points.

In the North of England the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Balfour) once more undertook the duty of defending the Government policy before the Liberal Unionist Association of Haddington (Oct. 16) and of Manchester (Oct. 18) in speeches too full of bitter scorn of his opponents to render a policy of mutual concession possible. In the former, addressing his fellow-townsmen and fellow-countrymen, he said that from the abuse which had been showered upon him in Ireland, to which Mr. Gladstone had recently added by comparing him to King Bomba, he had derived a good deal of innocent amusement. The chief interest of his speech, however, lay in his brilliant summary of the former relations of England and Scotland. To the historian of the future the attitude of the Unionists would, he thought, appear the most remarkable phase of the present great controversy.

For himself he regarded party allegiance as a great engine of freedom, but, nevertheless, it was liable to the greatest abuse. Party organisations must not be reduced to taking blank schedules marked "Liberal principles" or "Conservative principles," to be filled up at the bottom according to the wayward will of party leaders. All honour, then, to those who refused to become the tools of such a system. There were some who desired that the union of the Unionist party should become of an even closer and more intimate character, and who regretted that the Liberal Unionists and the Conservative Unionists should keep up, for a common purpose, separate and different organisations. But the Liberal Unionist party included many of the most distinguished Radical members, men who entirely differed from anything that might be described as Conservatism in many of its important and fundamental points. Then, too, each man owed something to his past, and he himself would never think of urging any Liberal Unionist friend to drop a name of which he might well be proud, because they were fighting not a party but a national battle. "Both parties in the State may surely amalgamate for the preservation of the empire without losing any of the identity, any of the connection, with their historic past which might be involved in a change of name; and therefore it is that I hail with satisfaction the policy that has been pursued by the Liberal Unionists, and I believe it has been dictated not only by a wise reverence for their own past, but by a sound knowledge of the exigencies of the present. But while I say that, do not suppose I hide from myself for a moment the difficulties which such a course entails on the Unionist party. Two parties working for the same thing, two parties in the House of Commons not bound in allegiance to a common captain—those are conditions that would seem to contain within themselves the seeds of every species of difficulty, of every kind of disaster and disunion." They felt that they were not only working for the unity of the empire; they had been compelled to become the custodians of the public morality of the country. Mr. Balfour proceeded to say that he did not fear the issue of the controversy raised by the Gladstonians about crime in Ireland. There was a wealth of mendacity among the Separatist newspapers and Separatist orators. His only fear was that these tactics might defer the day in which Irishmen might feel that they were the brethren of Englishmen and Scotchmen. "There are few arguments used in this Home Rule controversy which I read with less patience than that which finds in the ancient wrongs alleged to have been done by England to Ireland a perennial source of hatred on the part of Ireland towards England. Surely, whatever weight that argument may have in other parts of the United Kingdom, it should have no weight with us who are Scotchmen. For what is Scotch history? Scotch history for four centuries was a history of wrongs inflicted on Scotland by

England. All our great victories were victories over England, all our disastrous defeats were defeats by England. If it is true that while the whole of the rest of Europe during four centuries was rapidly advancing in wealth, civilisation, and prosperity, Scotland alone retrograded during the four centuries that preceded the Union, that fact is due alone to the influence which the neighbourhood of a mightier kingdom had upon us. There is not a county in Scotland which does not show a battle-field where Scotch blood has been poured out like water by Englishmen. There is hardly a town in Scotland which does not show the ruin of some great ecclesiastical edifice, once devoted to the service of religion, which was destroyed by English arms and English generals; and the very poverty which English satirists threw in the teeth of Scotchmen during the last century was a poverty brought on Scotland by Englishmen, and Englishmen alone. Do these facts render it difficult for us to feel ourselves an integral part of the United Kingdom? Do they make it hard for us to join with our English brethren across the border and feel we are all of one stock, speaking one language, looking forward to one future, with our past and future bound together indissolubly? Surely not. Scotland in the highest sense—I mean Scotchmen—have, I think, been able to show of what they were capable on the largest field since Scotland was joined to England in 1707. Then for the first time did the prosperity of which the marks are to be seen in every field, in every town, and in every suburb of the Lowlands and of the Highlands—only then did that prosperity begin to dawn in Scotland, only then did Scotland begin to show what she could do in law, politics, literature, and poetry; and it is from that day that we first began to appreciate the enormous possibilities latent in the Scottish character. It is only from that day it became manifest to the world that after all Scotland was the best part of England. Perhaps you will say that the Union which brought all these blessings was popular. If there be an historic fact more certain than any other historic fact, it is that the Union was passed against the will of the vast majority of the Scotch people and against all that were most patriotic of the day; and even when generations were past you will find standing traces of the hatred in a man perhaps the calmest, perhaps the most philosophic, perhaps the least passionate intellect that Scotland has ever produced—I mean in the writings of David Hume. If that has been the state of the Scottish Union, if those blessings have fallen from that great Act, in the end not less admirable consequences will follow from the Union between Ireland and England, no matter what Separatists may do. For my part, I will never, as far as I can, allow either the action of interested demagogues or the machinations of that strange hybrid product of modern Irish politics, half rebel, half Socialist, or the ingenuity of the Irish wire-pullers, or the ignorance of the English wire-pullers, to stand

between us and the great results which I think ought to follow from drawing closer the bonds of unity which at present hold together the separate portions of this empire. My policy is not dictated simply or even principally with the view to the safety of the empire ; it is not dictated alone by the reflection that no act of a public party could surpass in infamy the act of any Government who should hand over the loyal party in Ulster and in the rest of Ireland to the Irish Separatists. It is not dictated by that consideration alone. I believe, I most firmly believe, that the Irish are now an element which we ourselves require to complete our national character. I do not believe, though I am accused every day in the newspapers of attacking Irishmen and Ireland, that we could suffer without national loss the separation from our midst of the great Celtic element supplied us by Ireland. The united empire is what it is in consequence of the variety of the races who compose it ; it is what it is because it embraces in one solid whole spirits which have such different origin and such different natures ; and for my own part I never can consent to a scheme which, while it would remove no grievance that I am aware of, while it would inevitably aggravate that cause of difference which now separates a part of our Irish fellow-subjects from ourselves, would place in the hands of rebels an instrument more powerful than any that has ever been given them even by measures of English party warfare, and would inevitably produce in the long run separation or reconquest."

In his speech at Manchester, on the other hand, Mr. Balfour devoted himself almost exclusively to defending himself against the charges so unscrupulously brought against him in spite of the denials he had formally made of the facts upon which they were based. He commented on the cleavage in the Liberal party which had rendered the presentation of such an address to a Conservative Minister possible, and pointed out that that cleavage, which was at first only political, had now become moral. Mr. Balfour went on to defend himself from some of the charges brought against him by Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt in reference to the Mandeville case, and to accuse both those statesmen in turn of having distorted facts by suppressions and omissions which were even more significant than their misrepresentations, with the object of creating "a sham tragedy" over Mr. Mandeville and keeping out of sight the real tragedy, which was to be found in the death of Dr. Ridley. All this showed a great falling off in morality, and it was a painful fact that some of the leading Gladstonians had deliberately thrown public morality to the winds. Mr. Balfour's second speech was made to the members of the Manchester Carlton Club, when he expressly excluded Irish affairs from the topics over which he ranged, and commented instead on the work of the past session, with the view of showing that, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's prediction, Ireland had not "blocked the way."

To combat the possible effect of Mr. Balfour's speech at Haddington, Mr. Morley was designated to put before the Border population at Dumfries (Oct. 19) the opposite view of political morals and tactics. He complained of Mr. Balfour's charge that the Gladstonians were now separated from the Unionists by a moral as well as by a political gulf, and related that in 1885 those who now posed as the custodians of public morality went "hand in hand with the men who were steeped in crime." Such disturbance as existed in Ireland he attributed to the Government and their Unionist allies. He went on to argue that no analogy existed between the union with Scotland and the union with Ireland, because the Scottish feeling of nationality had been respected, while the Irish national feeling had been disregarded. He refused to formulate a definite Gladstonian policy on the ground that nobody yet knew what Ulster and other affected interests would require. He did not think the Roman Catholics of Ireland under a Home Rule Parliament would want to persecute the Protestants, because Mr. Dillon when in Scotland stayed with a minister of the Kirk and had many Protestant friends.

The dispute between Mr. Morley and Mr. Balfour as to how far the Government had fulfilled its promise of giving political prisoners a right of appeal was subsequently carried on in the newspapers, in the course of which both disputants displayed considerable dialectical subtlety and skill, and succeeded only in leaving the matter very much as they had found it. Lord Granville at Liverpool (Oct. 20) gave more assistance to the bewildered readers of so many contradictory assertions as to the actual position of the Irish question. He assured his hearers that, far from having no policy for Ireland, Mr. Gladstone was the only statesman who had one; and he protested against the notion that, because he had promised to retain the Irish representatives at Westminster, he was bound to explain how he would adapt that concession to the necessities of the situation in Ireland, which would only offer the Unionists "a cockshot to play at." The gist of his speech, however, was rather to suggest that the Gladstonians, so far from contemplating any step which the nation should regard with dread, were only prepared to do what he hoped that the Unionists might anticipate them in doing.

We may pass by without special notice the speeches of Sir Henry James at York (Oct. 25) and of Lord Hartington at Huddersfield (Oct. 28) defending the Unionist position, as well as those of Sir George Trevelyan at Morpeth (Oct. 26) and Mr. Childers at Coatbridge (Oct. 28) in which the Separatist views were defended upon the well-worn lines. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's (Mr. Goschen) appearance at Aberdeen, a stronghold of the Gladstonian party, was, however, more noteworthy, especially on account of the cordiality with which the speaker was received. The burden of his first speech (Oct. 30) was a defence of the Union. Pushing aside all the merely parliamen-

tary arguments of his opponents, disdaining to reply to the insincere talk about a coercion which, except so far as all law was coercive, did not exist, Mr. Goschen addressed himself at once and exclusively to the heart of the subject, the effect which the autonomy of Ireland would have upon the kingdom as a whole, and therefore, among others, upon all Irishmen. He showed that every material and every moral argument was against Mr. Gladstone's proposal. The "greatness of our country, our vast colonial possessions, our dependencies in the East, our command over the supplies which are necessary for feeding the vast masses which are congregated in these small islands, our power for action in sudden emergency—are all these powers, are all these great influences, are they or are they not the first condition of national safety and of national existence?" This could not be made dependent upon the action of a possibly hostile, certainly indifferent, autonomous Irish Government. To surrender the power of united, rapid, and decisive action would be to surrender all which gave us a hold upon our empire and protects that commerce in which every working man, Irishman or Briton, had so immediate and vital an interest. For, apart from the direct loss of strength arising from the fact that all Irish recruits, ports, and telegraphs would be at the disposal of men who must at least hearken to their American allies, and who might have a totally separate foreign and colonial policy, "the surrender would be a notice to the world in general that we have ceased to believe in our power of government. It would be a notice to every disconcerted portion in any part of our vast dominions that if they are only sufficiently enduring and audacious they will find a party who will be prepared to loosen the ties which bind them to the centre." All men would believe with Australians, who had actually said so, that Englishmen had "lost the grit and the grip necessary for the government of this great empire." The surrender would be to "those who are the apostles of disordered forces in all parts of the empire, and who join in the outcry against British rule whenever it is made." "We have seen the development of rivals in places where before we had but few. We have seen new flags carried with ever-increasing boldness into spheres where British influence used to be considered exclusive and supreme. And what has led to this result? Successful struggles for national unity. We have seen in contemporary history two great cases of successful struggles, ruthless and steady struggles, for national union. In Germany and in Italy we have seen this progress, and we have seen new empires built up on the ruins of separate systems of government, on separate traditions, on separate principles. We have seen that where local interests stand in the way of the interests of the whole, or where opposed to the strength of the whole, these local interests have been ruthlessly thrown to the wall. Dynasties have been dethroned, frontiers have been wiped out, capitals

turned into provincial cities, and look at the result ! Italy has emerged a great European Power from a cluster of small States, and Germany, after having been a collection of small kingdoms, principalities, and duchies, has emerged an empire whose citizens are learning with wonderful rapidity to claim the privileges all over the globe which belong to a united people which has confidence in itself."

Replying to his own question whether we were to undo the work of seven centuries, Mr. Goschen protested against the want of the sense of proportion that, for the sake of those who sought to shake the system of centralisation to its foundation, a political party should be willing to commence a revolution of which no one could see the end, and be prepared to overthrow an organisation which, in its working, had been identified with the welfare of 300 million subjects of the Queen because three millions of them were discontented in Ireland. Even with a friendly Ireland he foresaw immediate complications. The Irish were in favour of protection, the English democracy was not, and Mr. Gladstone and his friends—he wished he had them for a quarter of an hour in a room to discuss the question—said we ought to meet the demands of the Irish people. Were they going to draw the line at the pockets of the English democracy ? A Ministry would find it extremely awkward to answer this demand of the Irish people : sentimental jargon was addressed to the heart and protection was addressed to the pocket. Mr. Goschen went on to complain that their opponents would not meet them on the greater issues, and he appealed to Mr. Gladstone to answer in his forthcoming speech at Birmingham three or four simple questions : to say if his idea of colonial freedom to be extended to Ireland was to include fiscal independence ; if, taking the cases of Poland and Austria as examples of legislative independence, he purposed to retain the same central executive power as existed in those countries, and if not how he replied to the late Sir Robert Peel's argument against the impossibility of separate councils ; and finally he asked him to state his views upon the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, and upon the settlement of the land question before or after the constitution of an Irish Parliament. In a subsequent speech (Oct. 31) delivered to another group of the citizens of Aberdeen Mr. Goschen carried on the same train of thought and argument : "Mr. Gladstone," he said, "believes in the magnanimity of surrenders ; but I distinguish. There might be magnanimous surrenders—surrenders made from conviction in the plenitude of power, when all your resources are at your disposal, and when, from a sense of justice, you surrender your position of power because you feel that conscience demands it. But when surrenders are made after you have stated that you consider that such a surrender would be ridiculous and dangerous to the country, when surrenders are made at a moment of peril or after defeat,

when surrenders are made in deference to threats and continued opposition, then I think there is some little doubt whether mankind or the civilised world attaches that magnanimous significance to a surrender under such circumstances that Mr. Gladstone seems to suppose. I see no magnanimity in surrendering to the Irish demands which were resisted so long as our opponents thought they could possibly be resisted, and the surrender that comes when a pistol is put to your throat seems to me not to be a surrender which can be dignified by any high-sounding names." Home Rule, Mr. Goschen maintained, was, in fact, a surrender of despair; a surrender which would never be made if England had not lost her sense of justice and her courage, and with them her right to control so vast a section of the earth's surface. That in conceding Home Rule we gave up the empire would follow not only from the loss of material strength and the moral confidence of other nations, but from a third loss on which Mr. Goschen touched only briefly. Disintegration would not stop with Ireland. The advocates of Home Rule "fly from constituency to constituency endeavouring to ruin local feeling." . . . "If you," continued Mr. Goschen, "follow the speeches of your opponents you will find that, whether they find a Welsh, Scotch, or Irish audience to address, they set themselves to the task of raising the local against the central and imperial authority. They endeavour to minimise the advantages of the central executive and of central law, and exaggerate all the disadvantages that also may be found in the central executive. . . . You have a Welsh Home Rule party, which is to be paid, and you have a Scotch Home Rule party. Sometimes it may be the destruction of a Church or it may be the plunder of a class, but in some mode payment is to be given for the votes of each nationality, and the bargains are to be struck on strictly electioneering principles. Thus we see a new idea of political life, the setting-up of a kind of system of petty haggling and log-rolling of nationalities."

Speaking almost simultaneously, Lord Hartington at Huddersfield (Oct. 29) dwelt at some length upon the character of Irish representation, showing that by the household suffrage franchise given to Ireland the numerical majority was increased to the great detriment of the numerical minority. He reminded his hearers that when this point was raised in Parliament English statesmen who supported the measure had declared that the danger if ever it took a practical form would be averted by the ample protection which the English and Scotch representatives would give to the Irish minority. That promise, said Lord Hartington, involved a very grave responsibility, and it was now the bounden duty of Englishmen and Scotchmen to see that that promise was kept. He did not, however, ignore the fact that in his proposed Bill in 1886 Mr. Gladstone had taken pains by the device of the two orders in the local legislature to secure some

constitutional equivalent for the protection which he proposed to withdraw. This provision, however, Lord Hartington pointed out, was that which no one supposed was likely to endure; it had in it an air of distrust of the democracy which in these times could not survive, and he argued that to rely on an artificial "second order" created in such a spirit was to rely on a fantastic guarantee which had no real vitality.

Mr. Arthur Balfour, in addressing a large meeting at Wolverhampton (Nov. 2), the centre of a very combative Radicalism, displayed his usual courage and contempt of hostile opinion. His confidence in the instincts of fair play among the Midland Liberals was fully justified by the result, for his speech was listened to with good temper and often drew forth sympathetic applause. After urging that crime and intimidation in Ireland had enormously decreased under the present Government, he pointed out as a new feature in Irish agitation, which differentiated it from the rebellions of 1798 and 1848, that agrarian and socialistic agitation had been dragged into and combined with political agitation. Yet the very men who now tried to live by agrarian agitation in Ireland were the men who tried their best to defeat the operations of the Land Act of 1881, and to prevent the passing of the Land Act of 1887, and who were trying to defeat the extension of the Ashbourne Act, which aimed at a large increase in the peasant proprietary. These same men had also tried to defeat, and probably would succeed in defeating, large drainage schemes for the benefit of Ireland which were now before Parliament, and which were enormously more liberal than any Bills of the kind ever before introduced. Mr. Balfour denied the Gladstonian contention that the passage of Mr. Parnell's Arrears Bill would have greatly smoothed the land question by preventing evictions, and he showed that had that measure come into force by far the larger number of those tenants who had adopted the Plan of Campaign would have been absolutely excluded from its operations. He showed, further, how grossly the eviction statistics had been misrepresented by the Gladstonians, and compared the laws in America and in France with those in force in Ireland to prove how much more advantageous and secure was the position of the Irish tenant than the position of the tenantry in other parts of the world, even under Republican Governments. At the same time, he explained how greatly the Irish tenant was coerced by the Nationalist leaders, and robbed of his legal advantages in order that political "patriots" might be enabled to make capital out of the land question and a living for themselves; and he concluded by expressing a strong belief that the tide was now turning, and that the success of the Unionist policy would ultimately be assured.

It is unnecessary to refer to speeches made elsewhere on this long-exhausted theme of the Irish question by the two rival parties in Parliament. The approach of the annual meeting

of the National Liberal Federation at Birmingham overshadowed all less important gatherings, and the hope was expressed by friends as well as by opponents that Mr. Gladstone would take this opportunity of lifting party issues on to a higher level; or would take the delegates and the public into his confidence as to the programme of the Liberal party should it be suddenly recalled to power. Nothing was wanting on the part of those who assembled to greet Mr. Gladstone so enthusiastically at every place where he stopped between Hawarden and Birmingham. At the latter place his reception was more demonstrative than had been offered to any statesman, and there was no reason to suppose that this display of admiration was either exaggerated or fictitious. Among his own adherents, however, in the press and on the platform, the appeal for something more than an envenomed attack upon Mr. Balfour and his agents was widespread. By these appeals, however, as it proved, Mr. Gladstone was unmoved from the one purpose he had in view—the severance of the dependence of Ireland upon the English Executive. A few days before the Birmingham meeting Mr. Gladstone had written to one of his constituents at Dalkeith a letter in which he recognised afresh the general desire expressed in the Liberal party that the Irish representatives should be retained in the Parliament at Westminster. He consequently declared his willingness to accede to that wish, adding that he expected a good many dissentient Liberals “will now begin to find that the retention will be highly mischievous.” It was hoped, therefore, that in the centre, as it was regarded, of the Liberal resistance to Mr. Gladstone’s previous policy he would find some means by which the party might be again brought into harmony, or that he would lay the basis of some new programme in support of which all Liberals would co-operate.

The circumstances, moreover, under which Mr. Gladstone revisited Birmingham, after an interval of eleven years, were such as would seem to have rendered the reconciliation of the Liberal party opportune. In 1877 he had gone to Birmingham as the guest of Mr. Chamberlain, and had expressed his approval of the Caucus system, of which the power and efficiency were to be signally shown in the election of 1880, and Mr. Gladstone’s consequent return to power. On the present occasion, although the reception accorded to the veteran statesman was not less enthusiastic, he could not but feel that of those who stood on the platform beside him in 1877 some of the most noteworthy were now absent, and that in a general appeal to the electorate a large section of his former supporters would either hold aloof at the polls, or would cast in their lot with his opponents unless some serious concessions were made on the Irish question. Failing this, it was expected

that he would at all events address himself seriously to the task of answering Mr. Goschen's objections and of placing before the public the grounds upon which he and his followers regarded them as no longer important.

On both points the general anticipation was disappointed. In his first speech (Nov. 5) to the "Liberal Two Thousand" Mr. Gladstone began almost at once to attack the Liberal Unionists, insisting on their decrepitude as a party, on their dwindling numbers in the House of Commons and on municipal councils, and their effacement in the general policy of the nation. With a few words he put aside Mr. Goschen's catechism on the ground that the questions were either "stale or pettifogging," and almost immediately took up his old controversies with regard to the administration of the Crimes Act. Hitherto it had been an accepted principle in all political discussions that, whilst Ministers were responsible for any line of policy they might see fit to adopt, the testimony of the executive, which served all Ministers alike, was accepted as conclusive with regard to the acts to which such policy led. The Irish magistrates and constabulary had given their version of the various regrettable occurrences which had taken place in three or four districts, and the Chief Secretary had accepted these statements or defended his subordinates. Mr. Gladstone, however, declined to be bound by their version of what had taken place, and on the strength of testimony obtained from irresponsible persons had arrived at totally different conclusions, thereby discrediting the general trustworthiness of the Irish Executive, regardless of the fact that in the event of his return to office he would be logically compelled to dismiss a large body of officials whose conduct and truthfulness he violently impugned. In his present speech, however, he touched but lightly on this point, but he censured Mr. Balfour for being an absentee Minister who seldom set his foot in the country he ruled, and he suggested that Mr. Balfour's description of the treatment of Mr. Mandeville, and the *tu quoque*, or "you're another," argument which the Chief Secretary had founded on it against his predecessors in office gave an entirely wrong and misleading impression. It was true that Earl Spencer had treated Mr. Harrington in the same fashion that Mr. Balfour treated Mr. Mandeville, including the use of the plank bed and other accessories; but as soon as Lord Spencer's attention was called to the fact by Mr. Parnell he substituted another and much less rigorous course of treatment. Mr. Gladstone next commented on the foreign policy of the country, and, while generally agreeing with Lord Salisbury's conduct of foreign affairs, he denied that Lord Salisbury was entitled to all the credit which was claimed for him, and pointed to two failures in the matter of our relations with the United States—the breakdown of the Fisheries Treaty and the

dismissal of our Ambassador. Mr. Gladstone then complained of the way in which the present Government appropriated nearly all the time of the House of Commons, and also of the way in which, when they had got it, they wasted it over a King-Harman Bill, which had to be withdrawn, and over a Parnell Commission Bill, which was a distinct violation of the undertaking which the Government had themselves entered into with the House. Reverting again to the conduct of the Liberal Unionists, he denied that any credit was due to them for the passing of the National Debt Act and of the Local Government Act. The latter Act, he complained, was not nearly so useful as it might have been made. Finally, Mr. Gladstone concluded an extremely long and remarkably discursive speech by making an ingenious calculation to prove that though the Gladstonians had been badly beaten at the polls in 1886 there were really more electors who voted for them than there were on the side of their opponents, and declared that had the "one man, one vote" principle been in force in 1886 he and his friends would have carried a Home Rule policy. He predicted the success of his party at the next General Election, which, he hinted, however, was hardly likely to occur for another four years. There was one passage, however, of the speech which struck another chord. This was the following allusion to Mr. John Bright, which was received with cheers: "Whatever efforts Birmingham may make—and I trust she will make them with success—to alter and amend her representation, I hope that nothing will ever induce her to forget the splendid and long-continued services of John Bright. I believe that every man in this room joins me in the hearty wish and prayer that it may please the Almighty to raise him from the bed of sickness and to restore him to health and vigour."

Two days later (Nov. 7) Mr. Gladstone addressed a larger and more popular meeting of nearly eighteen thousand persons at Bingley Hall, whose reception of their guest showed that in the Midlands there was no lack of enthusiasm for Irish Home Rule and Mr. Gladstone's leadership. To those who only read the speech it seemed scarcely calculated to arouse so much deep feeling as was displayed by the audience. Although it contained many passages of great power and eloquence, it dwelt with a comparatively narrow range of incidents, and was wholly devoted to the Irish question, without throwing any fresh light upon his own views as to its difficulties and the means of surmounting them. He denied that the question of Home Rule was dead, and suggested that if the undertakers were required at all it was rather for the "necessities" of the Liberal Unionists. He maintained that Irishmen ought not and could not acquiesce in a government of unequal laws, or in an administration which never failed to manifest its contempt for the law whenever it found the law inconvenient. To show that the laws were unequal, he

argued that the poor were allowed to combine in Great Britain for their own protection, but not in Ireland; that in Great Britain they enjoyed the right of public meeting, but not in Ireland; and that in Great Britain political prisoners were relieved from indignities and treated as first-class misdemeanants, while in Ireland they were treated as criminals, even when they were members of Parliament. Another instance of the inequalities of the law he found in the fact that, while crofters in Scotland could have their arrears as well as their rent reduced, the Irish tenant was allowed no reduction for arrears at all, and hence the numerous and cruel Irish evictions which were "attended with circumstances of horror which would not for a moment be endured in this country." He contended that no Government known to this country during the last half-century had shown "so unblushing and unscrupulous a contempt for the law" as the present, and in proof of this he instanced the treatment of John Kinsella, the fatal riot at Mitchelstown, the convictions at Killeagh, and the treatment of Mr. Mandeville, dwelling with great minuteness upon the details of most of these cases, and producing photographs of the scene of the Mitchelstown affray in order to convict Mr. Balfour, his supporters, and the police of gross misrepresentation in their version of the occurrence. Then he attacked the Liberal Unionists with considerable spirit for abandoning the true traditions of the Liberal party, for declining to carry out their own election pledges, and for trying to set the different sections of the Irish people by the ears. He once more denounced the Union as having been carried by the "foulest and wickedest means," and with equal vigour he denounced coercion, which he declared had ceased in the hands of the present Unionist alliance to be an expedient, and had become a settled and permanent policy. While professing to be the champion of order, the Government indeed were endeavouring to make the sacred principles of law and order odious in the sight of every rational man who had the smallest spark of that love of constitutional freedom by which this country had become great. He accused the dissentient Liberals of abandoning the traditions of the Liberal party in respect to Ireland, of not maintaining the pledges they gave at the last General Election, and of resorting to the very worst practices of old Irish ascendancy—in endeavouring to set the different factions of the Irish people against one another. Alluding to the address of the Irish Nonconformist ministers to Lord Hartington and Lord Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone said that if local knowledge was to be the test of capacity to judge the Home Rule question the subscribers to the address were out of court. He concluded as follows a speech which lasted nearly two hours, and was heard distinctly throughout the closely packed hall:—"We have now got Ireland making a thoroughly constitutional demand—demanding what is, in her own language, a subordinate Parliament, acknowledging in the fullest terms the supremacy of

the Parliament of Westminster. How can you know that under all circumstances that moderation of demand will continue? I cannot understand what principle of justice, and still less, if possible, what principle of prudence it is that induces many—I am glad to say, in my belief, the minority of the people of this country, but still a large minority—to persist in a policy of which the fruits have been unmitigated bitterness, mischief, disparagement, and dishonour. Ah! gentlemen, with what weapons is Ireland fighting this battle? She is not fighting it with the weapons of menace, with a threat of separation, with Fenian outbreaks, with the extension of secret societies. Happily those ideas have gone away into a distance undefined. She is fighting the contest with the weapons of confidence and of affection—of confidence in the powerful party by whose irrevocable decision she knows she is supported, and of affection towards the people of England. May I tell you an incident that will not occupy you two minutes in proof of what I say? In the county, I think, of Limerick, not very many days ago, an Englishman was addressing a crowd of Irish Nationalists on the subject of Home Rule. His carriage, or his train, whichever it was, was just going to depart. Some one cried out, ‘God save Ireland,’ and there was a loud burst of cheering. The train went away, the cheering subsided. Another voice from the crowd was raised, and shouted, ‘And God save England,’ and cheers louder still, in the language of Shakespeare, ‘made the welkin ring again, and fetch shrill echoes from the hollow earth.’ These cheers were the genuine expression of the sentiment of the country. They, our opponents, teach you to rely on the use of this deserted and enfeebled and superannuated weapon of coercion. We teach you to rely upon Irish affection and goodwill. We teach you not to speculate on the formation of that sentiment. We show you that it is formed already; it is in full force; it is ready to burst forth from every Irish heart and from every Irish voice. We only beseech you by resolute persistence in that policy you have adopted to foster, to cherish, to consolidate that sentiment, and so to act that in space it shall spread from the north of Ireland to the south, and from the west of Ireland to the east, and in time it shall extend and endure from this present date until the last of the years and the last of the centuries that may still be reserved in the counsels of Providence to work out the destinies of mankind.”

A scene of indescribable enthusiasm marked the conclusion of this speech, the whole audience rising, and, for upwards of ten minutes, cheering the sentiments so eloquently expressed by the great Liberal leader. During the interval between these two speeches the Convention had held several meetings at which the present position and future programme of the party had been discussed. The most prominent among the speakers was Mr. John Morley, who, in presence of the 3,300 delegates assembled in the Town Hall, happily referred to the first meeting of the

Liberal Federation eleven years before, at which only 120 delegates had attended, saying that "the giant had come back to look at its cradle." Touching upon the well-known Round Table incident, Mr. Morley said that it afforded an illustration of how far the Liberal Unionists had fallen down the incline of injustice to Ireland, bringing disaster on themselves. At the time of that Conference Mr. Chamberlain had publicly announced that both himself and Lord Hartington were in favour of a legislative authority at Dublin. Now they were landed in a policy of pure coercion and nothing else. "Our opponents," he exclaimed, "have no programme, no policy; they have nothing in their wallet but pure coercion and perfect helplessness as far as any regeneration of Ireland is concerned." They were not yet at the bottom of the incline; the "steam roller" policy was before them; but he felt sure that when they sought resort to that policy "there would be a great explosion in the boiler of that steam roller." In the meantime he protested against any further extension of the Irish Land Purchase Act. Mr. Morley looked forward with great confidence to the result of the next General Election, and he boldly declared that when the Liberal party had disposed of the Irish question there would be a briskness of movement in many directions which would make Lord Hartington open his eyes. If the pace quickened it would not be the fault of the masses; it would be because these deluded men, the Liberal Unionists, had cut themselves off from popular sympathy, had withdrawn themselves from the popular leader. He concluded his speech with an eloquent peroration, describing to them the aims and duties of the Liberal party, couched in a tone of loftier eloquence than any of his colleagues attempted:—"What we have to do is to get, as soon as we can, to those questions which affect the daily life of our people. Dominions, thrones, principalities, and powers—I care little for them, except so far as they are instrumental in making more men happier, and happier in a better way. Most of us here care, I think, only for politics as they directly or indirectly, remotely or immediately, lead to more light, more comfort being shed into the cottage and the home. We want to get—whether in this island or in Ireland, or in our widespread realm all over the surface of the globe—we want to make the home, however humble it may be, better and brighter. If we are animated by that spirit, if we walk with prudence, depend upon it that when the time comes, whether we live to be old or are cut off early, we shall at least lay down our work with the satisfaction of knowing, the great among us and the small among us, that we have not borne it in vain."

In addition to the approval given by Mr. Gladstone to the principle of the payment of members of Parliament, the Liberal Convention passed a number of resolutions which were to be regarded as forming part of the Radical programme. It was decided that the disestablishment and disendowment of the

Episcopalian Church in Wales should form a distinct requirement; that Lord Salisbury's proposal with regard to the settlement of the tithes question was altogether inadequate; as it was their application rather than the mode of collection which furnished real ground for complaint; and the principle of "one man, one vote," or, in other words, that residence should be insisted on as a qualification for the franchise, should be adopted.

With the Birmingham meeting the recess campaign closed without any very palpable results to either party. The only step achieved was the formal announcement that Mr. Gladstone had accepted the retention of the Irish members at Westminster as a principle of his new Irish Home Rule Bill. How this was to be effected whilst preserving the executive freedom of the Irish Parliament he did not explain; nor did he throw out other hints as to the general scope of his measure. The confidence, however, which he expressed, that the cause of Irish Home Rule was making steady progress, and that the future was full of promise, was scarcely borne out by the results of the bye-elections which took place between the Birmingham meeting and the close of the year. At Dewsbury (Nov. 16), a decidedly Radical centre, Mr. Arnold Forster, although defeated by his Gladstonian opponent by more than two thousand votes, nevertheless showed a large increase of votes as compared with the previous contests of 1885 and 1886, whilst Mr. Oldroyd failed to attract the usually large Radical vote. In the Holborn division, at Maidstone, and Colchester the Conservatives held the seats vacated by three deaths occurring in rapid succession, and at Stockton-on-Tees the Radical majority was reduced from above a thousand to less than four hundred.

Mr. Goschen replied to Mr. Gladstone by a speech at West Bromwich (Nov. 14), in which he dealt at length with the latter's contemptuous dismissal of his queries as "stale and pettifogging;" and Mr. Balfour, at Leeds (Nov. 16), replied to the charge that he had suppressed the fact that Lord Spencer had ordered Mr. Harrington to be exceptionally treated in prison. It appeared on Lord Spencer's own showing that he had left no record of this order, so that the Chief Secretary could have had absolutely no means of knowing what had taken place.

Apart from purely party questions, public attention was momentarily occupied by the extraordinary vivacity with which the United States Government had seized upon an indiscretion of the British Minister at Washington, and with scant courtesy either to Lord Sackville or the British Government had formally dismissed him and insisted upon his leaving the country. So far as was known to the public, Lord Sackville's only error in judgment consisted in replying to a correspondent who, declaring himself to be an Englishman domiciled in California, desired counsel as to his conduct in the Presidential contest. Lord Sackville, in good faith, and unsuspecting of the trap which had

been laid for him, replied in terms which were regarded as favourable to President Cleveland and the Democratic party. The receiver of the letter, who turned out to be an American acting in the interests of the Republican caucus, laid the letter before the public. President Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, alarmed, perhaps, at the prospect of losing the Irish vote should it become known that the English Government were in sympathy with the Democratic party, lost their self-possession, and, relying upon certain vague statements of newspaper interviewers, charged Lord Sackville with having called in question the good faith of the United States Government, especially in regard to its action on the rejection of the Fisheries Treaty. In this country it was admitted that Lord Sackville had acted indiscreetly, and without thought of the unscrupulousness of election agents. No feeling of more than passing irritation at the abruptness and discourtesy of Mr. Bayard's course was expressed, and the news of such a way of advertising patriotism aroused amusement rather than anger. From the correspondence on this subject, which was presented to Parliament soon after its reassembling, it appeared that Lord Salisbury wrote (Oct. 27) to Lord Sackville that the American Minister, Mr. Phelps, who was staying in his house, had communicated to him that evening his instructions to request her Majesty's Government that Lord Sackville should be recalled:—"He did not base his request on the letter which you had written to a resident in California, but on some expressions used subsequently in two interviews with a newspaper reporter, which, in the opinion of the United States Government, imputed discreditable motives to the President and the Senate." In reply Lord Salisbury told Mr. Phelps that it was hardly practicable to lay down the principle that a diplomatic representative was prohibited from expressing, even privately, any opinion on the events passing in the country to which he was accredited. As to the language imputed to Lord Sackville in the interviews with newspaper reporters the case was different. He must be taken to have intended it for publication. Mr. Phelps said he had not received any copy of the speeches referred to, but that he would take steps to procure one. It was consequently understood that until such a copy had been received her Majesty's Government could give no answer to the request addressed to them by the United States. Telegraphing on the following day, Lord Sackville said he had written to explain, and added:—"Beg to express deep regret at what has occurred." On the 30th the communication of Mr. Bayard's practically dismissing him was made to Lord Sackville, and on the 31st Lord Sackville telegraphed home:—"I beg to repudiate statement of Secretary of State, giving reasons for my dismissal, as an unjust attack on my integrity." On that day Lord Salisbury telegraphed that Mr. Michael Herbert, the Senior Secretary at present on the

spot, was to be placed in charge of the Legation. Lord Salisbury at once (Nov. 1) wrote to Mr. Phelps, recapitulating what had passed, and saying that as he had received no further information he was unable to form any judgment upon the considerations which dictated the request from the United States Government or the action which they took on the 30th. In reply Mr. Phelps wrote on the following day he did not intend to be understood as saying that the letter of Lord Sackville formed no part of the reasons of the United States Government for desiring his recall, though he did say that the principal reason was the published imputation by Lord Sackville to the President and to the Senate of discreditable motives in their action touching the subject of the Canadian fisheries.

The sittings of the Parnell Commission commenced early in the autumn (Oct. 17), and the proceedings speedily assumed the appearance of a case in which the *Times* appeared as plaintiff and the Irish members as defendants. The Attorney-General, in opening the case for the former, explained generally the lines he proposed to follow: which were to show that large districts in Ireland were terrorised; that in them outrages were of frequent occurrence; that these outrages followed upon the setting up of branches of the Land League in those districts; and that the Irish members had been actively engaged in promoting the League. During the two months through which the Commission sat before rising at Christmas very little evidence was adduced which even in a remote way connected more than one or two of the Irish members with the Land League, whilst the outbreak of violence in many districts was shown to have been frequently due to private revenge and not to political hostility. Captain O'Shea was the only witness who was examined on the subject of the "Parnell letters" upon which the *Times* relied for much of its case, and he expressed his belief that the signatures were genuine. Captain O'Shea further stated that Mr. Parnell had been unwilling to sign the manifesto on the Phoenix Park murders, not because he differed from it, but because he did not like the stilted language in which Mr. Davitt had worded it. Captain O'Shea, it will be remembered, had played a very important part in the "Kilmainham Treaty," and had acted as the go-between of the Cabinet and Mr. Parnell; but in his examination he stated that he had destroyed most of his memoranda on a hint from Sir William Harcourt that "the utmost reticence should be kept on the subject," it appearing not unlikely that a Select Committee would at the time be appointed.

The report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts brought out more strongly than any debates the total divergence of aim and views between the supporters of voluntary schools and the advocates of a national system. No common ground being found, two reports were presented, of which the principal features may be briefly summarised:—

1. *The Government Examination.*—The majority of the Commissioners were struck by the influence the Government examination had upon classification and teaching in the way of making them hard and inelastic, and they declared that full liberty of classifying scholars ought to be allowed, subject only to a reduction if the liberty were abused. The rule that every scholar who had been on the books for the last twenty-two weeks of the year must be presented was condemned as leading to abuses, and irregularity should not be allowed as an excuse on the "Exception Schedule;" the majority, therefore, thought that every child should be examined, and that the inspector should, in his report, bear in mind any circumstance affecting the children and the school. With regard to the examination itself, they recommended that the examination of the children in "the three R's" and the inspection of the school should be held on different days. To meet certain complaints individual examinations should be abolished for the first two standards, but that all children for whom their parents desired labour certificates should be examined individually. Special attention was paid to the question of over-pressure, as to the existence of which opinions differed among both teachers and managers, while the inspectors saw little of it. The majority, however, expressed the belief that a certain amount existed, especially among teachers and precocious scholars, and that there must always be a risk of it while a money value was attached to individual success and while the teacher's income partly depended on the grant.

The remarks of the minority were chiefly confined to the inspectors themselves; but, so far as they dealt with the examination, they were fairly in accordance with the majority. They thought that every child present in the school should be liable to examination; but that up to and including Standard IV. the examination should be mainly oral. They were in favour of a uniform standard of examination, being of opinion that the chief disadvantage of a country child was not his dulness, but the smallness of the schools and the low salary of the teachers. Considering the qualifications of an inspector, they thought that the profession throughout should be open to elementary teachers, and that the commencing salary of an assistant should be raised to 200*l.* The visits of inspectors without notice they regarded as valuable and worth multiplying; but they thought that for improvements in organisation local inspectors would prove more useful than Government inspectors.

2. *Parliamentary Grants.*—On this subject the majority expressed themselves at great length on a better apportionment of the grants. The system of "payment by results"—the variation of part of the grant with the percentage of passes—had been almost universally condemned by the teachers, and a memorial on the subject was presented to the Commission by the National Union of Elementary Teachers. Many of the managers also con-

demned it, while the inspectors were by no means unanimous, the general ground of condemnation being that the system led to "cram." Nevertheless the majority did not recommend its total abolition, though anxious to see it modified. The minority were also unable to suggest an alternative, as was also the case with Dr. Dale and Mr. Heller, who presented a separate note on the subject, and, equally with the majority, insisted on the importance of inspection as well as examination. As a means of alleviating the evils of this system both sections of the Commission suggested that the fixed grant should bear a greater proportion to the variable grant. Out of an average grant of 17*s.* 9½*d.* per head earned in 1886 only 4*s.* 6*d.* was fixed, and 7*s.* 9*d.*, out of a maximum of 8*s.* 4*d.*, was for an examination in the three elementary subjects. Under the head of merit-grants 1*s.* 11½*d.* was earned out of 3*s.*, and the majority recommended that the classification of schools should be abolished and the grants awarded for superior intelligence in particular subjects and other merits not now recognised by grants.

On the subject of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit the majority had also some observations. They found that in 1866 the deduction caused by this limit was 24,000*l.* out of a total of nearly 3,000,000*l.*, or 2*d.* in the pound in the case of voluntary schools and 1½*d.* in the pound in that of Board schools. While admitting that this limit might act as a discouragement to improvement in certain cases, and believing it desirable to extend the system of special grants to small schools, they were not in favour of abolishing all limits. The time had come, they thought, for endeavouring to limit the cost of the maintenance of aided schools to such a sum as would allow the managers to carry out their duties efficiently, but without an undue strain on local resources, whether provided voluntarily or by the rates. Their chief recommendations were that the fixed grant should be 10*s.*, instead of 4*s.* 6*d.*, and that the amount of the fluctuating grants should depend on the good character of the school as a whole, and on the acquirements of the great majority of the scholars rather than on the number who attain the *minimum* standard of required knowledge. In connection with this they laid stress on the necessity of increased facilities for the removal of incompetent teachers, and suggested that half the salary of circulating science and drawing teachers might be paid out of the grant. They further recommended that the terms of the grant should be embodied in an Act of Parliament, instead of being dependent on a minute of the Privy Council, and that the Code should lie two months before Parliament before coming into force. In conclusion they said:—"In completing our review we are compelled to declare our conviction that the time is come when, for the best interests of education, some more comprehensive system of administration shall be found, with a view, first, to remove, as far as possible, the grave and inequitable inequalities between

the two systems of voluntary and Board schools as now existing ; and secondly, to eliminate, as far as possible, for the future the friction and collision which has so often and so injuriously arisen between them. We do not venture now to draw the precise outline of such an administration in the form of a recommendation, because we feel that, in the present uncertainty as to what may be the form which county government may take, it would be premature to do so."

On the other hand, the minority agreed with those witnesses who looked to a system of universal Board schools to do away with payment by results, while suggesting in the meantime that two-thirds of the grant might be fixed. They maintained, however, that small village schools, if properly supported from local resources (and they stated that the returns proved small voluntary village schools were more liberally supported than the voluntary schools in towns), and duly teaching the prescribed *curriculum*, should be treated with special liberality. They were (like the majority) in favour of increased grants for teachers of cookery, science, and drawing, and for organising inspectors, and they added a recommendation that, in order to distribute State aid in proportion to the need of the schools and the poverty of the scholars, the capitation grant should be in inverse proportion to the fee, being increased with the lowness of the fee and diminished with the raising of the fee above the average of the country. The "majority" referred to, numbering fifteen, included Lord Cross (Chairman), the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Dr. J. H. Rigg, and Sir F. Sandford ; whilst the minority of eight comprised Sir John Lubbock, Dr. R. W. Dale, Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, and Mr. George Shipton ; but in both camps some only signed subject to specific reservations.

The triennial School Board Election, which took place during the month, showed to what extent the ratepayers in the large towns endorsed the views of the two parties in the Royal Commission. In London the upholders of voluntary schools, under the leadership of Mr. Diggle, the chairman of the outgoing Board, maintained that during their period of administration 250,000*l.* less had been raised for the school rate than would have been the case had the policy of the previous Board been maintained. But this plan of economy, which was traversed by Mr. Mundella and Mr. Buxton, was in truth subordinate to the wider issue between the supporters and opponents of religious education. In London thirty-two members were returned as adherents to Mr. Diggle and the policy of the retiring Board, against twenty-three advocates of secular teaching only. At Birmingham eight Secularists were returned, against seven supporters of Bible teaching, the Roman Catholic candidate heading the poll ; at Liverpool six Roman Catholics headed the poll, having as their colleagues five Churchmen and four Independents ; at Manchester all seven Church candidates were elected, four Roman Catholics, and four

Unsectarians; at Sheffield eight Unsectarians, with six Churchmen and one Roman Catholic; at Bradford one Roman Catholic, eight Liberals, and six Churchmen; and at Leeds the same proportions were maintained. The general results thus showed a very slight change in public opinion, although, as a rule, the Liberals polled in somewhat larger numbers.

The reassembling of Parliament to conclude the business of the session was looked forward to with certain misgivings on the part of many of the supporters of the Ministry, although it was in deference to their wishes that an autumn session had been arranged. The result proved that the fear of debates disproportioned to the subjects under discussion was not unfounded. It had been understood that the Ministry would take up no new measures during the remainder of the session, and that the time would be chiefly devoted to the Estimates, which had been postponed in order to find time for the debate on the Local Government Bill and other public measures. The opportunity, however, of catechising Ministers was not lost in either House. On the opening night (Nov. 7), in the House of Lords, Lord Harrowby questioned the Foreign Secretary in reference to the statements recently made in the press concerning an alliance between her Majesty's Government and the Government of Germany for the better suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Zanzibar. Lord Harrowby admitted that he had read the news in the newspapers with some alarm, because he feared that the English might suffer in such an alliance through the unpopularity of the Germans among the natives. He hoped that no false step would be taken, or our influence for good on the African coast might be seriously undermined, and he asked for an assurance that the English flag should not fly in company with the German flag where the Germans were engaged in making retaliatory attacks upon the natives. The Bishop of Carlisle, speaking on behalf of the Universities' Mission in Eastern Africa, maintained that the joint action of Germany and England would seriously endanger the existing friendly relations between the English missionaries and the traders. Lord Salisbury promised that papers on the subject should be laid before Parliament during the week, and then he gave a lucid narrative of what had been done, and of the reasons which had led up to such action. He explained that Germany, as a consequence of events which had happened on that part of the coast which was under German influence, had appealed to us to help her in doing that which we had long done on our own account—stopping the importation of arms into and the exportation of slaves from that part of the coast on which the slavers carried on their trade. Germany was engaged in a work of colonisation which would kill the slave trade, and of late there had been great activity in that horrible traffic, which, on the showing of Mr. Cameron, was now four times more active than it was a few years ago. What with the

slave-trade influence as the disposing cause and the great errors committed by the German Government as the exciting cause, the result had been the terrible misfortunes which had occurred on the coast. We had long struggled against the slave trade, and had lately prohibited the importation of arms, and a more general measure for the purpose had been under consideration. Under these circumstances it had been thought a wise step to accept the co-operation of Germany for purely naval measures, but there was no suggestion or intention of any joint military action. Another point of importance in connection with the subject was that France had joined in the arrangement, and had not only consented to abandon her attitude of refusing the right to search vessels carrying the French flag—a refusal which she had hitherto rigidly maintained—but had agreed that such a blockade as was proposed to be instituted should carry with it the right of searching every vessel, whatever its nationality, and would probably send a ship to join with England and Germany in the naval operations which were about to take place. Lord Salisbury felt convinced that the carrying out of this policy would not harm the missionaries, but would rather be of service to them, for the slave traders, who hated the missionaries, were not to be disarmed by concession, and were only to be operated upon by fear.

A night or two later (Nov. 9), speaking at the Guildhall banquet, he discussed the difficulty which had arisen with the United States Government as a matter which “belonged rather to the history of electioneering than to the history of diplomacy,” and, taking a rapid review of the situation in other parts of the world, he attached no importance to the “small wars and rumours of wars” which sprang up at various points—they “indicated no tempest or disturbance, but were merely the surf which marked the edge of the advancing wave of civilisation.” As to the general peace of Europe, he thought it would continue to be preserved, because all who were charged with the duty of ruling in Europe had an earnest and intense desire to maintain the peace:—“The only danger that we have to fear is lest some burst of uninformed feeling among the masses of the people, who in every country can, if they will, control the action of their rulers, should overbear the wise counsels of those by whom the reins of government are held. And there is another danger—or if not a danger a cause of disquietude, a cause which, if it does not disquiet us, must at least attract our earnest attention—and that is that, year after year, we see that new necessities of fresh armament are recognised. Fresh forces are brought into the ranks, larger and larger armaments are constructed, vaster and vaster sums are devoted to the purposes of defence.” The first Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) followed up this warning both in his speech and in a reply to Mr. Campbell Bannerman (Nov. 12), when he announced that Lord Northbrook’s pro-

gramme for augmenting the fleet had been carried out, and that the Government were free "to make a new and bolder start and a more sustained effort" towards bringing the Navy up to its proper strength.

In the House of Commons the Estimates were discussed with a minuteness, and at times with a wordiness, to which they had seldom if ever been subjected, Mr. Labouchere appearing as the leader of the Opposition in the character of a Radical reformer. The promise of the Government to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of the Crown lands failed to obtain the passing of the vote for the office of Woods and Forests until an entire evening had been spent in exposing the shortcomings and questionable dealings of that department. The vote for the Metropolitan Police gave rise to a somewhat belated motion by Mr. Bradlaugh to reduce it by the amount of Sir Charles Warren's salary, the Chief Commissioner having actually resigned two days before the vote was taken. There had been constant friction between the Home Office and the Chief Commissioner for some months, arising in the first place out of a dispute relating to his jurisdiction over the Detective Department. Sir Charles Warren had maintained that as he was the responsible head of the whole public service the administration of one special branch could not be left in the hands of another. Mr. Monro, who had been in charge of this branch, was the only man who understood the secret ramifications of the Irish conspiracy, and although in the face of Sir Charles Warren's threatened resignation Mr. Monro had left his post at Scotland Yard, it was notorious that he continued to be consulted by the Home Secretary. The failure to discover the author of the Whitechapel murders raised a fresh outcry in the press against the efficiency of the Metropolitan Police, and Sir Charles Warren published in *Murray's Magazine* an article defending his position. This being a breach of the rules of the service, the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) expressed his disapprobation of the course taken by the Chief Commissioner, who at once claimed to be exempt from the authority of the Secretary of State and from the rules which governed his own department. He thereupon again tendered his resignation, which this time was accepted, and after some delay Mr. Monro was recalled and appointed to the vacant post.

Mr. Bradlaugh's motion, which was based rather upon Sir Charles Warren's action with regard to Trafalgar Square than to his ill-success in the detection of crime, was in reality an attack upon the very essence of authority. This view, much to the surprise of the Radicals, was forcibly put before the House by Sir William Harcourt, who maintained that the Chief Commissioner was wholly subordinate to the Home Secretary, who in point of fact was the Minister responsible to Parliament for the administration of the police and the maintenance of public order. He denied altogether that the people were disaffected towards the

police and ridiculed the notion that Sir Charles Warren should be held responsible for not discovering the Whitechapel murderer. After a long wrangle, which necessitated the application of the Closure, the vote was passed, but the leading members of the Opposition abstained from voting. Another long discussion, originated by Mr. Jennings, took place on the salaries of the law officers and of the law offices, in the course of which some very remarkable revelations were made of the uses to which public money was applied.

On the vote of 1,286,077*l.* for education in England and Wales, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education (Sir William Hart Dyke) made the annual explanatory statement of the details of the vote and of the policy connected with it. He promised at the outset that the Government would anxiously and carefully study the recent report of the Education Commission, so as to be able to state next year what course they would pursue with regard to its recommendations, and he announced that if it should be decided to amend the Education Code, six weeks' previous notice should be given to Parliament, so that everybody might be amply prepared to discuss the changes proposed. At the same time he emphatically declined, amid considerable cheering, to give any support or countenance to the theory which some seemed to entertain that the Government intended to make an onslaught on the existing system of elementary education and to destroy the settlement arrived at in the year 1870. He believed that any such attempt would be "fraught with the most disastrous results." He showed that the education estimate for the coming year was 3,576,077*l.*, or an increase of 117,270*l.* on the expenditure for the present year; but this was almost entirely accounted for by the increase of 114,685*l.* in the grants for day and evening scholars, owing to the satisfactory increase in their numbers, whilst the grant per head for day scholars had also been increased from 17*s.* 5*d.* to 17*s.* 6½*d.* The Vice-President further stated that the number of scholars for whom accommodation was provided had risen from 5,145,000 in 1886 to 5,279,000 in 1887, and the scholars on the registers from 4,506,000 to 4,635,000, an increase over the numbers which might be expected from the average increase in the population. The average attendance of scholars also showed a satisfactory progress, whilst the number of scholars examined had shown a marked increase. One of the most gratifying features of the year was that the percentage of scholars in Class IV. and upwards had increased from 29·03 in the year 1883 to 36·3 in 1887, and the percentage of passes in the standard examination from 82·89 to 87·32 in the same interval. Judged by the statistics of juvenile crime, Sir W. Hart Dyke declared that the effects of the Education Act of 1870 could be scarcely too highly rated. The committals of children under twelve, which in 1866-67 were 10 per cent. of the whole number, had been re-

duced in 1886-87 to one-tenth of that amount in the case of boys, and in the case of girls had almost entirely ceased; while the committals of children over twelve and under sixteen had been reduced in the same period from 5 per cent. of the total to little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or, taking the two classes together so as to cover the whole field of juvenile crime, the reduction had been from 6 per cent. to 2·3 per cent., including admission to reformatories. The diminution was even more striking when the totals of juvenile commitments were compared with the population. In 1869, the year before the passing of the Elementary Education Act, with an estimated population of 21,869,607, the numbers of juvenile commitments were 10,314, or one to every 2,120 of the population. In 1886, with an estimated population of 27,870,586, juvenile commitments had fallen to 4,924, or one to every 5,660 of the population, so that while the population had increased by more than a fourth there was not half the juvenile crime there was twenty years ago.

In the course of the subsequent discussions, the Vice-President's statement was very favourably criticised. Sir John Lubbock rejoiced that no attack was to be made on the settlement of 1870, but regretted that no immediate steps could be taken to carry out the recommendation of the recent Commission as to making better provision for the teaching of English, geography, history, elementary science, and drawing, in all of which subjects most of our elementary schools were sadly deficient. Sir John strongly insisted on the necessity of making all instruction interesting, and complained that the great faults of the present system were that it was "too bookish and too dry." Sir Richard Temple claimed for the London School Board that they had done all they could to carry out the views now expressed by Sir John Lubbock. Sir Richard admitted that the Board schools had an unfair advantage over the voluntary schools in the matter of the capitation grant, and recommended the abolition of the 17s. 6d. rule. He defended the principle of compulsory attendance, though he hoped the time would come when it might be safely done away with. Mr. Samuel Smith complained that payment by results produced an unwholesome amount of cramming. He thought the age of education should be extended, and advocated the use of evening continuation schools. It was from the teaching got by children in the streets between the ages of twelve and sixteen years that most of their vices sprang. He condemned the pernicious cheap papers which circulated among young people, filled with stories of which the sole material was crime. In Germany and Switzerland education was compulsorily carried on by continuation schools until the age of seventeen or nineteen years, and the results were of the best description. He drew a lamentable picture of the condition to which some children were reduced in this country through lack of education and proximity to vice, and he was convinced that the working classes, even the poorest,

would be in favour of compulsory continuation schools. Mr. Illingworth joined in the general chorus of congratulation and approval over the refusal of the Government to interfere with the settlement of 1870, and declared that Parliament would never grudge whatever sum might be required to make the education of the people really perfect. The amount spent on education at present was not one-sixth of the amount spent on the Army and Navy. Mr. J. G. Talbot agreed with the suggestions for the encouragement of continuation schools, but doubted whether attendance at them should be made compulsory. He also doubted whether there was sufficient religious instruction in Board schools, and for the expression of this doubt he was immediately taken to task by Mr. Mundella, who roundly asserted that religious education was more carefully and accurately given in the Board schools than in the voluntary schools, and was better now than it had ever been in the history of the English people. He denounced the attacks on the Board schools on the score of want of religion as "mere hypocrisy." He approved generally of the statement of the Education Minister, and promised the support of the Opposition to most of the recommendations of the recent Commission. The bad average attendance in the schools might, he thought, be got rid of by opening a few free schools, for the payment of the school fees was at the bottom of the unsatisfactory average of attendance, and the Education Department would at once allow some of the schools in the poorest parts of London to be made free if they were asked to do so. He regretted the dropping of that part of the Local Government Act which would have got rid of the payment of fees for pauper children, because it was most unfortunate, while raising the children on one hand by education to lower them on the other by bringing them into contact with pauperism.

Ultimately the vote was agreed to after a discussion in which the representatives of the various parties interested in public instruction had had the opportunity of expressing their views and urging their claims. All the votes in Supply did not obtain the same amount of fair criticism, and even the English Estimates were made the ground for the protracted discussion of Irish grievances. These tactics, which were supported by the Opposition generally, were especially resorted to so soon as it became certain that the Government intended to carry out its pledge to extend the provisions of Lord Ashbourne's Irish Land Act (1885). On the side of the Opposition it was asserted that the introduction of such a Bill during the autumn session was a violation of the understanding that no new legislation should be undertaken. The Government, however, declared that notice of their intention had been distinctly announced before the autumn session had been decided upon, and that it was in deference to the wish of the House that the consideration of the Bill was deferred until after the adjournment. The Opposition refused to accept this

interpretation of the arrangement, and on notice being given that Mr. Balfour would move for leave to bring in a Bill for granting a further sum of 5,000,000*l.* for the purpose of converting Irish tenants into landlords, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of an amendment that any further dealing with Irish land for the moment should take the form of a remission of arrears.

In view of reducing the discussion of their proposal to the narrowest limits, the Government had limited their Bill to a single clause, hoping thereby to carry it through all its stages in four or five nights. The sequel showed how much they had underrated the strength of the Opposition and its resources, notwithstanding the power conferred upon the majority by the Closure.

Mr. Gladstone's preliminary objection that leave had not been asked in committee to bring in a Bill dealing with public money having been overruled by the Speaker, the Solicitor-General for Ireland (Mr. Madden), in Mr. Balfour's absence, moved the first reading (Nov. 19). He explained that in asking to increase the fund for buying out the Irish landlords from five to ten millions the Government was acting, as it believed, in the interests of both landlords and tenants. He showed that there had been several small efforts, under Mr. Gladstone, to deal with land purchase; one larger one, also under Mr. Gladstone, in 1884, to advance twenty millions for the purpose, which did not succeed; and one, the largest of all, in 1886, to advance a sum estimated at 150 millions in connection with Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme, which came to utter grief. But the Act passed by Lord Ashbourne in 1885 was framed on modest lines, and had succeeded better than any of the rest. It only advanced five millions for the purchase of small holdings by agreement between landlord and tenant, and when it was introduced it was received with a chorus of approval, the only complaint made against it being that it was not large enough, while Mr. Sexton proposed that the amount under it should be increased to twenty millions. Since the Act, limited to the smaller amount, had been passed in 1885 there had been 14,338 signed agreements to purchase, requiring for execution 5,986,000*l.*, of which no less than 6,833 were for holdings under 30*l.* a year. Half the applications were from Ulster; but as the advantages became recognised, agreements increased even in Connaught, where they now amounted to 1,561. The instalments had been regularly paid, and of the 90,000*l.* liability which had accrued since the passing of the Act, only 1,100*l.* remained unpaid, and this there was every reason to believe would be discharged. Mr. Madden continued by pointing out that the security held by the State was exceedingly good, because, though the Treasury advanced the whole money, the landlords deposited one-fifth as security, and the tenants pledged not only their freeholds, but, what was more valuable, their tenant-rights. Mr. Madden ended by a strong appeal to the House, whatever laws it passed for the relief of tenants in

arrear, or for preventing the hardships attending eviction, not to suspend the working of an Act which was quietly solving the problem involved in the transfer of the proprietorship of the soil to its working tenantry.

Mr. Gladstone at once rose to move his amendment, and spoke for nearly two hours in excellent voice without showing any sign of fatigue. After a few preliminary remarks, he declared, without disguise, that he had no objection to granting enough money to carry on the Ashbourne Act until the regular session, when the subject might be fully dealt with. But he objected to the Bill as it stood because it involved a greater approbation of the policy of the Ashbourne Act, and because it would withdraw the subject of Irish land purchase from Parliament for two or three years to come, and the expenditure of this five millions would form a precedent for the recurrence of other similar demands from time to time. The Government were therefore "drawing the House by slow degrees into a defile from which there could be no escape," and the State would largely become "the immediate landlord of the occupier, with no guarantee to cover him, and with eviction at his rear." He objected to purchase being brought about solely at the initiative of the landlord (for the tenant had no power to move without the landlord's consent) until the tenant was placed in a position of security, and freed from all risk of landlord intimidation, and he objected also that the pecuniary terms were such as could never recoup the Exchequer apart from all the risks it ran. He astonished the House greatly by the declaration that "the Irishman, as a whole, was the best rent-payer in the world," and by asserting, a little later, that in Ireland a "vicious social system" prevailed whereby arrears of rent were constantly accumulated. He asked whether Parliament would sanction such a measure as this, on a large scale, for Englishmen or Scotchmen, and he greatly questioned the security for repayment to the State, especially if the view of the Prime Minister, delivered in the presence of "sympathising statesmen," were true that the Irish people were divided into a minority and a majority, and that of these "three men would sit upon two and rifle their pockets." If the Government believed they would act in that way towards their own countrymen, how could they be expected to have any regard for the pocket of the national treasury, especially when the Government were "making all the agents and representatives of the law more and more distrusted?" He repeated that he did not object to a plan of land purchase—he only objected to land purchase in homœopathic doses. He wished to adjourn to the coming session any general consideration of the land question, and not to indulge in piecemeal legislation. Then he attacked the other branch of his subject, and declared that the urgent want of Ireland was that the question of arrears should be dealt with. If equal laws were to prevail, Ireland

ought to have what Scotland had, and in Scotland the question of arrears had been disposed of. He maintained that the existence of these arrears was a fact unscrupulously used by Irish landlords to baffle and nullify the Land Act, to ensure the servitude of the tenant, to check reductions of rent, to cover the augmentation of rent, and even to unsettle and destroy judicial rents after they had been fixed; and in proof of this point he gave, with all the aid of deepening tones and intensely sympathetic manner, the details of a case in which a poor tenant, who had been evicted from a farm which had been judicially rented, had been refused reinstatement unless he consented to a rent 20 per cent. higher than the Land Court had fixed. Finally, he denied that the purchases under the Ashbourne Act were voluntary arrangements, and observed that in 1,198 cases out of 8,000 the Land Commission, with its necessarily imperfect means of judgment, found the terms exacted by the landlord so exorbitant that they interfered and upset the "voluntary contract."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) then put the case on behalf of the Government in a lucid, temperate speech. He showed that the Bill was the natural consequence of the refusal of the Opposition to accept the very suggestion which Mr. Gladstone blamed the Government for not having made—of taking only enough money to meet the existing claims, postponing the general discussion until the ensuing session. This offer had been distinctly refused by the Opposition. Passing then to the objections to the measure, Mr. Goschen taunted Mr. Gladstone with not daring to oppose the Bill directly, because he knew the value which the Irish tenantry set on it, and with therefore descending to "a veiled opposition." He dissipated the attempt to confuse the issue by pointing out that arrears and land purchase were not incompatible subjects to deal with, and he protested against the endeavour which had been made to "drag a red herring across the trail." He admitted that the present Bill was not a full redemption of the pledge of the Government to deal with land purchase, and that it was not put forward as a final and permanent effort, but only as an endeavour to prevent the operation of the Ashbourne Act from coming to an end. He bantered Mr. Gladstone for "gliding with remarkable rapidity" over his own gigantic purchase scheme of 1886, which would have involved an expenditure of 150 millions, whereas this Bill only dealt with five, and he proceeded to show that there was no parallel at all between arrears in Scotland and arrears in Ireland, because Irish arrears had already been judicially dealt with and settled, under Mr. Gladstone's own legislation in 1882. He denied that the arrears in Ireland were unjust, for though rents had since been cut down, it was in consequence of a fall in prices which had occurred subsequently to the accumulation of arrears, which arrears of course only dated from the settlement of 1882. He added that the Government had already offered to

deal afresh with arrears on certain conditions, and were still prepared to do so if those conditions were accepted, but this only produced a mocking laugh from the Irish party. It was absurd, he argued, to suppose that the Government were anxious to encourage evictions, or that the landlords wanted to indulge in them. The people who preferred to keep evictions going were those who wanted to use them for political purposes, and who had employed the Plan of Campaign to provoke and compel them. As to the argument that tenants in arrear were at the mercy of the landlords, he challenged Mr. Gladstone to produce a single instance in which the price paid for a holding under the Ashbourne Act was too high, and he pointed out that while the general standard on which purchase was to be based under Mr. Gladstone's gigantic scheme of 1886 was twenty years' purchase, the average of the purchases under the Ashbourne Act all over Ireland had only been 17·1 years' purchase, the price in some instances falling as low as thirteen years' purchase. The whole argument, therefore, that arrears ought to be dealt with because purchase would otherwise be unjust to the tenant, was disproved by the facts. As to the security offered, Mr. Goschen explained that it was quite sufficient to secure, as it had secured, repayment, for the State held one-fifth of the purchase-money from the landlord, and had besides the tenant right of the tenant. Mr. Goschen quite agreed with Mr. Gladstone that it was not desirable in the abstract for the State to enter into direct relations with the tenant, but under existing circumstances it was the lesser of two evils, and the best means available for encouraging peasant ownership. It was, moreover, leading to the pacification of Ireland, and neutralising the efforts of the National League. The rest of the first night's debate may be briefly dismissed. The case on both sides having been fully presented in these opening speeches, the discussion was carried on without much animation in a House which thinned down to very small proportions, but the only incident was the fact that while every other speaker kept within strictly party lines, and either supported the Government or Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Haldane broke away from his Home Rule colleagues, who declared that he could not oppose an Act which created peasant-proprietors. On the following day Sir Edward Grey, another of the rising men of the Radical party, also deserted his Home Rule friends. He regretted that the Government had not seen its way to dealing with the question of arrears, but he denied that their existence had been shown to affect practicability of purchase or had forced prices up. The British elector, he maintained, had made up his mind to proceed in this direction of purchase gradually and cautiously, and he urged the House to seize the present opportunity of settling the land question, pointing out especially to those who were in favour of Home Rule that by establishing Irish credit it would work in that direction.

A remarkable speech followed from Mr. Dillon, who reproached Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey for their backsliding, sneered at Mr. Chamberlain for running away to Washington to get married instead of stopping in the House of Commons to discuss this Bill. For his own part he protested against the Bill itself because he believed the landlords were raising the prices of their land artificially by the pressure of the Coercion Act, and that the land law was not impartially used as between landlord and tenant, but was used to break up the combinations of the tenants and thus effect the raising of the price of land. He denied that he had incited the Irish tenants to repudiate their obligations under the Ashbourne Act; all that he had done was, when he found the bargains made were no longer free bargains, and that the tenants were no longer honourably bound to carry them out—all that he had done was to warn the taxpayers of Great Britain that they were lending their money on a rotten security, and that it was not unlikely, when many millions had been lent out of the Treasury, that a national party might spring into existence in Ireland with a programme for the repudiation of these transactions and liabilities, on the ground that they were forced upon the Irish people at the point of the bayonet. He denied that he and his friends had obstructed the Bill from interested motives, or because they knew that if the Irish tenants were satisfied the trade of political agitation would be gone, and the Irish people would become loyal. If he thought such a thing for a moment, he “would not give another hour of his time to a business which was neither pleasant nor profitable.”

Although numerous speakers followed from different benches, it was left for Lord Hartington to deal with Mr. Dillon's scarcely veiled threats, which he described as a cogent argument for coercion. With regard to Mr. Dillon's boast that the fee simple value of land in Ireland had been depreciated through the action of the National League, Lord Hartington asked what means other than intimidation he intended should be used to induce tenants to refrain from taking evicted farms, and, referring to the amendment, he pointed out that the question of arrears was not in the least degree connected with the subject-matter of the Bill. There was nothing to prevent the arrears from being dealt with, as well as the question of land purchase, but the responsibility for the failure of the House to deal with them did not rest with one side of the House any more than the other. As regarded the existing Purchase Act, it had proved a success, and he saw no reason to suppose that if the experiment were continued that success would not be maintained, and he denied that by extending it to a limited extent the House became pledged to a scheme of a more ambitious character.

Mr. John Morley, in closing the case for the Opposition, began by justifying Mr. Dillon's language on the ground that it was no

stronger than had been habitually used by the leaders of English Trades' Unions. Turning to Mr. Gladstone's amendment, he argued that its point was simply that the urgency of arrears was greater than the necessity for an immediate extension of the Purchase Act. The Liberal party, he said, had never pretended that Lord Ashbourne's Act had not resulted beneficially, but there were several points in connection with its working the success of which, he contended, had not yet been demonstrated, and he thought the House ought to hesitate to extend the experiment until it had clear evidence of its complete success. He was in favour of land purchase being settled by the Imperial Parliament, but not at any price, and there were many provisions of Lord Ashbourne's Act which he considered objectionable, and in particular the absence of any provisions like those in Mr. Gladstone's scheme of 1886, which gave a share in the benefits of the transaction not only to the tenants, but also to all classes of taxpayers.

The chief point, however, of Mr. Morley's speech was a vigorous attack upon the Liberal Unionists for their want of principle in supporting the Government under all circumstances. "They tell us there is a gulf between them and us," he said. "There is indeed a gulf, and their political morality lies at the bottom of it."

After a few remarks from Mr. W. H. Smith, the House divided, and the amendment having been rejected by 330 to 246, the Bill was brought in and read a first time.

The attitude taken up by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues on the front bench took away all real meaning from their opposition to the measure, and it was not unreasonably supposed that it would now be allowed to pass without delay. For reasons of their own, however, the Irish Nationalist members bitterly opposed its progress, and, finding themselves supported by the leaders of the party, they interposed every obstacle to its progress. The second reading was carried (Nov. 22) after two nights by a comparatively small majority of 75—the numbers being 299 to 224—after the closure had been agreed to without a division. In the course of the debate, which it is useless to follow in detail, Sir George Trevelyan opposed the Bill on the ground that it was based on very faulty lines, for it would allow as much as 5,000*l.* to be advanced on one single holding, and all the poorer people in the congested west of Ireland would be able eventually to claim a right to the benefit of such legislation. He examined the provisions of the measure in detail, and pronounced them exceedingly unsafe for the taxpayer. The real danger of the Act was that in coming years there would be bad times during which the tenant would not be able to pay his instalments. Without the safeguard of a local guarantee, such as was contained in his own Purchase Bill of 1884, the State could not afford to lend the whole of the purchase money. In many parts of Ire-

land, he maintained, very many tenants were absolutely unable to pay any rent at all.

In reply, Mr. Brodrick taunted Sir George Trevelyan with inconsistency for opposing purchase now, though he had proposed a very similar scheme, only a larger one, when he was in office himself. The security under the present Bill was not less, but actually more, than the security under Sir George's Bill, and Sir George's "local guarantee" fell to the ground because it was found to be utterly impracticable, and it dragged the rest of the Bill of 1884 with it.

Mr. Parnell's speech on the second night was looked forward to with considerable interest; but he said nothing to rouse passionate feelings amongst either his opponents or his adherents. He announced at the outset that he intended to vote against the second reading, but at the same time he asserted that he "most emphatically approved its principle absolutely and without reserve," and he only opposed it because he believed it was "so designed in the circumstances of the time as to render it impossible that the principle should be duly and efficiently carried out." He claimed that he had been largely instrumental in converting the Tory party to the policy of purchase, and he denied that he opposed the Bill in order to add to the difficulty of governing Ireland. The only fault he found with the Government was that they had ulterior objects, and had taken up the subject not to help the tenants, but at the solicitation of the landlords, who were trying, like the Jamaica slave-holders of old, to get out of a difficult position by selling their property at an inflated price, far beyond the market value. He objected to the Bill more for what it did not, than for what it did, contain, and mainly because it did not deal with the burning and pressing question of arrears. It was true that the Government had offered to deal with arrears on the principle of making all the tenants go into the Bankruptcy Court, but until it could be proved that the shop-keeper had rackrented his customers as the landlord had rackrented his tenants that proposal could not be accepted by the Irish people. He objected to the Bill, further, because it did not enable the State to decide what estates it was desirable to purchase, but left that point entirely to the judgment of the landlords themselves. The result was that the holdings in the most congested districts in Ireland would not be affected by the Bill at all, for there the landlords and encumbrancers refused to sell at any price which the Commissioners could sanction. He also objected to the Bill because of the insufficient reduction on judicial rents made by the Land Courts. He urged that the advantages which had been given to Scotch crofters—a reduction of 30 per cent. on judicial rents, instead of only 19½ per cent., and of 60 per cent on arrears—should be given to the Irish tenants. He hinted at repudiation as a possibility of the future if his views were not met by the Government, and he condemned the Bill

because it made no attempt to conciliate national sentiment, and he asked whether the Government would care to have to send tax-collectors to the doors of five hundred thousand tenants, with an army of crowbar-brigade men and innumerable policemen and soldiers. No sane Government could tolerate such a prospect for a moment. He warned the House that "the hot youth" of Ireland, instead of having their national sentiment conciliated, were being turned into discontented and disaffected citizens by the operation of a Coercion Act which was doing more harm than O'Donovan Rossa and all his colleagues.

Mr. Parnell was followed by Lord Randolph Churchill, whose recent attitude towards the Ministry had raised doubts as to his friendly intentions. But although he somewhat ruthlessly criticised the ministerial policy, he declared his intention of voting for the Bill. He pointed out that though Mr. Parnell had objected to much that was not in the Bill, he had not put forward a single objection to what was in it. As to the objection that the Bill did not conciliate national sentiment, Lord Randolph asked whether it would be easy, in dealing with such dry business details as the advance, investment, and repayment of money, to "introduce matters of romance and national sentiment." If Mr. Parnell refused the present Bill, what alternative did he wish to substitute for it? Lord Randolph Churchill declined, however, amid considerable laughter, to be led into a fresh discussion on arrears, as that topic had already been disposed of by the House. But he owned that he was personally in favour of dealing with arrears, and that he rather thought the Government would have to make proposals on the subject before long. Turning to the financial aspect of the Bill, he declared that in his opinion that as "an operation" the measure was not good enough, in view of the insufficiency of the security. Still the risk, when only five millions were concerned, might be insignificant when compared with the advantages to be derived, though it would be objectionable in a larger operation. The retention by the State of one-fifth of the purchase-money was no security at all, but simply a limitation of the liability, and the tenant-right could not be a security as it ceased to exist. Tenant-right could only exist where there was a tenant, and when he was converted into an owner all his interest in tenant-right absolutely disappeared, and he was in the position of an owner paying interest on a mortgage. Lord R. Churchill added, however, that he should give his "hearty support" to the measure, because it was not a large one, and because it provided for the continuation of machinery and of a department which had done much good, and which it would be reckless in the extreme to allow to disappear. But he insisted with much emphasis on the contention that this second experiment was one which must never be repeated on the same lines. On behalf of the Government Mr. Goschen at once gave his assurance that there would

be no repetition of the measure. The Government, like Lord R. Churchill, did not wish the existing machinery to be stopped, but the present Bill was not in any way intended as a redemption of their pledge to deal with the question on other broader lines—it was simply a temporary expedient until there was time for a more comprehensive dealing with the question. Mr. Goschen then proceeded to defend the security under the Bill from Lord Randolph's attack upon it. He showed that the retention of one-fifth of the purchase-money by the State was a security in so far as it diminished the advance and made the operation a safer one, and he showed also that the tenant-right did exist, for it was the value of the tenant's improvements, an asset over and above the price paid to the landlord, who, of course, was only paid for that which he had to sell—in other words, so many years of judicial rent apart from improvement or anything else. Mr. Goschen next replied to Mr. Parnell's complaint that the State was not left to decide what estates should be dealt with under the Act. It would be most unwise to empower the State to select the estates, and would give rise to endless insinuations and charges of corruption, jobbery, and patronage. It was not true that none of the estates in the congested districts had been dealt with, for many holdings had been purchased under the Act in Monaghan, Kerry, Donegal, and though the large, thriving, un-intimidated farmers of other districts had led the way, he declared, amid loud cheers, that their example had been infectious, and the farmers of the less fortunate districts were now coming forward to obtain the same advantages. At the same time he owned that the congested districts could not be dealt with largely under this legislation because they did not offer sufficient security, but provision for those congested districts would form part of the larger measure which the Government hoped to bring forward in the future.

On going into Committee (Nov. 23) Mr. Parnell moved an instruction empowering the Irish Land Commission to take into account the amount of arrears due from tenants desirous of purchasing under the Ashbourne Act, but this after some debate was negatived by 182 to 149. A number of other amendments were proposed and similarly rejected; the proceedings being interrupted (Nov. 26) by a lively scene, arising out of the excess of zeal of an Irish constable who, having a writ to serve on Mr. Sheehy, M.P., sent in his card to that gentleman, who at once came out into the lobby. Whether the constable, as was first stated, endeavoured to serve the writ there, or whether, as was afterwards averred, he had asked Mr. Sheehy "to step outside," there was no doubt that a very unfortunate blunder had been committed. It was, however, a blunder which was scarcely worthy of the flowers of rhetoric and heroics of which it had to bear the burden. The leaders of the Opposition threw in their lot with the Irish members, and demanded the immediate

appointment of a committee to inquire into the "gross outrage," and almost seemed to intimate that it had been planned by Mr. Balfour and connived at by the whole Treasury Bench. A committee of the leading members on both sides of the House was forthwith appointed. The sitting was suspended from half-past eight until ten o'clock in order to give them time to arrive at the conclusion of their important labours, which it was then discovered could not be so promptly surmounted, and the members returned to the House to resume the discussion of the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Land Bill. After a fortnight's delay, contrasting curiously with the eagerness with which this "affront and attack on the privileges of the House" was to be avenged, the Committee reported (Dec. 13) to "do nothing"—a decision which the First Lord of the Treasury cordially endorsed, and for which he was as promptly censured by his opponents—and a long wrangle, rather than a debate, ensued as to the best way of "doing nothing." In the end Mr. Smith's motion to pass to the orders of the day was agreed to, after a motion by Mr. Whitbread to "concur in the report" without taking any further action had been rejected by 182 to 130. Another week was spent in getting the Ashbourne Act, consisting of a single clause, through the Committee. Countless amendments were proposed from all quarters of the Opposition side of the House, the main objects of which were to reduce the amount authorised by the Bill, to impede its working, or to enable the League to frighten applicants by publishing their names. Mr. Rathbone, with the assent of the Government, carried a clause restricting the benefits of the Act to farms below 3,000*l.* in value, as did Mr. Healy a proposition forbidding any demand for rent after the Land Commissioners had assented to the purchase. The third reading was ultimately carried (Nov. 29) by 202 to 141, the protracted discussion having wearied out the patience of both supporters and opponents.

The House of Lords made short work of the Land Purchase Bill, passing it through its three stages in as many sittings. In moving the second reading Lord Ashbourne, as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, gave an interesting account of the success of the measure which it was proposed to extend. Up to November 30, 14,600 applications had been made for an advance of 6,141,620*l.* Of these 14,600 applications, 11,920 were sanctioned for the sum of 4,922,100*l.* Of Irish counties, Londonderry and Monaghan stood first in the number of applications made; then came Kerry, then Tipperary, then Cork. The applications for Connaught (the poorest part of Ireland) were largely on the increase. In 1886, there had been only 185 applications from the whole province of Connaught. In 1888 there were 1,533. In 3,599 cases, advances had been made for tenancies under 10*l.* in rent. There were 3,234 cases in which advances were made to tenants paying a rent between 10*l.* and 30*l.*, and in 1,819 cases

to tenants whose rent was over 30*l.* With regard to the sums advanced, in 2,023 cases it was not over 100*l.* ; in 2,059 cases it was a sum between 100*l.* and 200*l.* ; in 2,562 cases it was a sum between 200*l.* and 500*l.* ; in 1,182 cases a sum between 500*l.* and 1,000*l.* ; while in 826 cases it was over 1,000*l.* In no case had there been any hitch as to the payment of the instalments ; and of 58,300*l.* due on November 1 from no fewer than 6,670 payers, no less than 43,686*l.* had been received.

Lord Aberdeen and Lord Spencer criticised the Bill rather for what it did not contain, a plan for the reduction of the arrears in rents which, under the Act of 1887, had been declared too high ; but the former distinctly declared that he had never regarded it as a " Landlords' Relief Bill." In like manner Lord Spencer's substantial approval was equally manifest, and no division was taken upon any of its stages.

The slow progress made with the Civil Service Estimates showed at an early period that the hopes of the Ministry to carry even a majority of the measures held over from the ordinary session were destined to disappointment. Mr. W. H. Smith consequently announced (Nov. 15) that the Tithe Bills, the Irish Drainage Bills, the Scotch Borough Police and the Trade Marks Extension Bill, the Bill to establish a Ministry of Agriculture, would be dropped ; but a number of others which the Opposition had no desire to see passed were held in suspense. The debate on the extension of the Land Purchase Extension Bill proved the necessity of further lightening the ship ; and Mr. Goschen's Wheel and Van Tax having been first thrown over during the progress of the Holborn Election, was formally withdrawn (Nov. 28). The attempt to pass an Employers' Liability Bill, based on the recommendations of a Select Committee appointed by the Liberal Government, was equally unsuccessful. The measure had passed the ordeal of the Standing Committee, by which it had been greatly amended, but it was strongly opposed by Mr. Broadhurst, a well-known trades' unionist, who had held a subordinate office in Mr. Gladstone's short Administration of 1886. He moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that the Government declined to remodel the third clause, and because under those circumstances the trades' organisations, whose members would be affected by it, would prefer to be without it. The third clause dealt with insurances, and allowed large firms to contract themselves out of the Bill. It destroyed the value of every other part of the measure, being an attempt to impose on the working people of this country the German system of compulsory insurance. One of the objects of the measure was to strike at the roots of trades' unionism. Mr. Broadhurst also pointed out other objections to the Bill ; but this was his main one. Mr. Joicey, as a large employer of labour, seconded the motion for the rejection of the Bill ; but Mr. Bradlaugh, on the other hand, warmly supported the measure, and attacked Mr. Broadhurst

with considerable strength and bitterness for attempting to destroy it, and expressed a doubt whether Mr. Broadhurst accurately represented the feelings of the working men on the subject. Mr. Matthews also defended the Bill with spirit, and pointed out that its provisions were identical with the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1886—a Committee appointed by a Government composed of Mr. Broadhurst's political friends, and of which Government Mr. Broadhurst was himself a member. As to the third clause, he showed that it forbade an employer to contract himself out of the Act unless he offered to his workmen a benefit equal to that which they would get under the Act. The measure was opposed by the labour representatives generally—Mr. Burt, in particular, admitting that it was better than the Act of 1880, but still not good enough—but was supported in a temperate and sagacious speech by Sir Henry James. Sir William Harcourt found many things to say both for and against the Bill, but was afraid there was no time to pass it in the face of a strong opposition, and Mr. W. H. Smith appealed to the House to let the measure pass. The closure having been carried by 189 votes to 154, Mr. Broadhurst's motion was defeated by 202 votes to 141. In face, however, of the very strong opposition, the Bill was ultimately abandoned, and a measure continuing the Act of 1880 had to be brought in and passed.

A day was also found, in accordance with a long-standing pledge, for the Sunday Closing Bill, of which Mr. Stevenson moved the second reading (Dec. 14). He explained that this was the first time the present Parliament had had an opportunity of pronouncing a decision upon the subject, and he advocated his measure on the ground that it would break down the monopoly whereby a single business was allowed to be conducted on Sundays, and to offer temptation to people to waste their money and bring discredit upon themselves and misery upon their families. He admitted at once that he did not expect to be able to apply the Bill to London, or possibly in its entirety to the other large towns, though he hoped that in these other large towns public opinion was ripe for total Sunday closing. He maintained that the publicans themselves were anxious to have the Bill passed because it would set them free on Sundays from a trade at which at present they worked for 108 hours in the week. He pointed to the fact that Scotland, Ireland, and Wales all had Sunday closing, and asked why England should not be allowed to follow suit. Mr. Labouchere moved an amendment, designed to have the effect of killing the Bill, by substituting for it a declaration in favour of local option. He declared that he was "a practical teetotaller himself," but he thought the whole question of regulating the liquor traffic was essentially a local one. Sunday closing was, he thought, rather a matter for the County Councils than for the House of Commons, and to pass this Bill would be to make a direct attack upon the principle of local

self-government. Mr. J. G. Talbot opposed a Bill which its own author admitted his willingness to alter out of all recognition. Sir Wilfrid Lawson strongly supported the Bill, and called upon the House to decide "Who was on the Lord's side and who was on the landlords'." He greatly regretted that Mr. Labouchere should oppose it in favour of local option, for, after all, local option was only a means to an end. The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) declared that the Government regarded the question as an open one on which members should vote as their individual inclinations led them; but he expressed his own personal hostility to the Bill, and he thought the subject should be left for the new County Councils to deal with. Sir William Harcourt supported the Bill because he approved of Sunday closing, but he expressed his readiness to support the amendment too, as he was also in favour of local option, and on a division the second reading of the measure was rejected by 167 to 160, and Mr. Labouchere's amendment having been put, was carried by 186 votes to 128.

The Irish Estimates offered, as might be expected, a wide field for the Opposition, and many rallying points from behind which they could assail Mr. Balfour and his administration of the law in Ireland. The most noteworthy of these attacks was on the motion of Mr. J. Ellis to reduce the salary of the Chief Secretary by 425*l.*, the sum which had formally been allowed for coals for the Secretary's lodge. Three nights were consumed in discussing this and other dilatory motions before the vote was agreed to. The chief feature of the first night's debate (Dec. 8) was a speech from Mr. Gladstone in which the leader of the Opposition tried with more than usual eagerness to fix charges of tyranny, blood-guiltiness, and injustice upon Mr. Balfour's administration. After alluding to the fact that though Lord Spencer had proved that he did not oblige Mr. Harrington to suffer the hardships and indignities of prison life as alleged, Mr. Balfour had offered him no apology, Mr. Gladstone went on to deal with the cases of Kinsella, the farmer shot during a seizure of cattle, and of Mr. Mandeville, and with the Mitchelstown riot, and the conduct of the magistrates in the conspiracy case reversed on appeal in the Exchequer Division. Mr. Balfour, in his reply, showed that his mistake in stating that Lord Spencer had treated Mr. Harrington just as the present Irish prisoners were treated was due to the fact that Lord Spencer had acted "illegally and irregularly" in changing at his own will and pleasure the discipline enforced by the Prisons Board. Dealing next with Mr. Gladstone's four points, he showed how completely baseless was the whole fabric of accusation raised thereon, and in each instance proved that Mr. Gladstone's conclusions were derived from a partial view of the facts.

On the following day the attack upon Mr. Balfour was opened

by Mr. O'Brien, who laboured with no little acrimony of tone to show that Mr. Mandeville's death was due to his imprisonment. To this Mr. Balfour replied by quoting the facts which had already become familiar, in order to show that Mr. Mandeville could not have died from any disease caught by him in prison, but that his illness was the result of the life led by him after his release. In regard to the unjust attacks made upon Dr. Barr, Mr. Balfour quoted a testimonial signed by Dr. Carter, President of the Liverpool Medical Institution, and 188 other Liverpool doctors. The testimonial spoke of Dr. Barr's "high and independent personal character and sound professional abilities." Still more remarkable as evidence of Dr. Barr's fairness and high-mindedness was the letter from Dr. Carter, also read to the House, in which the writer used the strongest possible language in regard to Dr. Barr's impartiality and trustworthiness. Mr. Balfour ended his speech by a telling retort to Sir William Harcourt's charge that no public inquiry had taken place in regard to the Mitchelstown riot, and to Mr. Gladstone's challenge to produce instances in which the police had during his Government taken the lives of Irishmen. Mr. Balfour produced seven instances in which the police had fired with deadly effect between the years 1881 and 1884. In not one of these cases was there a public inquiry. Sir William Harcourt examined the seven cases given by Mr. Balfour, and declared that he had disproved their relevancy by showing that in at least five there had been a coroner's inquest, and that the Government had done their best to bring the accused to justice. This kind of "public inquiry," however, had been already granted in the Mitchelstown and other cases; but it was a special inquiry or Royal Commission which Mr. Gladstone had demanded, and which Mr. Balfour, acting on precedent, refused to give. A further instance of the manner in which imaginary grievances were brought forward and the time of the House wasted was afforded by the case of Thomas Moroney, who had remained for an indefinite period in prison for contempt of the Bankruptcy Court. Moroney had made no effort to purge his contempt, and although the Irish members were eloquent in their denunciation of Mr. Balfour and his subordinates, not one of Moroney's advocates attempted to move the Court in favour of his release. It was in vain that Mr. Balfour pointed out that he was clothed with no power to set aside a law which he had not set in motion, or that he promised every aid and facility to anyone, English or Irish, who wished to appear before the Irish judge by whom Moroney had been sent to prison. This political martyr had refused to pay his rent, trusting to the protection of the Plan of Campaign, was adjudged bankrupt, and in 1887 refused to be sworn and examined in the bankruptcy proceedings, on the ground that he was not a bankrupt in the real sense of the word. No steps were

taken to obtain his release until an application (Dec. 4) was set aside by Judge Boyd, who refused to believe the application to have been made *bonâ fide*. Ten days later, however (Dec. 18), none of Moroney's friends and sympathisers coming to his assistance, he was discharged on the application of the petitioning creditor and landlord, who formally withdrew his claim to have Moroney examined, and the martyr was forthwith restored to liberty.

The Foreign Office Estimates gave occasion for a debate on the Egyptian policy of the Government, which was started by Mr. John Morley, and brought out somewhat strongly the attitude which this leader of a section of the Radical party would be prepared to adopt in his conduct of our foreign relations. He did not exactly recommend the abandonment of the expedition, but he did not approve of it, and moved the reduction of the vote, pointing out that all our operations in connection with Suakim during the last five or six years had produced no good result, and had been attended by enormous losses of blood and treasure. He wished to extract from the Government some pledge that there should be "no repetition of the bloody and aimless operations which took place in 1884 and 1885," and with the help of large quotations he contended that the retention of Suakim was of no great use for stopping the slave-trade, as other slave-trading ports had been opened out on the coast. After Sir Lewis Pelly had also commented on the uselessness of the expedition, Sir James Fergusson denied that there was any intention to repeat the events of 1884-5. The policy of the Government was purely defensive, and reinforcements were being sent to Suakim simply to protect the place and prevent it from falling into the hands of the Arabs. He maintained that the possession of the port was absolutely essential for the suppression of the slave-trade, and quoted evidence to show that in the opinion of the best authorities the operation now undertaken would be amply successful, and at a small cost. He denied that her Majesty's Government had initiated the present position of affairs; they were simply maintaining it as they found it.

Mr. Stanhope (Secretary for War) declared that the highest object which the Government had in view was to raise the siege of Suakim and not to embark in any large operations. He challenged Mr. Morley to say whether he advised a withdrawal from the port altogether; but Mr. Morley declined to discuss that question. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman confessed that the Egyptian policy of the last few years had been a series of mistakes, and did not know what good could result from fresh operations, even if they were as successfully carried out as he fully believed they would be. The Arabs might be driven away for a time, but they would return again. The slave-market was only to be closed, not by holding Suakim, but by going to the Turkish

Government, and he believed the time to be peculiarly favourable for adopting that course. Lord Randolph Churchill taunted Mr. Campbell-Bannerman with the Egyptian blunders of his own Government; but the noble lord at the same time was dissatisfied with the policy of the present Administration, for expeditions to Suakim had all along failed to establish the permanent security of the place, and he objected to throwing the expense of an operation which we were conducting for purposes of our own upon Egypt, which was not really interested in the matter, and which was already nearly bankrupt. Mr. W. H. Smith put it point blank to Mr. Morley and Lord Randolph Churchill to say at once whether they were in favour of retiring from Suakim or not, but neither of them was prepared to accept this challenge, and after a few more speeches the vote was agreed to. But the subject was not by any means disposed of by this division.

Three days later (Dec. 4), Lord Randolph Churchill, without apparent consultation with his party, moved to adjourn the debate on the subject of the projected expedition to Suakim. He maintained that Government was attempting to manage an expedition "on the cheap;" that the troops at the disposal of General Grenfell were inadequate; and, further, that the military advisers of the Government had remonstrated against the danger of the undertaking. Mr. Stanhope did not deny the allegation, but he stated that the Government was acting with fuller information than was accessible to Lord Randolph Churchill; and that more troops had been provided than the generals on the spot had asked for; and that the Government accepted entire responsibility. Mr. Gladstone supported Lord Randolph Churchill's motion on the ground that the Government was bound to take the military opinion as to the force to be despatched, though not as to the policy of sending it. To this Lord Hartington replied that the soldiers should advise the Cabinet, not the House; and that if the House interfered in military details the Government would cease to have any responsibility. The adjournment was negatived by 231 to 189, but the Suakim expedition was not allowed to drop. The report of the capture of Mr. Stanley and Emin Pasha by the Mahdi coincided very remarkably with the arrival of the British reinforcements at Suakim, and, without waiting to see if any confirmation of the news were obtainable, the Opposition, including Lord Randolph Churchill, pressed on the Government the opening of negotiations with Osman Digna and the Arab tribes who were pressing Suakim hard. It was useless for Mr. Goschen to suggest (Dec. 15) that it was contrary to custom for a beleaguered force to ask for an armistice except with the purpose of negotiating a surrender—a statement which Mr. John Morley thought so serious that he announced his intention of raising a discussion on the English policy in the Red Sea. The debate, however, scarcely answered the hopes of those by whom it was invoked, for it showed in somewhat strong light the weak-

ness of their position. Mr. Morley travelled on the lines he had previously laid down, and was strongly opposed to any attempt to reconquer the Soudan for Egypt. He denounced the hostility shown by Colonel Kitchener to the native tribes, which he held to be the cause of the whole business, and he maintained that there was no need even for the retention of Suakim, as in Lord Salisbury's view it was of no use to Egypt, and certainly it was of no use to us. He urged that before any fighting began an effort should be made to negotiate with the Arabs, and he held that this was the more important because of the capture of Emin Pasha and Mr. Stanley, whose lives might be sacrificed by the Mahdi if there were any great slaughter of his followers at Suakim. Sir James Fergusson defended Colonel Kitchener, and insisted on the necessity of retaining Suakim and repulsing its besiegers, but declared emphatically that there was no intention on the part of the Government to reconquer the Soudan or any part of it. He threw the gravest doubts on the story of the capture of Emin and Stanley, as there was reason to think that it was merely a clever Oriental device to gain time or to induce us to abandon our enterprise. Mr. Gladstone, in a moderate and temperate speech, urged that negotiations should precede hostilities, and that there should be no attempt to impose Egyptian rule on the Soudan. He showed some irritation at the presence of Lord Hartington on the front Opposition bench, and gave him a broad hint that it was desirable that he should consort with those whose opinions he shared. Mr. Stanhope protested against the disgrace of abandoning the friendly tribes to the mercy of the Arabs, and Lord Randolph Churchill delivered a lively attack upon the Government for their "stupid and foolish" policy of going to Suakim, fighting a battle, and then going back again—a policy which could do no possible good to anybody, unless the "decimation of the dervishes" were a good thing. He attacked Colonel Kitchener, despised the friendly tribes, and sneered at Lord Salisbury for expressing "private and temporary opinions" unshared by his colleagues. The debate was continued for some time, but no fresh views were brought forward, and ultimately Mr. Morley's amendment to reduce the diplomatic vote was rejected by 165 to 76 votes.

A night for the long-postponed discussion on the state of the navy was at length obtained (Dec. 13), when, on the vote for shipbuilding, Lord Charles Beresford delivered a long and somewhat alarmist speech, altogether in keeping with his speeches outside the House. He maintained that the existence of our empire depended on the strength of our fleet, that the strength of the fleet depended entirely on the shipbuilding vote, and that as a matter of fact all the experts on the subject agreed that our navy was not sufficient to defend the interests of the empire. We ought to have a navy strong enough to protect our shores and our trade, and therefore it should be more than a match for

the combined fleets of any two European Powers which were likely to be our foes, and one of which must necessarily be France. But, as a matter of fact, it was very doubtful whether we could defend our shores and our trade and commerce, and secure the punctual and certain delivery of our food supply, if we were engaged with France alone. He complained that the ship-building vote was based on no policy or theory of any reasonable kind, and he worked out at considerable length an interesting "plan of campaign," as a sort of thing which might happen if we were really at war with France, showing that while France had thirty battleships we should only have thirty-six available, and the various French squadrons might, by unexpectedly uniting and attacking our scattered squadrons, destroy our navy altogether, and with it our empire. The French and English ships were so nearly level that the loss of only two or three vessels on our side might involve the loss of our supremacy at sea, by making it utterly impossible for our fleet to do the work which was absolutely necessary. He contended that we had an insufficient number of battleships, no sufficient reserve for the Channel or the Narrow Seas, and that we were ludicrously and dangerously ill off for cruisers. He showed that in 1860, when our exports and imports were 375,000,000*l.*, our naval estimates were 12,800,000*l.*, but now in 1888, when our exports and imports were about 660,000,000*l.*, the naval estimates were only 11,900,000*l.*, or, regarding the navy as a national insurance, the rate of insurance had gone down from 3·41 per cent. to 1·85. He recommended that the operation of the National Debt sinking fund should be stopped for a time, so that, without throwing a single penny of extra charge on the taxpayer, and only by delaying a measure which was for the benefit of posterity, we might spend twenty millions on our fleet in providing four first-class and ten second-class ironclads, ten first-class cruisers, and fifty smaller vessels, and arming them all. When Lord C. Beresford had finished his speech, the Chairman (Mr. Courtney) asked him whether he intended, pursuant to notice, to move the reduction of the vote, and Lord Charles created some amusement by emphatically declaring that what he would prefer to do, if the rules of the House did not forbid such a course, would be to move, not to reduce the vote, but to increase it by twenty millions. The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton), in replying, was as optimistic as Lord Charles Beresford had been the reverse. True, he admitted at the outset that our navy was not yet up to the requisite standard of strength; but he maintained that the rate of progress now being made was so rapid that we should soon be in the best possible position. He owned that during the six years before 1884-5 the English Government did not spend as much as it ought to have done on ships and guns, for the average annual expenditure was only 2,150,000*l.* But for the last five

years the average annual expenditure on guns and new construction had been 4,700,000*l.*, of which the item for shipbuilding was now 3,100,000*l.* a year, while France was only spending 1,600,000*l.* a year on the same item. He explained further that our shipbuilding processes had now been so much accelerated that we could complete an ironclad or a cruiser in three or four years and a smaller vessel in two, while in France ships were sometimes ten years in building. He maintained that our navy was quite able and would continue to be able to hold its own against any two other navies of the world ; and that, as a matter of fact, after allowing for all necessary deductions, we had forty-seven available battle-ships against twenty-two in France. The discussion was continued for some hours, most of the naval experts in the House taking part in it. Among them Sir Edward Reed endorsed many of the views put forward by Lord George Hamilton, whom he praised for the introduction of many valuable reforms into our shipbuilding system ; Admiral Mayne demanded that more battle-ships should be built at once, and ultimately the vote was agreed to.

The last week of the session passed without any incident of importance, unless Dr. Tanner's suspension for grossly insulting the Chief Secretary may be regarded as an exception. Up to the last moment it seemed doubtful whether or no Mr. Labouchere, who practically led the Opposition, would allow the prorogation to take place before Christmas, but ultimately this took place on Christmas Eve. The Queen's Speech on the occasion merely stated that her relations with foreign powers continued to be friendly ; regretted the failure of the Fisheries Convention with the United States ; spoke of the condition of Egypt as satisfactory ; referred to the agreement with Germany to stop the exportation of slaves from the East Coast of Africa ; and expressed the hope that members would be able to promote the successful working of the Local Government Act in their respective neighbourhoods.

The duties incident upon politicians of all parties during the ordinary recess months were in no way lightened by the prolonged session at Westminster. In almost every case, however, the Irish question formed the basis of the speeches, and very few speakers found any fresh way of stating their views. The subject had been for two years thoroughly threshed out in Parliament and on public platforms, but party leaders felt the need of insisting on every occasion upon the importance of the issue between the Unionists and the Separatists. One of the most noteworthy of these occasions was the banquet given (Nov. 14) to Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington by the representatives of the Irish Nonconformists, including the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Congregationalists. Of the Irish Nonconformist clergy, 864 out of 990 had signed the Unionist address ; while only eight of the minority of those who declined to sign it

had refused on the ground of sympathy with Home Rule. There was thus a very marked divergence of opinion between the Irish and English Dissenters, for the latter had previously, through some of their most distinguished leaders, expressed in a somewhat similar fashion their adherence to Mr. Gladstone. On the present occasion the Moderator of the General Assembly of Presbyterians, the Rev. R. J. Lynd, expressed in very striking words the views of the deputation. He disowned altogether for himself and his colleagues anti-Catholic feeling, contending only for the guarantee given by the Union for equal liberties and equal civil rights. He expressed the strongest sympathy with the tenant-farmers in their effort to secure a wise revision of the Irish Land Laws, and declared that if they had thought that Home Rule would give prosperity to Ireland, they would have adopted it with the utmost enthusiasm; but that, on the contrary, they believed that it would put Ireland back a hundred years at least, by placing the wealth and education of Ireland at the disposal of a group of men who had shown no special capacity of any kind, except as agitators who had again and again refused to be bound by the trammels of law; they had therefore no choice as patriots except to resist it. After the most careful inquiries, Mr. Lynd was himself convinced that, rightly or wrongly, the success of the Irish Home Rule movement must result in civil war.

Lord Salisbury, in his reply, insisted that self-government, when spoken of for Ireland, was a mere metaphor, since there was certainly no self to govern. Ireland, as it was proposed to govern it, would be in effect like a group of five people, three of whom would be sitting on the other two and rifling their pockets, and it was ridiculous to talk of such a group as enjoying the blessings of self-government. Again, nothing could be sillier than to suppose that if Home Rule were granted, the violent party now uppermost would make room for "a set of refined, scrupulous, and honourable statesmen" of whom we had so far heard nothing. In revolutions, it was the violent men who displaced the prudent, not the prudent who displaced the violent.

Lord Hartington pointed out that that evening they were almost infringing Mr. Gladstone's patent or copyright in addresses on Irish subjects, and that Mr. Gladstone had evidently been aggrieved by the infringement, for whereas when the English Nonconformists addressed him in warm praise of his policy, he congratulated them on their courage in associating their political action "with the principles and motives of their holy religion," as soon as he heard of what the Irish Nonconformists were doing, he declared they were going back to the policy of the darkest times, "without any of the apologies or any of the pleas which those former times might well have urged for themselves." Yet, said Lord Hartington, there did not seem any excuse for describing the very moderate addresses they had heard as a reversion to the policy of the dark ages. Mr. Gladstone seemed

disinclined to answer any of the questions that he (Lord Hartington) had put to him, and yet surely the men of Ulster had a right to know whether it was intended that if Home Rule were granted, the Imperial power would be brought to bear to crush those who resisted it. Lord Hartington concluded by saying that "to leave at the mercy of opponents men who had trusted in our honour and confided in our protection, would be an act of disgrace, of faithlessness, of dereliction of duty, of which I trust the people of this country will never be guilty."

Having thus obtained from the Irish Presbyterians an endorsement of his policy, it was not unnatural that Lord Salisbury should be anxious to lay it once more before those of Scotland. In the course of a short visit of two days to Edinburgh he delivered five addresses to various classes of hearers. In his principal speech, delivered in the Corn Exchange (Nov. 29) to an audience of upwards of 5,000 persons, he apologised for the delay in legislating for Scotch needs, but attributed it to the combination of extreme Radicals and Irish members in Parliament—"a combination which received marked connivance and acquiescence from more respectable politicians." After promising that there should be Scottish legislation next session, he plunged at once into matters of Irish policy, and taunted the Opposition with their absolute failure to indicate what their own policy for Ireland was really to be. He asked how legislative separation was to be prevented from becoming entire separation, and ridiculed Sir George Trevelyan's "safeguard"—that of retaining the Irish members in Westminster. "Irish members," said Lord Salisbury, amid much laughter, "are a phenomenon which fate has imposed on us, and with which we must be content, but deliberately to duplicate Irish members, so that you should have a double allowance of them, seems to me the most homœopathic remedy ever suggested in political life." He pointed out that Home Rule involved not merely a separate legislature—for that was a matter which could be endured—but the absolute control of the Executive power of the country. Lord Salisbury went on to suggest what might happen with a hostile Irish Government if England ever became involved in a great war. It was not to be expected that the Irish people would change their nature, that the lamb would take the place of the lion or some less noble but equally predatory animal, the leopard change its spots, or the Ethiopian his skin; that section of the Irish who had always sided with our enemies when we were at war with Spain, America, or France would continue to be bitterly hostile to us, and they would have all the magnificent harbours of their coast in which to give shelter to an enemy's fleet. He showed from the history of America and Roumania that one country separating from another always retained a hostility to the country from which it had separated, and then in a powerful appeal he besought his hearers to weigh the testimony recently given by

the Nonconformist ministers of Ireland, mostly Presbyterian in religion and Liberal in politics, as to their apprehensions and convictions in regard to the future if Home Rule should be entrusted to the Nationalist party. But while he acknowledged that the political struggle in which we were engaged was no light one, and involved much sacrifice, he professed the utmost confidence in the future, for the course of history showed a general tendency not to separation, but to consolidation, and he believed that when Ireland was convinced, as in time she would be, of the impossibility of realising the enterprise she had set before herself she would abandon it.

In a speech delivered on the following day (Nov. 30) to the Liberal Unionists, on whom he impressed the necessity of organisation and of educating public opinion, Lord Salisbury let fall one of those indiscreet remarks for which he had already acquired an unfortunate reputation. Alluding to the contest in the Holborn Division of Finsbury, he referred to the candidate at the General Election, Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji, as "a black man"—an expression which was at once seized upon by his opponents as a sneer against a large number of our fellow-subjects. The outcry raised by this unfortunate term almost threw into the background the significant hope which the Prime Minister expressed to the Ladies of the Primrose League, that the day was not far distant when women would bear their share in voting at Parliamentary elections.

Although Mr. Goschen at Birmingham (Dec. 12), Lord Derby and Lord Hartington at Liverpool (Dec. 18), and Lord Salisbury at Scarborough (Dec. 19), made brilliant and at the same time weighty speeches, they added nothing to their previously expressed views on the Irish question, the policy of the Opposition, and the mutual relations of the Conservatives and Unionists. The Prime Minister for a moment travelled out of this groove when he declared that the British policy in Egypt was determined by Mr. Gladstone's positive pledge to the Egyptian Government not to give up any ports on the Red Sea; but whilst announcing his determination to hold Suakim he declared strongly against any expedition into the interior, even to Handoub or Tokar. He prepared his audience for increased Naval Estimates by reminding them of the possible alternative of being held to ransom by an enemy's squadron; and in forecasting the programme of the future hinted that among the measures which his Government were desirous to pass were a Local Government Bill for Scotland; a Tithe Bill, an Employers' Liability Bill, and an Agricultural Department for England; and for Ireland a non-compulsory Land Bill, which would place freeholds within the reach of a far larger class of occupiers.

Far more important, however, in every way were the utterances of the two Opposition leaders, Mr. John Morley and Mr. Gladstone, to metropolitan gatherings, and obviously intended to

show what inducements they could offer to the metropolitan constituencies to return to their former allegiance. In this crusade Mr. John Morley at Clerkenwell (Dec. 12) took the lead, but before touching upon domestic affairs he severely criticised Lord Salisbury's policy abroad, especially in blockading the East African Coast on the pretext of suppressing the slave trade, but really, as it seemed, to help Germany to invade and attack the natives; and for starting, at the demand of the military party in Egypt, another of the "abominable, profitless, purposeless Soudanese wars" at Suakim. Mr. Morley declared his belief that we were "drifting into a course of action and into a policy which were cruel to the Arabs, useless to Egypt, and disgraceful to England." He censured Lord Salisbury for his description of a well-known Indian gentleman as "a black man," and denounced the use of such language as "not the way to strengthen or maintain an empire." Turning to Irish affairs, Mr. Morley again commended Home Rule as the only cure for Irish ills, and declared his belief that the Imperial Parliament was "hopelessly unfit" to make good laws for Ireland.

Passing somewhat abruptly to metropolitan affairs, Mr. Morley then enumerated the reforms which the Liberal party was ready to undertake when it returned to office. At Birmingham the Liberals had pledged themselves to free schools, and its leaders had not only adopted that decision, but they were willing that the great London endowments should be utilised for the benefit of London as a whole. They had also decided that the owners of all interests in land should contribute a fair share to local taxation; and as a first step in this direction he urged that ground rents and values should be made liable. Of the fifty millions sterling raised by the Metropolitan Board of Works during its existence of thirty-five years and spent on general improvements, the burden had fallen on the occupiers and not upon the ground landlords and those whose property had been improved by this enormous outlay. Mr. Morley further declared in favour of giving to the people of London the control of their own police, as was the case in Manchester and Birmingham, urging that the present system was wasteful, onerous, and unsatisfactory. He then passed on to denounce the leasehold system upon which the greatest part of London was built, and denounced it as preventing thrift among the working classes, damaging to co-operative and building societies, whilst it encouraged jerry-building and insufficient maintenance, tended more than anything to raise rents, and enabled house farmers to buy up fag ends of leases and to neglect all the duties attaching to property. In order to effect these reforms speedily, Mr. Morley declared that improved political machinery was necessary. He would do away with the existing system of registration which made the franchise a mockery, and substitute one register for all purposes, shorter residence, and more frequent revision. Further,

he declared his adoption of the "one man one vote" principle, and demanded shorter parliaments. In conclusion, Mr. Morley, whilst admitting that neither politics nor party could mitigate the chances and troubles of life, advised his hearers not to allow their politics to be merely engines of assault. "Attack we must, and attack we will. Privilege, caste ascendancy, selfish interests—we must smite them hip and thigh. But the walls of privilege, caste ascendancy, selfish class interest, will not fall before the mere blowing of trumpets. If we merely attack by the ordinary weapons of party warfare those great citadels of privilege and ascendancy, we shall find the sons of Zeruiah too strong for us. I will tell you what, in my judgment, is the force, is the army, is the host, before which these walls will fall. They will fall when Liberals strive to attain the ideal which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of one of his characters, and when men that have that idea are the dominant force in the party: 'I earn that I eat; I get that I wear; owe no man hate; envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good.' And be sure that being glad at all men's good, striving to do justice and to bring comfort to Ireland, striving to do justice and to bring comfort among the destitute and outcast of your own population—that is to bring to yourselves no unreal happiness, as it is to add one more victory to those which are already recorded on the torn and riddled, but ever-victorious banner of justice and freedom and the progress of man."

Three days later, somewhat to the surprise of the public, who had imagined Mr. Gladstone on the eve of entering his eightieth year would welcome the repose of the recess, he appeared at Limhouse Town Hall (Dec. 15) at a meeting presided over by Mr. John Morley, and delivered without apparent fatigue one of his most effective speeches of the year. In beginning he spent some time in rejoicing over the departure of Lord Hartington and other Liberal Unionists from the National Liberal Club, for he confessed that the Liberal Unionists were "the most effective foes" whom he and his followers had to deal with, and now he concluded that there was "no political union whatever remaining" between the Liberal Unionists and the bulk of the Liberal party. He drew encouragement also from the diminished Conservative majority at the Maidstone election, and then proceeded to taunt Lord Salisbury with giving deep offence to the people of India by his notorious "black man" phrase. Mr. Gladstone dealt lightly with foreign questions, and criticised in a friendly spirit Lord Salisbury's policy. The point on which he was most at issue with the Foreign Secretary was the cause of apprehension. This, Lord Salisbury thought, was to be looked for in the violent and precipitate movements of the people, whilst he (Mr. Gladstone) held that the intrigues of Governments were a far more fruitful source of wars and disturbances. He fully endorsed Lord Salisbury's determination not to be led away by a visionary

notion of conquering the Soudan, agreeing with him that England had no interest in the retention of Suakim, and he could not see that Egypt had any interest either, and trusted therefore that means would be found to withdraw the English troops. Turning then to domestic matters he charged the Government once more with wasting the time of the House of Commons, and with using its majority in a tyrannical and unscrupulous manner, while at the same time he dwelt on the forbearance which had been shown by the Parnellites and the positive assistance given to the Government by the Opposition. He then dealt with the Clerkenwell programme of Mr. Morley, accepting almost every item in it, such as "one man one vote," shorter parliaments, the taxation of ground rents, leasehold enfranchisement, the control—not to be given immediately but to come in time—of the metropolitan police, the improvement of artisans' dwellings, free schools, and disestablishment in Scotland and Wales. Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech with a brief reference to the Irish question, maintaining that as a matter of justice more confidence should be displayed by Englishmen in Irishmen. The Irish, Mr. Gladstone declared, were not only loyal to their own leaders, they had shown the same loyalty to England whenever there had been a visionary hope of combining loyalty with justice.

The obvious intention of these two speeches has been already suggested; but the spirit in which they were received by the more independent section of the Liberal press did not encourage the hope that the London electorate received with enthusiasm the promised extension of the Birmingham programme. It was felt that for the Gladstonian Liberals, at all events, the settlement of the Irish question was the first and paramount duty. Until this had been attained it would be useless to discuss any of the proposed reforms, local, ecclesiastical, or imperial, and the state of public opinion at the close of the year showed that the Home Rule idea had made little way in the English constituencies. The Government, by its mere tenure of office, had probably lost some of the strength it had displayed in starting; but on the whole the union of the two sections by which it was maintained in power had been loyally supported. Mr. Balfour, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, had displayed great firmness in administering an unpopular Act, and great resource in defending himself and his subordinates against the repeated and often unjust onslaughts of his opponents. Among those whose reputations for statesmanship had suffered greatly during the year Mr. Balfour's could not be reckoned; and the excessive bitterness with which he was attacked was in truth the best testimony to his ability and firmness. His great defect was a real or affected scorn of his opponents, and the almost supercilious contempt with which he disposed of their arguments and assertions. Mr. Ritchie also added considerably to his reputation as a clear-

headed, sensible administrator, although his task of carrying a great measure of reform through Parliament was in no slight degree due to the desire of the Opposition to see the local government of the country settled upon definite lines, which might be widened when occasion offered. Mr. Goschen had shown his skill in taking advantage of his opportunities, and after long waiting he found his chance of placing upon record for all time his claim to be a financier. He was above all things happy in the moment he selected to raise the financial position of the country, and to show on what easy terms the Government could borrow money, should aggression force it to increase its power at home and abroad. In spite of all these advantages, however, it cannot be said that the Ministry or the party was stronger at the close of the year than at its opening. Among the old Conservative party there were symptoms that the policy of concession to the Liberal Unionists was not altogether to their taste, and they resented still more keenly the isolation in which Lord Salisbury, following in the footsteps of Lord Beaconsfield, chose to live. The members of the Cabinet were, for any influence they seemed to exercise upon the general policy, scarcely more than heads of their several departments, whilst the chiefs of the party outside the Cabinet were no longer, as in former days, consulted and humoured.

But if the Ministerialists were weaker, the Gladstonians were no stronger at the close of the year. In some districts they had gained votes, in others they had lost them; and although it would be unfair to assume that bye-elections offered the same gauge of political feeling as that of a general election, it was obvious that the "flowing tide" on which the Gladstonians were to reach office had not yet set in. Moreover, the succession to the leadership had been openly mooted, and had revealed a very great divergence between the Midlands and the North, the two centres of Radicalism. In the former, Lord Spencer and Sir Wm. Harcourt were most favourably regarded, but north of the Humber and of the Border, Lord Rosebery and Mr. John Morley were designated as best fitted to uphold the flag which Mr. Gladstone might at any moment desire to see in younger hands. This latter combination, however, was complicated by the avowed divergence of opinion between the two politicians on the subject of the Imperial duties of Great Britain. Lord Rosebery had identified himself explicitly with the cause of Imperial Federation, whilst Mr. Morley in dealing with colonies and foreign countries had seemed to show a willingness to escape from all responsibilities at the sacrifice of everything, except the material welfare of the industrial classes. Recognising that the burden of taxation, especially of war taxes, fell more heavily upon the poor and the working class, he seemed to think it the first duty of a Government to consider their necessities before vindicating national rights or asserting the position of England as one of the

Great Powers, whose voice should be heard in the council of the nations. Happily nothing occurred before the close of the year to render it necessary to put the claims of the various aspirants to the Liberal leadership to the test. Meanwhile, the return of Lord Hartington to his former friends was perhaps as sincerely wished as that of Mr. Chamberlain was dreaded. The former had throughout the year displayed on various occasions qualities which had hitherto lain dormant, and his speeches had been at all times marked by a sense of serious statesmanship too often absent from the partisan utterances of leaders on both sides. On the question of the maintenance of the Union, Lord Hartington consistently vindicated his support of the Conservative Government; and although Mr. Chamberlain was no less strong in his opposition to Mr. Gladstone, there were doubts among his own friends how long he could remain in active co-operation with a party whose aims and ideas were so totally opposed to his own, and to which he could scarcely appeal for support in the event of an election. In a word, the year was one of arrested movements on all sides; and although the Gladstonians asserted their eagerness for a fresh appeal to the country on their Irish policy, there was no evidence or grounds for supposing that the result would do more than reduce the Government majority by a few votes, and shift the balance from the Liberal Unionists to the more distinctly Conservative party.

CHAPTER VI.

IRELAND.

ON Jan. 1, when the Corporation of Dublin met at the City Hall for the inauguration of the new Lord Mayor and the retirement of his predecessor, neither of the chief personages of the ceremony was present. The outgoing Lord Mayor was in Tullamore Gaol, and the incoming one was lying dangerously ill. It was but natural that this state of affairs, in the eyes of many, augured ill for the political life of the year. Its events turned chiefly on the imprisonment and release of Irish members of Parliament.

Monsignor Persico's visit to Ireland, from which much had been hoped by the Catholic party, terminated in disappointment. He was accused by the Nationalists of not having acted as a careful or impartial investigator. Sent by the Pope to report on the state of the country, Monsignor Persico, it was asserted, had steadfastly avoided all association with the representatives of the tenants and the National members of Parliament, and had sought his information exclusively from the landlords and their friends, and from the Catholic bishops. That his report was hostile to the Plan of Campaign, and generally to the agrarian agitation, may be gathered from the Rescript from the Holy

Office, which appeared early in the year, and from the subsequent letter from the Pope.

Early in January Mr. Wilfrid Blunt appealed against the decision of the Resident Magistrates, who had sentenced him to two months' imprisonment for resisting the police at Woodford. At the same time a Coercion Court was held at Woodford to investigate the charges against those who were present at the midnight meeting of the previous October. The rumour that the Government intended to suppress the National League had caused a considerable stir, and meetings round the country were at this time continuously proclaimed. If the intentions of the Government were really pacific, it must be admitted that the means adopted for their advancement were justly regarded by the Nationalists as hostile and exasperating. Mr. Balfour was accused of harrying and punishing small traders for displaying the National emblems or attending public meetings, of instituting legal proceedings against editors for the publishing of Land League reports in their papers, of prosecuting obscure news-vendors of hostile journals, and Mr. Harrington was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for his antecedent connection with a Kerry newspaper, the property of his brother. Popular feeling was further excited by a reckless charge brought by Mr. Blunt against the Chief Secretary, accusing him of having stated in private that the disastrous and possibly fatal effects of imprisonment upon certain dangerous leaders of the Irish people would prove the surest means of tranquillising the country. This charge, of which no shadow of justification existed, was denied by Mr. Balfour. It was, nevertheless, widely circulated by those whose policy it was to accentuate the unpopularity of the Chief Secretary. This perpetual condition of conflict, and the attitude of enmity between the Executive and the people, fostered that feeling of mutual distrust, and its consequent irritation, which have rendered all efforts to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the Irish people abortive.

The visit of the Marquis of Ripon and Mr. Morley to Dublin, in the beginning of February, was a set-off to the earlier visit in December of the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Goschen. It was interesting to note and contrast the reception in the same city of the rival party leaders. The latter had been hospitably entertained by the classes, but the Marquis of Ripon and Mr. Morley were welcomed by the masses with a warmth and cordiality that somewhat astonished those guests themselves. The freedom of the city was conferred upon them, and public entertainments were given in their honour, and there was no need to place mounted police outside the banquet hall to prevent the offensive demonstration of the citizens, as upon the occasion of the Liberal Union banquet.

The release of Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. T. D. Sullivan about this time was, moreover, the signal for enthusiastic re-

joicings and congratulations throughout Ireland. Mr. O'Brien's first speech in the House of Commons after his imprisonment was widely recognised as one of very special significance. The fact that he was known to have peculiar grievances against the Government in the matter of prison treatment gave a curious and piquant interest to his first pronouncement against it, which, although pitched in a high and impassioned tone, was marked by much good feeling.

Despite the attitude assumed by the Executive Government towards the "Plan of Campaign," and the decision against its legality by the Court of Appeal, its terms during the year were accepted upon thirty-seven estates; the largest and most important being those of Lord de Freyne (Roscommon), Colonel O'Callaghan (Bodyke), Lord Dunsandle (Galway), Sir Henry Burke (Galway), Countess of Kingston (Mitchelstown, co. Cork), and Lord Westmeath (Galway). The Plan, it may be explained, was instituted in the same way and with the same objects as trades unions had been organised elsewhere, namely, upon the principle of combination for the protection of the interests of the tenants. It was possible, therefore, for good landlords to come voluntarily under the workings of the Plan, and its coercive measures are applied to none but landlords who refused to accept terms that the council of the tenants considered reasonable. In 1886 the price of all produce had fallen from 30 to 40 per cent., and the judicial rents fixed during the four preceding years, when prices had been higher, became in consequence rack-rents. A number of landlords gave liberal abatements, but the majority refused to make any reductions, and evictions were extensively carried out. By the rejection of Mr. Parnell's Tenant Relief Bill (1886) the Land Courts were debarred from dealing with this grievance, and thereupon the Plan was instituted for mutual protection when there was no other resource against exacting landlords. The rents receiving such reduction as the tenants considered reasonable, were paid into the hands of an appointed trustee upon whose integrity perfect reliance was placed. The sum was then offered to the landlord, and if refused was spent in supporting the tenants he evicted and in resisting eviction, and he was given no peace until he consented to reinstate them.

In April the Head of the Church issued a Papal Rescript condemning the Plan upon three grounds. Firstly, that it was unlawful to break voluntary contracts freely entered into between landlord and tenant; secondly, that the Land Courts were available to tenants who believed their rents unfair; and, thirdly, that the funds collected under the Plan had been extorted from its supporters. The Papal Rescript condemned the practice of boycotting on the ground that it was against the principles of justice and charity, and was used as an instrument of persecution against those who were willing to pay rent, and against those who exercised their legal rights to take vacant farms. Mr. Dillon, in

his speech at Herbertstown (April 28), denied the first objection, that contracts were freely entered into between landlord and tenant. He maintained that the contracting tenant in Ireland had never been a free agent, that the Land Courts were not impartial, because they were in the control of the Executive Government, that the Land Commissions were composed of landlords and agents in the control of the Lord-Lieutenant, who himself rack-rented his own tenants. The Courts, he argued, were not open to all Irish tenants, and would never have been opened to any but for the agitation that had been raised. They remained closed to judicial leaseholders, who were in excess of ordinary leaseholders. The Government and the landlords had in 1886 opposed the proposal that judicial tenants should be allowed to go into the courts, and declared that no reduction could be made on judicial rents. The Plan had compelled the reduction of judicial rents, and the benefits of the Land Act were conferred on four-fifths of the tenants of Ireland. With regard to the third objection, Mr. Dillon asserted that he had taken a great deal of money under the Plan, and in no single case had force or intimidation been used, and those who wished to do so had voluntarily joined the movement; and the only coercion employed was that necessary to prevent the betrayal of their fellows by those who turned back afterwards. The Papal Rescript, however, in no way altered or weakened the purposes of the National party. Mr. Parnell at the Eighty Club (May 8) described the Circular, in the opinion of Irish Catholics, as a disastrous failure, and a second defeat of Leo XIII. in his attempt to control the political situation in Ireland by right of his authority as spiritual sovereign. The Irish leader further asserted that the Plan had been most successful in saving thousands of tenants from eviction. But a stronger pronouncement than that of their Protestant leader was felt to be necessary by all the Catholic members of Parliament, who, for this purpose, met in Dublin, and formally condemned the Rescript. They asserted that the allegations in the Circular were unfounded; that the assertion regarding free contract, except in the case of an insignificant minority, was unwarrantable, and disproved by the whole agrarian legislation of Ireland during eighteen years under successive Administrations; that the Plan proceeded upon the non-existence of free contract, and was directed to compulsory interference with, and curtailment of, the arbitrary powers of eviction and confiscation exercised by landlords; that the constitution and adjudication of rent-fixing courts afforded inadequate grounds for the statement in the Papal Circular that they so reduced excessive rents as to bring them within the limits of equity; that no provision was made by the Courts for disaster or failure of crops; that landlord partisans predominated in the Courts; that no account was taken of arrears of rents pronounced by the Courts to be excessive, whilst a large class of tenants was still shut out from the Courts, and liable to

the tyrannous exactions and capricious raising of rents by their landlords. They further denied that money was in any case extorted from the tenants under the Plan.

Public meetings were held in Dublin and elsewhere in condemnation of the Rescript. The Irish Hierarchy met (May 30), and while expressing their sense of obligation to, and confidence in, the Irish party, exhorted them not to assume an attitude of disrespectful opposition to the Holy See. This appeal in itself was a striking testimony to the advance of freedom of opinion, and of the waning of clerical influence and of unquestioning submission to Rome, and was generally attributed to the influence of the Land League.

The acceptance on the Kingston estates (co. Cork) of the terms offered by the Plan terminated a long and hard struggle extending over twelve months, and was regarded as a special triumph by its originators. There was an abatement made of 20 per cent. off rents, and a half-year's rent accepted in lieu of all arrears; the evicted tenants were reinstated, and the Countess of Kingston undertook to pay all costs. At Bodyke, Colonel O'Callaghan reinstated the thirty-one tenants he had evicted in the previous June, and gave them a reduction of nearly 50 per cent. off their rents. But in spite of the Chief Secretary's statement that the condition of the country was generally improving under his stringent application of the law, many districts continued disturbed, and the repeated arrests and trials of members of Parliament, priests, and others showed that in certain districts the spirit of opposition was not quelled. The Nationalist press naturally did its utmost to keep alive discontent. The most trifling enforcement of administrative discipline was represented as evidence of malignant persecution instituted by the Chief Secretary and enforced by orders from the Castle.

Public meetings were proclaimed in many districts, and it was declared illegal to post placards announcing them. They were nevertheless often held, and frequently led to collisions with the authorities. For instance, at a proclaimed meeting at Ennis (April 15) a severe struggle took place. Large forces of police, hussars, and infantry had been drafted into the town, and the conduct of the military on this occasion was severely reprobated by the Irish press, as tending to exasperate popular feeling against dominant authority, whilst the law was strained to prevent the meeting being held, men being arrested even for carrying Land League cards, and the building where the meeting was announced to take place being surrounded by the police. The Leaguers, however, in large numbers adjourned to a store close by, and shut the gates before the police could follow them. Colonel Turner immediately ordered that the gates should be opened, and on this being refused a savage fray ensued. The troops and police were stoned and the crowd batoned and charged on both sides, and many were badly wounded. At length Mr. Davitt

and Mr. John O'Connor sent to request Colonel Turner to unite with them and help to put a stop to these disgraceful proceedings, but the commanding officer refused to enter into pacific negotiations with the representatives of the League. A similar scene took place on the same day at Kilrush. Mr. Cox was forbidden to address his constituents, and Captain Keogh, R.M., was in charge to stop the proceedings forcibly with a company of infantry. In this case the attendance of a surgeon, with appliances in readiness for the wounded— a natural and humane precaution—was bitterly resented by the Nationalist press, and the intentions of the authorities perversely represented. In other parts of the country similar scenes were enacted wherever Nationalist members of Parliament were announced to address their constituents, and many were the devices resorted to with the object of outwitting the police. The readiness with which the people answered the summons of their leaders, and their willingness to accept the dangers attendant on compliance, testified to a widespread discontent. Yet, despite the general disaffection and the occasional outbursts of public temper under Mr. Balfour's harsh rule, many of the judges, in opening the assizes, were able to congratulate the grand juries upon the general absence of ordinary crime even in the most disturbed districts.

Mr. Dillon's arrest for a speech made at Tullyallen (April 8), at a meeting only formally proclaimed a week later, was the source of many dramatic incidents. On the day of his unopposed arrest the street in which he lived was crowded with enthusiastic spectators, and his appearance, surrounded by the police, was greeted with deafening cheers. He was conducted to Drogheda Gaol, and during his confinement there was presented with the freedom of that city. For his speech to the Massereene tenants, in which he had adjured them to adopt the Plan of Campaign, he was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, and after the completion of that term was further sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. The severity of this sentence upon a man so popular, and who had gained the esteem of many of his political opponents, gave rise to feelings of strong indignation even in England. The exceptional repressive legislation in Ireland, demonstrated by the imprisonment under the Crimes Act of more than seventeen members of Parliament, and the unexampled frequency of collisions between the police and the people, led Mr. Morley, June 25, to move a vote of censure on the Government. The debate which followed is described elsewhere; and although significant from a party view, it did nothing towards clearing the political atmosphere. Mr. O'Donnell's action against the *Times* gave rather an unfortunate impetus to the old charges in "Parnellism and Crime," by their repetition in a court of law; and the result was the forcing upon the Irish party an expensive trial, of which the issue was left un-

decided at the close of the year. The action went against Mr. O'Donnell, however, in accordance with general expectation, there being no distinct and personal charge made against that gentleman in the *Times* pamphlet.

The death of Mr. John Mandeville at Mitchelstown (July 8), some months after his release from Tullamore Gaol, gave rise to some very remarkable proceedings, attended by painful consequences. At the coroner's inquest held upon the deceased it was asserted that he had been subjected to exceptionally rigorous treatment, and that his death was due to the privations of which he had been the victim. The evidence in support of these charges was vague and unconvincing, but the charges made against Dr. Ridley, the prison doctor, were so malignant and damaging, that that gentleman was driven to commit suicide; and at the inquest on his death a fresh batch of assertions and denials was laid before the public, with the sole result of embittering popular feeling. It was perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Balfour, speaking some time later at Glasgow, should have preferred a dialectic victory over Mr. Gladstone to a courteous expression of regret for an unfortunate event.

Towards the close of the year a letter from the Pope on the Irish question followed as a supplement to his spring Rescript. In this the Pope acknowledged that the hostility with which his Rescript had been received by the Catholics of Ireland had deeply pained and grieved him. He deplored that the scope of his decree should have been not only grievously misinterpreted, but that the obedience due to it should have been denied. The people were again enjoined to have nothing to do with the Plan of Campaign and the method of warfare known as boycotting. The letter proved as ineffectual and disastrous as the Rescript, and only confirmed adherents to those condemned measures more obstinately than ever. Among the autumn evictions that attracted special notice were those on the Vandeleur estates (in Clare) and on the Clanricarde estates, of which the landlord bore an evil reputation in Ireland for hardness and severity. In furthering the interests of the evictor, however, Mr. Balfour, in conformity with legal requirement, accorded him that which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach dexterously refused—the presence and support of the military and constabulary. A force of 200 men of the Scots Fusiliers, as well as 200 constabulary men, were drafted on Portumna to help to thrust twenty-seven tenants and their families out of scarcely habitable hovels.

To this gloomy picture of the political condition of Ireland, the improvement in the material condition of the country, and in the position of many tenants, gave a brighter side. The various Acts which from time to time had been passed since 1881 to ameliorate the condition of the farming and labouring classes continued to bear fruit. The Land Commissioners, with difficulty, were able to cope with the amount of business thrown

upon them. In the case of applications for fixing fair rents, although scarcely more than a fourth of the notices were dealt with, upwards of 15,000 cases were decided, in nearly all of which the tenants obtained substantial reductions. The returns showed that the demands to fix fair rents during the year ended Aug. 21, 1888 were: Ulster, 19,979; Leinster, 18,913; Connaught, 12,852; and Munster, 16,119. The total for the four provinces during the seven years the Act had been in operation being 192,511 cases, of which 184,186 had been disposed of. The urgent need of further concessions was evidenced in the average percentage of reduction for the year, 28·3 per cent. as compared with a general average reduction of 20·9 per cent. for the seven years. During the same period there had been going on a further revision of rents by the Civil Bill Courts, which had dealt with 9,258 cases (one-half from Connaught), with an acreage of 223,628 acres and a rental of 141,942*l.*, which had been reduced by 22·3 per cent. The advantages offered to tenants wishing to become purchasers of their holdings had been greatly extended by the Land Act of 1885 (Lord Ashbourne's), and great pressure was put upon the Government both by landlords and tenants to extend its operation. During the year 421 estates, with a total extent of nearly 200,000 acres, applied to come in under the Act, the tenants and owners agreeing upon the purchase-money, which was returned at 2,072,863*l.*, of which 2,045,284*l.* was applied for in the shape of loan from the Land Commissioners. During the three years the Ashbourne Act had been in operation, the total number of loans applied for was 14,000, of which more than one-half were from Ulster; half a million of acres passed from the landlords to the tenants; and 5,888,158*l.* was paid to the landlords for their rights. After Ulster, the province of Munster most profited by the application of the purchase clauses of the Ashbourne Act. The number of years' purchase of net rent at which the holdings were sold varied from 13·2 in Longford to 19·8 in Antrim; but the average for the whole kingdom, reckoned on the three years the Act had been in force, was a fraction over seventeen years' purchase. These results supported the Government in the belief that a further extension of the Ashbourne Act was justifiable. Its beneficial action in substituting a number of small resident yeomen farmers for the absentee and other large proprietors was an answer, although, perhaps, an inadequate one, to Irish demands, whilst it was unquestionably an attempt to meet one of the agrarian difficulties by which the country had for so many generations been hampered.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

I. FRANCE.

THE retrogression of Republican opinion in France became more and more marked during the year, for, whilst the Government passed into the hands of the pure Radicals, the most significant electoral successes fell to the Monarchists. During the first week of the year elections were held in 31 departments (Series B, Gers—Ol) for the partial renewal of the Senate. It was with this series that the partial renewal had taken place in the Upper Chamber of 1879, and on that occasion the triumph of the Republican party over the Reactionaries at the Luxembourg was for the first time established. Since that date all the partial elections to the Senate had strengthened the Left, but a change was now imminent: the Republicans numbered 64 among the outgoing Senators, 61 only returned. In the three departments Nièvre, Mayenne, Ille-et-Vilaine, they lost seats, but they recovered that for the Landes. This check was attributed by its apologists to local causes, but it was obvious that if local dissensions were strong enough to produce defeat it was a symptom of the weakening of the discipline to which the Republicans owed their former successes.

During the recess M. Tirard's Cabinet had been modified by the substitution (Jan. 4) of Admiral Krantz for M. de Mahy as Minister of Marine. This change had some significance, in that it implied the subordination of the civil element in the Ministry in the administration of the Navy and Colonies, hitherto directed by the officers of the former. On the reassembling of the Chambers (Jan. 8) M. Floquet was re-elected President without contest, MM. de la Forge and Ernest Lefèvre and Casimir Perier vice-presidents, and M. de Mahy was placed first on the list of quæstors. In the Senate M. Carnot, father of the President of the Republic, as the oldest member, opened the session by a remarkable speech, in which he recommended all fractions of the Republican party to lay aside all differences in order to adopt a business programme, and to give to France useful reforms rather than perpetual changes of Ministers. This wise advice found its supporters elsewhere, for M. Floquet, on taking possession of the Presidential chair of the other Chamber, urged the same policy in the name of the Radical party. "To-day," said he, "the programmes touching political procedure interest less

the nation than questions which deal with practical affairs, with the nation's finance, its industry and commerce, the condition of its working classes, its military state, and its international position ; it was only by directing its attention to such questions that the Chamber could render fruitful and serene the remainder of its legal existence." This was an obvious allusion to the rumours of dissolution which had been persistently circulated in the press. At first the Chamber seemed ready to profit by this good advice, and for a time to renounce the deplorable displays of want of discipline of which it had been so frequently the scene. An interpellation (Jan. 16) of a Monarchical deputy, M. de Lamarzelle, as to the action the Government proposed to take with reference to the Municipal Council of Paris, showed the shallowness of these good resolutions. The question was whether the Prefect of the Seine, in spite of the Municipal Council, should take up his residence in the sumptuous apartments of the Hôtel de Ville ; on this point an animated discussion arose. M. Tirard, President of the Council, was accused by M. Goblet of wishing to make an alliance with the Right. Against such a charge he warmly protested, and demanded a vote of confidence, which he carried by 265 against 178 votes. In spite, however, of this victory, the Government did not feel itself sufficiently strong to carry on the struggle ; the apartments in the Hôtel de Ville remained unoccupied, and the Prefect of the Seine continued in the residence provisionally provided in 1878.

Thus after only one month's existence the Ministry already appeared tottering ; the whole press began to discuss the appointment of a Radical Cabinet. M. Floquet seemed designed to preside over the new Government, but, before provoking a new Ministerial crisis, the Radical party was anxious to leave to the existing Cabinet the solution of certain delicate questions, and to make them pass their Budget. Even in smaller matters it was quite as difficult to obtain from the Chamber decisive opinions : for instance, on the subject of the utilisation of a part of the forest of St. Germain for the Paris sewage works, the Chamber by turns voted the alienation of a part of the forest ; next, the construction of a special canal to convey the sewage direct to the sea ; and then, after having devoted an entire sitting and passed the several clauses of the latter project, it was finally thrown out, and the Chamber returned to its original decision by 297 to 233 votes. In this form the Paris Sewage Bill was sent to the Senate, where it was passed shortly before the close of the year.

The discussion of the Budget presented none of the features by which it had been marked in previous years. The Minister of Finance took great pains to defend the old taxes on drink, which produced 170 million francs, and which the Radicals on the Commission had desired to remove. Their spokesmen,

M. Peytral and M. Yves Guyot, demanded that the taxes levied on wine, cider, perry, hydromel, and beer should be replaced by an excise of 200 francs per hectolitre on alcohol, and by an increase of the licences paid by retailers. On the motion of M. Jules Roche the continuance of the existing system was decreed.

But, although these business discussions were of capital importance to the nation, they attracted far less of public attention than questions of foreign policy. The negotiations opened at Rome by the French delegates, M. Teisserenc de Bort and M. Marie, with Sr. Ellena and Sr. Luzzatti, for Italy, all at once assumed a grave appearance, and the Chamber of Commerce at Lyons requested the French Government to show a conciliatory spirit in these discussions. The simultaneous publication at Berlin and Vienna (Feb. 3) of the Austro-German Treaty was taken as evidence of the diplomatic isolation of France, whilst a letter from Sr. Crispi (Feb. 4) brought to a close the negotiations for a treaty of commerce by declaring the Italian Government unable to accept the French proposals. The French Plenipotentiaries thereupon quitted Rome, and the misunderstanding between France and Italy became more marked. As a sort of compensation the Radicals felt the necessity of drawing closer to Russia. Secret negotiations were opened for the introduction in Paris of a Russian Loan; and the Minister of Commerce, M. Dautresme, succeeded in bringing about an interview between M. Floquet, President of the Chamber of Deputies, and Baron Mohrenheim, the Russian Ambassador. It will be remembered that M. Floquet, then an advocate, had in 1867, on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor Alexander to the Palace of Justice, seriously offended the autocrat by shouting in his face, "Vive la Pologne, Monsieur!" This outburst had for a long time passed for a display of courage, of which M. Floquet on many occasions had reaped the benefits. But at the moment of being called at the head of the Government he found himself somewhat encumbered by its remembrance. The external situation did not permit the Presidency of the Council to be entrusted to one whose personality might prove distasteful to the Czar. The Russian Ambassador in France, moreover, showed clearly the state of the feelings of his Government towards M. Floquet by persistently absenting himself from the receptions of the President of the Chamber. However, after long debate, the matter was arranged. M. Flourens, Minister of Foreign Affairs, officially presented M. Floquet to M. Mohrenheim at a reception held at the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Russian Ambassador accepted an invitation to dinner (Feb. 13) from the President of the Chamber. The settlement of this delicate matter of etiquette removed one more of the obstacles which encumbered the path of the Radicals, and by a strange chance it was the Opportunists who cleared the way for their rivals. Meanwhile, the position of the Ministry seemed to grow stronger as the discus-

sion of the Budget proceeded. The annual debate (Feb. 13) on the Tonquin question gave rise to a curious incident. The ordinary opponents of the Colonial policy, MM. Delafosse, Georges Perin, and de Lanessan, vigorously attacked the administration of M. Félix Faure, and the Chamber by an equally divided vote (256 for and against) negatived the credit of 20,000,000 frs. demanded by the Government. This vote carried with it a reversal of the actual policy in China. M. Tirard thereupon intervened, declaring that he could not accept the responsibility of evacuation; but that, if the Chamber had only wished by its vote to indicate its desire for economy, the Government was prepared to conform to the wishes of the Chamber. Thereupon he asked for the credit, reduced by 200,000 frs., and this sum was voted by 264 against 256, and the colony of Tonquin was saved by eight votes. M. Félix Faure, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, resigned, and was replaced by M. de Laporte.

In the debate on the budget of the Minister of the Interior the Extreme Left, in accordance with its custom, demanded the suppression of the secret service money. M. Tirard at once raised the question of confidence, and, in spite of a coalition of the Radicals and Monarchists, carried his point by 248 to 220. Two days later M. Flourens was elected Deputy by a large majority over his Radical opponent, and finally the maintenance of the French Minister at the Vatican was voted by a majority of 54 votes. The month of March was marked by the sudden revival of the Boulanger question. Simultaneously with the return of M. Flourens in the Hautes-Alpes (Feb. 26), elections had been held in the Marne, Loiret, Loire, and Maine-et-Loire, and in these cases, where General Boulanger was neither elector nor eligible, since he was in active command of the 13th Corps d'Armée, and had not offered himself openly as a candidate, upwards of 55,000 votes were polled for him. The Government immediately ordered an inquiry, which General Boulanger endeavoured to hinder by a letter asking the Minister of War for authority to declare publicly that he disavowed all idea of offering himself as a candidate. At the same time, however, evidence of acts of extreme gravity were forthcoming. General Boulanger, it appeared, in spite of the prohibition of the Ministry, had on various occasions secretly visited Paris; he had placed himself in communication with an electoral committee composed of Monarchists, and had neglected his professional duties for politics, passing many hours each day in communication with the discontented of all parties. His conduct thus strangely contrasted with the application to business he had displayed when Minister of War, and, as a matter of fact, the 13th Corps was without a commander at a most critical moment. It was, moreover, discovered that in the previous December, when the Congress was held at Versailles to elect the President of the Republic, and the choice seemed likely to fall upon M. Jules Ferry, he had attended

a secret council, in which an attack on the Palace of the Elysée had been discussed. Thus he appeared clearly as the chief of a party aiming to discredit Parliamentary government in France and to establish a military dictatorship. The results of the inquiry, conducted by M. Sarrine, Minister of the Interior, and M. Logerot, Minister of War, were so damning that hesitation was impossible, and the *Journal Officiel* (March 14) published a report recommending that the General should be superseded for active service, and General Warner, well known for his services in Tunis and Tonquin, was appointed to the command of the 13th Corps d'Armée. M. Carnot approved this decision, of which the outcome was destined to be important; the most open provocation had for so long been allowed to pass with impunity that the energy of the Ministry surprised everybody. The Boulangists did not remain long inactive. A committee of "Protestation Nationale" was at once organised. The Monarchists first hesitated, mindful of the prominent part which General Boulanger had played in 1886 in the proscription of the Princes; but by degrees they came to see in him an instrument with which to attack the Republic, and M. Granier de Cassagnac interpellated (March 20) the Government on the General's dismissal.

The same day, during the funeral of M. Carnot, the father of the President of the Republic, a disturbance took place during the procession. M. Jules Ferry was recognised, hissed and chased by the crowd, and the windows of his carriage broken. The disorders of the street rapidly spread to the Chamber. M. de Cassagnac repeatedly insulted the President of the Council, and M. Laguerre, formerly the Radical Deputy of Vaucluse, but now one of the chiefs of the Boulangist party, had also to be called to order for describing the Minister of War as a madman. M. Clémenceau, the chief of the Radical party, intervened somewhat unfortunately in the debate. Whilst recognising the necessity of maintaining discipline in the army, he asked the Chamber to recognise the powerlessness of the Government, and to declare a reforming policy alone could put an end to agitation in the country. This proposal would have rewarded the Ministry for having done its duty by upsetting it; consequently, M. Ribot had little trouble in showing its absurdity, and the Government found itself supported by 339 against 82 votes, the members of the Right abstaining.

The Cabinet, although ill-supported in its efforts to uphold the law, nevertheless persisted in its line of policy, and consequently soon found itself in conflict with the Municipal Council of Paris on the labour question. Two resolutions passed by this body in conformity with the Socialist doctrines were annulled, but the Municipality, encouraged by the weakness of the succeeding Ministry, paid no heed to this decision, and thereby provoked the strikes which took place during the following summer.

Meanwhile the Boulangist party was noisily organising itself. Newspapers were started on all sides, recruiting their staff impartially among Monarchists and Socialists. They undertook to bring forward the General as a candidate in every department where elections were to be held, in order to give his partisans an opportunity of protesting against the way in which he had been treated. The Government replied by appointing a Commission to inquire into the charges brought against General Boulanger, and after having heard the General's defence reported that he had been guilty of violating the rules of military discipline, and in consequence the President of the Republic signed (March 27) a decree placing General Boulanger on the retired list. In coming to this decision the Tirard Cabinet had, at all events, simplified the situation and deprived General Boulanger of his equivocal position by which he had so much profited. Shorn of his military grade, obliged to pass himself either as a friend or foe of the Republic, he became a simple politician, and by his alliance with the Monarchists alienated all true Republicans. Meanwhile the existence of the Tirard Cabinet was rapidly drawing to a close, for, the Senate having voted without discussion the Budget of 1888, which the Chamber had been more than a year in settling, the last obstacle in the way of the Radicals was removed. In the Chamber of Deputies M. Camille Pelletan at once brought forward (March 30) a motion for the revision of the Constitution; urgency was opposed by the Government, which submitted it as a question of confidence; but after a short discussion urgency was voted by 268 against 237, and M. Tirard at once placed his resignation in the hands of the President.

The crisis was surmounted with unaccustomed promptitude. M. Floquet, summoned (March 31) by the President of the Republic, accepted the task of forming a new Cabinet, and in a few days presented the following list:—President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, M. Floquet; Foreign Affairs, M. Goblet; War, M. de Freycinet; Public Instruction, M. Lockroy; Finance, M. Peytral; Justice and Public Worship, M. Ferrouillat; Public Works, M. Delmés-Montaud; Marine and Colonies, Admiral Krantz; Commerce, M. Gilegrande; Agriculture, M. Kette. The choice of a civilian for the Ministry of War at a moment when a soldier seemed aiming at a dictatorship was well received by the public; on the other hand, the appointment of M. Goblet to the Foreign Office was received with misgivings, for few public men had made more enemies in the various posts he had occupied, by reason of a harshness of manner which seemed of necessity to exclude him from a post where courtesy and forbearance were of the highest importance. In laying the programme of the new Cabinet before the Chamber, M. Floquet said:—

“It is not immobility, still less a movement backward, that

the country desires, and that we see in the conciliation of Republicans. It is a forward march, the regular development of our institutions, which temporary and superficial agitations cannot impede. . . . But liberty, which does not follow the paths of dictatorship, cannot promise sudden transformations. It requires, in order to accomplish its work, the daily assent of the public powers, and claims discussion, which, if it at times retards success, makes it more sure and durable.

“The question of the revision of the Constitution, which has just been brought before the Chamber, is one of those which most demand calmness and reflection. Those members of the Cabinet who have given it the most energetic support would not desire that a work of such importance, destined to place our political organisation in complete harmony with Republican principles, should be undertaken under conditions of a nature to compromise it. The Government will ask to be intrusted with the duty of indicating the propitious moment and preparing the necessary understanding between the two Assemblies. . . .

“It will place before you a Bill with reference to associations, an indispensable preliminary, in its opinion, for the legislator as well as for the country, in definitely regulating the relations between the Churches and the State.

“We hope to be able to place both Chambers in a position to examine maturely the last Budget of the Legislature, and to introduce into it important reforms, especially those relating to liquor and succession duties.”

The Ministerial declaration was received most coldly in the Senate, where four members only applauded. In the Chamber itself it was remembered that after the fall of Gambetta, in Jan. 1882, M. de Freycinet, in his programme, had made a like promise relating to the revision.

M. Floquet's advent to power left vacant the Presidency of the Chamber. A lively struggle among the Republican groups ensued, the Opportunists supporting M. H. Brisson, the Radicals M. Clémenceau; in both cases the choices were unfortunate. M. Brisson during his short Ministry had lost the authority he once exercised over the Chamber. M. Clémenceau had so far shown skill only in the art of upsetting Republican candidates by the aid of the Monarchist vote; had it not been for this, it is probable that the leader of the Extreme Left would have obtained the Presidency without contest. But the Moderate Republicans refused to shut their eyes to M. Clémenceau's Monarchist alliances against Ministers like Gambetta, de Freycinet, Goblet, Rouvier, and Tirard, who by turns had been overset by a coalition between the extreme parties in the Chamber. Thus it happened that after two indecisive ballots the moderate Republicans cast their votes for M. Méline, Minister of Agriculture in 1881-3, and the leader of the Protectionists. M. Brisson refused to withdraw in presence of this candidate of his own party,

and on the third ballot (April 5) had 62 votes, whilst M. Méline and M. Clémenceau each obtained 168. The former having been born in May, 1841, whilst M. Clemenceau dated only from September of that year, M. Méline became President of the Chamber. This choice was but small satisfaction for the Opportunists, but it showed the new Ministry the necessity for the greatest prudence. About the same time the Senate declared that the Easter vacation should come to an end on April 19, and not on May 15 as the Ministry desired, and the Chamber after some debate decided by 210 to 181 votes to resume its sittings on the same day.

The primary duty of the Floquet Ministry was to combat Caesarism and to show that the Radicals could better than the Moderates hold General Boulanger in check. From this point of view the first experiences of the new Government were not hopeful. Three bye-elections (April 8) were at once held. In the Aisne a Radical journalist was elected with the support of the General; in the Aude a large minority voted in favour of General Boulanger; whilst in the Dordogne he was elected by more than 50,000 votes. In answer to this manifestation, the Ministry accentuated its Radical policy by dismissing M. Levailant, the Director of General Safety, and replacing him by M. Gragnon, a former Prefect of Police, who in the previous year had been compromised in the Wilson scandal. M. Levailant had made himself known by the energy with which he had defended the rights of the State, and by his vigilance with regard to the Monarchical parties. His dismissal was looked upon as an unfortunate concession made to the Radical party, which up to that time had displayed much tenderness for the new faction. It was not long before the penalty had to be paid. In the election for the department of the Nord, General Boulanger presented himself, having for his opponents M. Foucard, a Moderate, and M. Moreau, a Radical. The contest was regarded as a crucial one. The department, after that of the Seine, is the most densely populated, whilst in it the urban and artisan voters do not wholly stifle the votes of the rural electors. Moreover, its exceptional position and interests stimulated great varieties of views, and in no other district perhaps could the pulse of public opinion be better consulted. Carried by the Reactionists in 1885, it had been twice recovered at bye-elections by the Republicans. On the present occasion the seat was feebly defended; the Boulangists, on the other hand, attacked it with method and activity. Whilst their candidate, contrary to all custom, abstained from showing himself to the electors, his partisans scoured the country, flattering without distinction every interest, and stimulating every discontent. At the same time a violent rupture took place amongst the Republicans, and a number of Radicals and Socialists passed over to the General, who hinted at the suppression of Parliamentary government and at the supremacy of the people. On the other hand, the *bourgeoisie*, Monarchist at

heart, saw in the General's candidature a way of striking at the Republic, whilst the Boulangists craftily adopted as their programme the formula—"Revision: Dissolution." Some days before the election it was foreseen that the discontented in the Nord would carry the seat, but the result outstripped all expectation. Out of a total of 367,000 electors more than two-thirds went to the poll, and of these 173,271 voted for M. Boulanger, 78,791 for M. Foucart, and less than 10,000 for M. Moreau. The Boulangist majority was enthusiastically welcomed by the Royalists, the Bonapartists, and a portion of the Republicans. The hero of the day, after addressing a letter of thanks to his supporters, returned to Paris, and on the day of the opening of the Chambers (April 19) drove in state in an open carriage to the Chamber; manifestations of popular feeling took place along the route, but the *Quartier Latin* alone, through its students, organised a hostile display. Political agitation was passing from the clubs into the streets. The Senate took alarm at these grave symptoms, and through one of its body, M. Trarieux, inquired of the Government what steps it proposed to take to hinder the progress of Cæsarism. M. Floquet replied by promising to act with the utmost energy, and the Upper Chamber voted the order of the day by 136 to 105 votes. A few days later, however, the Ministry were more successful in vindicating, on M. de Martimprey's motion, the selection of a civilian as Minister of War. M. de Freycinet scarcely availed himself of the advantages obtained by this vote; he had announced the intention of establishing at the War Office a chief of the General Staff, who, unconnected with politics, would be permanent head of the Army. Unfortunately, none of the generals whose military talent designated them for the post possessed the confidence of the Radical party, whilst none of the few general officers who might possibly have been accepted by M. Clémenceau and his friends possessed the necessary authority to play in France the part which Marshal Moltke or Quartermaster-General von Waldersee play in Germany. M. de Freycinet's intentions therefore bore no fruit, and, fearing to displease his political allies, he was forced to limit his reforms to points of detail. It is true that in them he displayed remarkable activity and resource, but his measures were but the best palliative, and insufficient to make good the grave defects which resulted from the want of Ministerial authority over his military colleagues. In spite, therefore, of the influence which M. de Freycinet exercised in the Senate, he was unable to pass through that Chamber the Recruiting Bill in the form it had left the other House in the previous year. The difficulties raised by the Senators postponed the reforms waited for with so much impatience by the French democracy, especially the substitution of three for five years' service with the colours. These delays added still more to the lowering of Parliamentary government in the eyes of the public.

A manifesto of the Comte de Paris (April 24) added to the political disorganisation; the head of the Royal House, whilst making the Republican Government responsible for the existing crisis, definitely adopted the Boulangist programme. "Nothing is juster," he said, "than to ask, on the dissolution of a discredited Chamber, for the revision of a Constitution which does not leave to the nation any longer the right of disposing of its destinies." He ended by affirming that the hour of the Monarchical restoration was at hand; "when that time comes, Monarchy, accepted by all good citizens, whatever may have been their previous preferences, will appeal to the devotion of all in working, with God's help, for the salvation of the country."

The same day the Deputies of the Seine issued a protest against the proceedings of the Boulangists. On this document the name of M. Lockroy, Minister of Public Instruction, who had been returned at the head of the Paris List in 1885, did not appear, and this absence was seized upon by the Opportunist journals to accuse M. Lockroy of being the secret ally of the General. It was in vain that the official organs explained that in his quality of a member of the Government M. Lockroy could take no part in manifestations of this sort, and the suspicions of which he was the object were confirmed.

A few days later (April 25) M. Carnot started on a journey through the southern departments. It was the first time since 1880 that the President of the Republic paid a long and official visit to the provinces. The event proved how M. Grévy had been wrong when he declined all invitations of this kind. At all stations at which the Presidential train stopped very large and enthusiastic crowds were waiting, and gave a most cordial reception to M. Carnot. Specially at Limoges, his native town, he was very warmly welcomed. In the evening M. Carnot was present at a banquet given by the municipality, and, responding to the toast of his health, he said that the honour shown to him was, he felt, intended not so much to the fellow-citizen as to the magistrate of the Republic, and its vigilant and resolute guardian. The cheers and popular enthusiasm were the same in all the other cities, but at Bordeaux about a hundred youths, wearing the red pink, the new Boulangistic emblem, shouted before the Prefecture for the hero of the day, but the crowd hissed and hooted them down.

Meanwhile all the parties felt the need of closer union and organisation. On the day (April 27) on which General Boulanger explained his programme to his friends at a banquet at the Café Riche the leaders of the Moderate Republicans met to celebrate the centenary of 1789. M. Rouvier, the principal speaker, declared that the time for promises and threats had gone by, and that energetic action was requisite; but this same party, of which the accredited chief denounced the inertness of the Ministry, seemed itself paralysed. Under pretext of bringing

together its forces, the two societies—the Republican Association and the Centenary Society, founded in the previous year—were now amalgamated. This group comprised the richest, the most eloquent, and the most influential members of the old Gambettist party and of the independent Left; funds were collected and a scheme discussed for organising a propaganda in Paris and the provinces. But when it came to found or purchase newspapers to expound and advance the policy of the association misunderstandings arose, private interests were opposed to the creation of new newspapers, and the central committee found itself helpless in presence of wayward and refractory deputies. The municipal elections (May 5), which were held throughout France, Paris excepted, were on the whole favourable to the extreme parties, the Opportunists and the Moderate Republicans everywhere losing ground. A Radical Ministry was not likely to allow such a symptom to pass unnoticed. M. Floquet seized the occasion at a public meeting to foretell the return of universal suffrage to a better frame of mind, and announced his intention to deal energetically with factious design. But whilst the Minister was speaking, General Boulanger was acting; his friends were organising for him in the Department of the Nord a triumphant progress, and only here and there from amongst the mining population, where Socialism was strong, were protests raised against the apotheosis of the rebel soldier. These noisy orations were a distinct challenge to the Government; nevertheless the Ministry was powerless to repress them—other troubles, not less serious, were in store for it. The Municipal Council of Paris had voted a subvention of 10,000 frs. to the glass workers of Pantin who had gone out on strike. Under the pressure of public opinion the Ministry had been forced to annul this vote (May 14). Nothing daunted, the Municipal Councillors passed a resolution regulating the conditions of labour in the municipal workshops. This resolution, an audacious application of the doctrines of State Socialism, forbade contractors of public works for the city of Paris to employ sub-contractors: they were called upon to treat directly with their workpeople; the normal day's work was limited to nine hours; the day's wage was to be determined by the elementary rates called *de la série*; overtime was to be paid at an advance of 25 per cent., and double rates during the night. It was, moreover, stipulated that the contractors should not exceed the proportion of one-tenth of foreign workmen, and that for barracks, &c., only French workmen should be engaged.

The intervention of the Municipal Council of Paris between employers and workmen brought about a severe crisis which lasted from June to nearly the end of September. The workmen who were employed in private yards, especially the labourers, carters, and masons, claimed to be paid at the same rates as those employed on municipal works; on the refusal of the masters

strikes took place which threatened the progress of the works at the Exhibition buildings ; bodies of men marched through Paris, hindering, by force, non-striking workmen from entering their workshops ; carts laden with materials were upset and their drivers attacked ; and the situation was aggravated by the inactivity of the police. M. Lozé, the Prefect, even issued an order by which he forbade his men to arrest strikers who did no more than break workmen's tools, leaving to the latter the option of suing for the damage thus inflicted on them. This excessive regard for strict legality aroused a very general protest in the press, and ultimately the orders had to be withdrawn. This struggling for the lowest form of popularity was far from raising the prestige of the Paris Municipal Council, but it was not the only body deserving of reproach. In the Chamber violent scenes followed in rapid succession. A Radical deputy, M. Douville Maillefeu, (May 15) forced the President to suspend the sitting and to leave the hall, and as summer advanced it seemed as if the Assembly lost all power of transacting serious business ; unless an interpellation or some partisan question of order was under discussion, the benches were empty. The majority of the members left the House and even its neighbourhood. Those who remained busied themselves with their correspondence, and when a vote was taken those present placed in the urns their own voting papers and those of their absent colleagues. It was in vain that the President of the Chamber attempted to arrange a more satisfactory way of transacting public business, or that a few deputies urged that certain days should be devoted to serious work. Meanwhile the Ministry met with one check after another ; the Senate, in spite of the efforts of M. de Freycinet, rejected (May 18) General Campenon's amendment opposing the reduction of military service in time of peace, for the benefit of certain classes ; a few days later violent scenes took place at the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise, an event which provoked M. Tisza to a speech in the Hungarian Assembly, reflecting on the internal condition of France ; lastly, the matter of the passports required by the German Government for all persons passing from France into Alsace-Lorraine was regarded as evidence of the weakness of M. Floquet's Cabinet. But the member of the Cabinet who, during the month of June, fell most into discredit was M. Peytral, the Minister of Finance, by his proposal to upset the whole financial mechanism of the country by shifting the commencement of the financial year from Jan. 1 to July 1 ; with this view he asked the Chamber to pass a law by which the Budget voted for 1889 should remain in force until June 30, 1890. Meanwhile the Government would thus have six months longer to elaborate those attractive reforms which formed part of the Radical programme—the imposition of an income-tax and the suppression of the *octroi*. The disturbance occasioned by such a serious change was counterbalanced by

such slight advantages that the Senate summarily rejected the proposal (June 12) without debate.

A few days later (June 29), M. Ferrouillat, Keeper of the Seals, was questioned by M. Marcour respecting the treatment of a magistrate at Carcassonne, and it was shown that the Minister had dismissed his subordinate because the latter had obtained the conviction of the Radical mayor of the town for certain electoral malpractices. The Senate in this case censured the Ministry; on the other hand, in proof of its energy, and to conciliate the Extreme Left, the Ministry refused (June 22) to reconsider the decree exiling the Duc d'Aumale, notwithstanding a weighty appeal from the Institute. A few days later the Government learnt that the agent of the Comte de Paris had printed for distribution amongst the communes of France 40,000 copies of a manifesto from their chief. The police, however, were able to seize the document whilst passing through the post, and the Chamber approved the act. Meanwhile the duel between Republicans and Boulangists continued: the former attempted to organise themselves against the rising tide of Cæsarism; the League of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, founded by MM. Ranc, Clémenceau, and Joffrin, aimed at opposing plebiscitary appeals, and endeavoured to rally Republicans of every shade. This association, well received at first, soon came to be regarded as a merely Radical engine. M. Ranc carried with him but few of his old Opportunist friends, whilst the advanced Socialists like M. Joffrin withdrew. For some weeks, however, many held to the illusion that Boulangism might be checked by the action of the League, especially as the General, in a journey to his native Brittany (July 8), there met with a somewhat indifferent reception. On his return to Paris, M. Boulanger brought forward his proposal for a dissolution. He was scarcely allowed to finish reading the motion, and a scene of unusual violence ensued. M. Floquet accused the General "d'être passé des sacristies dans les antichambres," to which M. Boulanger retorted that the Minister was an ill-bred usher and an impudent liar. Thereupon drawing from his pocket his resignation, prepared beforehand, M. Boulanger quitted the hall. The following day a duel took place between the President of the Council and the former Minister of War in the gardens of Count Dillon at Neuilly. With blind impetuosity the General threw himself upon his adversary, whom he slightly wounded in the chest; but at the same time he spitted himself on M. Floquet's sword, receiving a severe wound in the throat. The same evening M. Floquet was able to assist at the inauguration of a monument to Gambetta on the Place du Carrousel. This was perhaps the happiest moment of his existence as a Minister. Boulangism seemed to have received its death-stroke; an enthusiastic crowd shouted its welcome. The next day, that of the Fête Nationale, was similarly a day of triumph for M. Carnot, who was received with

enthusiasm by the assembled mayors from all parts of France. But the hopes thus revived did not long endure : a motion brought forward (July 16) by M. Bourgeois in the Chamber, calling for a revision of the Constitution, gave rise to violent disturbances in the Chamber. Moreover, to the embarrassments caused at home by the strikes, by the Socialists, and by party intrigue, was now joined the deep conviction of the isolation of France abroad. M. Carnot's journey to Dauphiné provoked a comparison with the Emperor of Germany's visit to Peterhof, whilst M. Goblet's quarrel with Sr. Crispi on the Massowah affair resulted in a fresh wound to French patriotism. General Boulanger, as we have seen, had resigned (July 12) his seat for the Nord. Two other seats, for the Lower Charente and for the Somme, were vacant at the same time. The Government made the blunder of fixing the elections for the same day. The General offered himself in the three departments, and was elected in all, having united over a quarter of a million of the votes. This sudden revival of a party which had been declared to be disorganised was due, among other causes, to the thoroughly military organisation given to flying squadrons of *camelots* or distributors of newspapers, pamphlets, and portraits of the *brave général*. In many of the larger towns disputes with the authorities resulted. In presence of this popular enthusiasm, more or less spontaneous, for the chief of the National party, the Republicans, who had maintained their majority in the provincial councils, took advantage of the August session of these departmental bodies to express the wish that the *scrutin d'arrondissement* should be re-established at Parliamentary elections. In other respects, save by the mysterious journey of General Boulanger in Spain, the Parliamentary recess produced no subject of interest.

A month before the re-assembling of the Chambers, the Budget Committee resumed its work. It unfortunately attached undue importance to certain words pronounced at a public meeting by a Radical deputy, and mayor of Nîmes—M. Gilly—who had asserted that the Budget Commission of thirty-three members comprised a score of Wilsons. This insult was aggravated by a letter from M. Gilly to M. Rouvier, challenging the Commission to proceed against him for libel. The Commission decided to take no official notice of the matter, leaving each of its members free to adopt such course as he might think fit. The remarks of the press, and the action brought by M. Andrieux against M. Gilly, gave the matter an importance which it would not otherwise have acquired. The issue of the incident showed that the noisy deputy was but a wild talker, who, having subsequently published a volume in which he calumniated honourable men of all classes without distinction, publicly disavowed its authorship under threat of legal proceedings. Unfortunately, the effect produced by these calumnies survived the unmasking of their author, and gave another blow

to Parliamentary government. At the same time the attitude of the Minister of Marine was not such as to re-establish the waning prestige of the Cabinet. Of all the departments in the State, that of the Navy cost the most in proportion to the results achieved. The administration in the Rue Royale was the most expensive of all public offices. The Budget Commission had already shown itself willing to consent to every sacrifice in order to put the French navy on a satisfactory footing, and had passed without discussion a proposal for placing in a state of defence the military ports of Brest, Cherbourg, and Toulon. But, whilst examining the ordinary heads of service, the Committee discovered that upward of 8,000,000 francs might be economised on the ordinary budget of this Department. The responsible Minister, on being summoned before the Commission, refused to reduce his estimates, and ultimately the matter was brought before the Chamber, where, Admiral Krantz having opposed the reductions as a question of confidence, the majority hesitated to insist upon economies which they knew to be reasonable. A decree (Oct. 4) calling upon all strangers who had taken up their abode in France to submit to registration excited more criticism from the Moderate journals than from the foreign press, whilst no official protest was made from any quarter. On the re-assembling of the Chamber (Oct. 15), M. Floquet, in the name of the Government, and M. Ribot brought forward contradictory bills, having the same object. The President of the Council asked the Chamber to vote in favour of a revision of the Constitution, whilst M. Ribot, one of the chiefs of the Moderate Republican party, proposed only to return to nominal elections, the experience of the *scrutin de liste* since 1885 having proved unsatisfactory. As this revision figured at once in the programme of the Radicals, the Boulangists, and Monarchists of every shade, the Committee elected to examine the various proposals necessarily favoured the principle. One by one, the promoters of the revision appeared before the Committee, of which the reporter, M. Tony Révillon, had hitherto been known as a writer of stories in popular journals. The result was that the Commission, regarding the attacks of Boulangism insufficient to destroy the Republic, adopted the proposal of M. Anatole Delaforge, who demanded the suppression of the President and of the Senate, and the nomination of a Constituent Assembly.

At the same time the debate on the Budget brought out still more the incapacity of the Finance Minister, M. Peytral. The financial and political organs alike attacked both the method by which the income of the taxpayers was to be ascertained and the system on which the tax was to be assessed. The taxpayer was to be allowed to make a declaration of his income under penalty of being prosecuted if he made a false return; but the Government did not appreciate the difficulties which such a method

would raise in a country like France. His proposal, moreover, created in a purely arbitrary way two categories of taxpayers. The income-tax was to be paid by persons possessing at least 80% of annual income. To this it was objected that the father of a family earning two or three thousand francs a year found himself in a more precarious condition than an unmarried clerk or workman receiving 1,500 or 1,800 frs. Income-tax, moreover, was to be paid by all officers from the rank of sub-lieutenant upwards, although it was notorious that their pay was insufficient, with the strictest economy, until they reached the rank of captain. For these and other reasons the Budget Committee unanimously rejected M. Peytral's proposals, and thus the Radical party found itself forced to abandon, when in office, a point of their programme on which they had loudly insisted when in opposition. The attitude of the Government and their friends on the discussion of the Budget of different Ministers bore witness, however, to the extent to which the Radicals had modified their opinions since M. Floquet had become President of the Council. In previous years, the secret service money allotted to the Minister of the Interior had been the subject of keen debate; M. Clémenceau and his partisans, regarding the expenditure as thoroughly immoral, had demanded its suppression. When asked for by M. Floquet (Nov. 13), the vote was passed without demur; it was the same with the embassy to the Papal Court, and this vote was passed without a protest from the most ardent advocates of the separation of Church and State.

In this and other ways it became evident before the close of the year that the Radical party was divided against itself; its chiefs remained apparently on friendly terms, but their followers were dispersed—some, as the Radical journals urged them, in the direction of revolution, others drifting back towards Cæsarism. In the early spring the democracy of Marseilles had elected as deputy Félix Pyat, the apostle of political assassination, and one of the most violent members of the Commune; a few months later an old general of the Commune of Paris, Cluseret, was elected for the Var, to the great discomfiture of M. Clémenceau's candidate.

To regain some of their lost popularity, the Radical Republicans hoped to strike the public mind by the imposing honours accorded to the memory of Baudin, the deputy who had been killed in December 1851 on the barricades, protesting against the *coup d'état*. The subscription opened in 1868 to erect a monument to his memory had been the starting-point of Gambetta's political fortune. On the present occasion it was M. Barodet, who also had his hour of fame, who now proposed to transfer Baudin's ashes to the Pantheon. Boulangists, like M. Laisant, who still pretended to be Republicans, brought forward a similar proposal, but the Committee of the Chamber set aside the latter in favour of M. Barodet's prior motion. According to the latter the Government was called upon to transfer to the Pantheon on July 14, 1889, the

ashes of Hoche and Marceau at the same time with those of Baudin. The Municipal Council of Paris seized this opportunity to play a political part. It decided to proceed in a body on Dec. 2 to the Montmartre Cemetery, and to place a crown on Baudin's tomb. Various Republican clubs determined to take part in the procession, and under the impulsion given by the Municipal Council a manifestation was organised which in the minds of its authors was intended to be at once a review of the Republican forces and a protest against schemes of Dictatorship. The provincial Republican clubs and municipal councils were invited to send delegates, but, notwithstanding the activity of the managers of the manifestation, the Paris councillors were not accompanied by the immense crowds they had anticipated. At some spots even the Boulangists in great numbers attempted to interrupt the procession, and the police had great difficulty in preventing a serious disturbance. The result left the impression that Paris was not so hostile to General Boulanger as his political adversaries pretended.

Many events indeed seemed to conspire in favour of the new leader of the discontented; throughout the autumn session the Chamber of Deputies had been the scene of numerous disorders. Boulangists, Bonapartists, Royalists, seemed determined to disturb the course of business, and the Republicans showed little self-command in meeting the provocations of their opponents. Amongst such incidents may be mentioned the struggles between the quæstors and the press, which brought about the resignation of the former; the outburst of M. de Cassagnac (Dec. 15), who challenged four of his colleagues or was challenged by them; the debate on the removal of Baudin's remains (Nov. 24), and the reappearance of M. Wilson in his place in the Chamber. With regard to this last incident, M. Mesureur, after a stormy scene, proposed the adjournment of the House for an hour; this was carried by 259 votes to 22, but the deputy quietly retained his seat, there being no legal means to exclude him. These scandalous scenes, aggravated by the comments of the press, lowered still more the Chamber of Deputies in public opinion: no credit was given to it for the serious measures which it undertook and carried through. Amongst such may be named the new Bankruptcy Law, the law creating a regiment of *chasseurs à pied* for the defence of the Alps, and the numerous improvements introduced by the Minister of War, M. de Freycinet; moreover, the enemies of Parliamentary Government reproached the Chamber with an excess of circumspection for, after having authorised the emission of a lottery loan by the Panama Company, refusing (Dec. 15), notwithstanding the advice of the Government, to postpone for three months the payment of coupons due by the company in January. The Senate, on the other hand, had all along displayed wisdom and energy, and a spirit of conciliation which at any other moment would have served the interests of

the ground. The speech of M. M. Challemeil-Lacour, Dec. 15, opened the government on the Budget made a profound sensation, and the suspension of Senator Naquet proved that that policy would not almost general satisfaction; finally, by voting for the Budget and avoiding a quarrel which the Chamber attempted to raise on the Budget of Public Works, the Senate showed its desire for conciliation and its wish to restore order to the finances. But this wise policy was insufficient to restore courage and public confidence in an unpopular Government. If anything seemed to turn against the Ministry and the Chamber, the most extraordinary good fortune favoured General Boulanger; the number of his adherents increased from day to day, his friends with consummate skill took advantage of every word, public or private, to keep him prominently before the world. At the marriage of his daughter with Capt. Driant at the church at Neuilly (Oct. 30) the General was surrounded by a regular staff. At Nevers, in the department which had most suffered from the *coup d'état*, he was invited (Dec. 2) to a banquet, at which the most advanced Radicals fraternised with the Monarchists, suggesting that even the most refractory provincial district had been won over to the Revisionist policy. The Government, moreover, was under no illusions on this point. A careful inquiry had been instituted by the Minister of the Interior, which had shown that out of eighty-three departments sixty-nine were Boulangerist, whilst the prefects declared that if a riot were to take place in these or others the army could not be depended on to repress disorder. This serious state of affairs, in spite of all attempts at concealment, was not long in becoming publicly known; nevertheless the Republican party still hoped, by the aid of the great towns, to surmount its difficulties. Events, however, had in the course of the year July 15 shown them to be much troubled by their conditions, and the central committee had carried its conviction. But as the year wore on the question which preoccupied men's minds was the attitude which the Senate took. A strange fatality, just as the year drew to its close, led M. Loubet, to the opposing parties of the Senate, to show their respective strength in the capital. The Senate, however, was not of such importance. Every man, however, was aware that if the University were to support the Government, this *poisson d'Inde* which was the Government would be in the hands of the Faculty of Paris.

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The Government, however, was not of such importance. Every man, however, was aware that if the University were to support the Government, this *poisson d'Inde* which was the Government would be in the hands of the Faculty of Paris.

aimed chiefly at throwing a special halo over the clerical career. Catholics from all parts of the world rendered homage to the chief of the Roman Church, laying at his feet gifts which were valued at many millions of lire. Pilgrimages from all Catholic countries were organised, and within the walls of St. Peter's, for the first time since December, 1870, the Pope made a solemn appearance and procession. This [apotheosis of the sovereign pontiff in no way softened the quarrel between the organs of the press devoted to the Pope and those which adhered to a *Roma Intangibile*. The Syndic of the capital, Prince Torlonia, had, as we have seen, been dismissed by Signor Crispi for having paid a visit to Cardinal Rampolla, whom he charged to convey his greetings to the Holy Father. The Government refused to admit that the first magistrate of Rome could, on such an occasion, act in his private capacity; the visit was regarded almost as an act of treason, the Pope being looked upon as a pretender and an enemy of the kingdom of Italy; but the real object of this display of harshness was rather to bring about the resignation of the Roman municipality, of which a great majority were Catholics. In this case Signor Crispi would have suppressed the municipal privileges of the capital and administered it by a prefect of his own selection. Prince Torlonia, however, frustrated this design by persuading his brother-councillors not to resign.

The Florentine incident, followed by the commercial dispute with France, furnished Signor Crispi with the opportunity of turning public attention from domestic to foreign politics. Just before the close of the year Signor Tosini, a Florentine magistrate, had authorised a Tunisian barrister to take cognisance of the papers belonging to Hussein Pasha, who had died in that city. The French consul having refused to give up these documents, the lawyer, accompanied by several carabineers, forced his way, in the absence of the consul, into the house where the archives were kept, and carried away the papers. A serious international question at once arose, all the more delicate, since Italy had not pardoned the establishment of a French protectorate in Tunis. The point turned upon whether the archives of a consulate enjoyed the privileges accorded to legations and to consulates themselves, and further if the invasion of them was an infraction of diplomatic privileges. Signor Crispi recognised in principle the right of France to some satisfaction, and promised, at the request of M. de Mouy, the French ambassador, to remove Signor Tosini from his magisterial office. This magistrate was, in fact, transferred to another post in Florence itself, and in the month of May following was transferred to Lugano as Juge d'Instruction. This was a promotion instead of a reprimand, as promised by Signor Crispi. In this matter the Italian Premier showed little evidence of his wish to assist M. Flourens and the French Government to re-establish more friendly relations with Italy, but M. Flourens, perhaps, looked forward to obtaining more

solid satisfaction in the discussion of the Franco-Italian Society of Commerce; the negotiations, however, on this matter, were destined to fall through. The French Government had offered to M. Rouvier the mission to negotiate with the Consulta a new commercial treaty between the two nations; on his declining the post M. Teisserenc de Bort, formerly Minister of Commerce, and M. Marie, were sent to Rome. After prolonged discussions with the Italian delegates, Signori Ellena and Luzzati, it was seen that any understanding was out of the question, and the French delegates were recalled (Jan. 24). On 272 articles included in the tariff of 1881, which France wished to retain, Italy was willing to concede only eighty-nine, whilst on other articles she required more or less considerable augmentations. Nevertheless, M. de Mouy, the French ambassador, urged both his own Government and Signor Crispi to renew the conference, but without success, Italy refusing every concession, and meeting those of the French delegates by fresh demands. Finally, Signor Crispi wrote to M. Teisserenc de Bort that the attitude of France rendered further negotiations useless; and the French delegates thereupon quitted Rome at the moment that Europe was disturbed by the publication of the Austro-German Treaty and the revival of war rumours in the East.

At home the Liberals had replied by popular manifestations of their own to those organised by the Catholic party. As a set-off to the Pope's Jubilee and the Vatican Exhibition, a more than usually imposing *fête* was organised to celebrate the tenth anniversary (Jan. 9) of the death of Victor Emmanuel. The discussions relating to the monument to Giordano Bruno were marked by unusual bitterness. Signor Bonghi, a member of the Italian Parliament, and Professor of the University of Rome, having stated, as his opinion, that the monument to the philosopher should not be erected on any of the public places of Rome, his speech was so misrepresented that it almost provoked a riot in the university. This incident subsequently led to the resignation of Signor Coppino, Minister of Public Instruction; but at the commencement of February Signor Magliani's position as Finance Minister seemed the more precarious. The opening of the Parliamentary session was marked by a warm debate on the financial situation. Signor Crispi admitted that the policy followed by his predecessors had not from a financial point been successful; but he urged that the European situation was such as necessitated constant sacrifices. On the motion of Signor Baccarini the Ministry obtained a vote of confidence, and Signor Magliani remained in office. Signor Coppino was less fortunate in the Senate, for, that assembly having thrown out his Bill relating to the preservation of historical monuments, the Minister gave in his resignation, which was accepted (Feb. 17). It was thought that Signor Crispi would take advantage of this event to re-model his Ministry on a more homogeneous footing, and

would select some one on whom he might confer one or other of the portfolios (Foreign Affairs and Interior) which he himself held, in addition to the Presidency of the Council. This anticipation was not realised; Signor Coppino, the Liberal, was replaced by Signor Paolo Borrelli, a member of the Right, to the great scandal of his old friends of the Pentarchia. By this choice Signor Crispi showed that he had become a decided supporter of that policy of transformism which he had so bitterly attacked under Signor Depretis' Government; he showed, too, the extent of his authority over a Parliament which submitted without protest to this abrupt change of opinion. Thus strengthened and renewed, the Ministry urged on those grand projects to which Signor Crispi wished to attach his name. The reform of the Penal Code and the increase of the electoral body were placed in the front rank, and the revision of provincial and communal laws were among the chief objects he had in view.

But, however pressing might have been these questions of internal reform, they had to give way before the requirements of foreign policy. The illness of the Crown Prince of Germany, followed by the death of the Emperor William, gave occasion to King Humbert to draw closer the bonds existing between Germany and Italy. At the same time the rupture of negotiations between France and Italy seemed to mark a still greater divergence between those two countries. Naturally, both Cabinets wished to avoid the responsibility of the result, but neither the yellow books of M. Flourens nor the green books of Signor Crispi could alleviate the sufferings imposed upon the workmen and labourers of the two countries. From the very beginning of the war of tariffs which immediately began Signor Crispi was attacked by the Extreme Left, and especially by Signor Cavallotti, the deputy for Milan, whose newspaper, *Il Secolo*, commenced an agitation in favour of peace. On the occasion of an interpellation by Signor Ferrari on the Bulgarian question, Signor Crispi declared that Italy was subjected to no foreign influences, and declared that the policy of the Cabinet was at once pacific and independent; in spite of all attacks in the press and in the Chamber, the President of the Council maintained his line of policy, and at one moment seemed to be about to settle definitively even the Abyssinian difficulty. With regard, however, to this matter, the year was not destined to see the end of the affair of Massowah, notwithstanding the reinforcements despatched to Abyssinia, and the activity of General San Marzano. After the check of the Portal mission at the close of 1887 the Italians had established their outposts at Sahati, and had constructed around Massowah a line of detached forts; they hoped that the troops of the Negus would attack them in this chosen position, and that the superiority of their arms would ensure the victory of the Europeans. This hope was disappointed by the wariness of the Negus, who, instead of fighting, began to negotiate, then,

suddenly breaking up his camp, disappeared into the interior, and prepared to resist a threatened attack of the Dervishes.

To return, however, to the Italian capital, the passing of the law (March 16) by the Senate, awarding supremacy to the Court of Criminal Appeal in Rome, was of the highest importance. Turin, Milan, Florence, and Naples were allowed to retain their courts of appeal in civil and commercial suits, and the erection of and attribution of supreme authority to, the courts of the capital in criminal affairs was a great step in advance, of which the honour belonged to Signor Zanardelli. It may here be noted that the Italian Parliament, like the British, found the progress of public business hampered in various ways, although the personal action of the Prime Minister had reduced the Opposition almost to silence. Signor Crispi found enormous difficulties to push forward the discussion of his bills by reason of the delays due to the supineness of the Parliamentary Commissions. He therefore proposed to substitute the system of three readings of a measure instead of its elaboration in the bureaux. This proposal Signor Crispi carried in a secret ballot (March 17) by 115 to 92 votes.

Meanwhile the war of tariffs between France and Italy had commenced; the relations of the two countries, already strained, became more and more difficult. In the discussion opened by the press on the rupture of the Treaty of Commerce an Italian newspaper, the *Esercito*, pretended that France was secretly preparing a sudden attack upon the Italian ports of the Mediterranean, and particularly on Spezzia, whilst the subsequent nomination of Count de Robilant, who had brought about the Triple Alliance, to the Italian embassy at London was regarded as a hostile manifestation on the part of Signor Crispi.

The withdrawal of the Abyssinians having been definitely confirmed, the Italian Government lost no time in recalling the bulk of the expeditionary forces, leaving only a sufficient garrison to occupy Massowah, Arkiko, and the other forts. The Opposition in the Chamber took advantage of this event to renew the debate on African policy. Two orders of the day, alike hostile to the Government, were brought forward: one, signed by Signori Baccarini, Galimberti, Seismit-Doda, &c., invited the Government (May 2) to withdraw the troops; the other, signed by Signori Mussi, Fazio, Luigi Ferrari, &c., was far more energetic. "The Chamber, regretting that the commencement of the African expedition, contrary to the wishes and prestige of the country, had not been submitted for discussion, invites the Government to recall the expeditionary force to Italy." The discussion (May 12) which ensued was very animated. To the reproach of not having obtained a treaty of commerce from the Negus, notwithstanding the support of England, Signor Crispi replied by vaunting the benefits of the Triple Alliance, and announcing his firm intention to hold on to Massowah. This declaration obtained for him a vote of confidence by 302 to 40 votes. The Minister of Finance,

Signor Magliani, was less fortunate. The difficulty of balancing his Budget grew more and more serious. The deficit was increasing, as did also the demands of the Ministers of War and Marine. Nevertheless, Signor Magliani succeeded in weathering, for a time at least, the threatening dangers.

The month of June, saddened by the death of Frederick III. of Germany, was, nevertheless, marked by the *fêtes* given to celebrate the anniversary of the University of Bologna. The King and Queen, accompanied by numerous visitors of every nationality, made the ancient capital of the Emilia the scene of splendid hospitality; but, whilst young Italy was thus attesting its vitality, the Holy See was marking its hostility to the new *régime*. The diplomacy of Leo XIII. might compare favourably with that of Signor Crispi. On the one hand, the Holy Father obtained from the Radical Ministry of M. Floquet more attention and services than any monarchical Government; he at the same time improved his relations with England by condemning boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. With Russia he came to an understanding for the re-establishment of the Polish bishops, and supported the action of the Catholics in Southern Germany. Moreover, to prove the suppleness of his mind, the Pope promulgated (June 20) an encyclical *De libertate humanâ*, which seemed tinctured with the flavour of Liberalism, but, whilst representing Catholicism compatible with liberty, the Sovereign Pontiff declared as a dogma that liberty must proceed from Divine revelation and not from the free will of men. The opposition of principle being the very essence of the conflict between modern Liberalism and Clericalism, it was obvious that the new document issued by the Holy See would not obtain, in spite of its concessions and form, any more than the haughty and uncompromising claims of Pius IX.

Parliamentary activity during the month of June was, as in previous years, shown by an exaggerated zeal to bring the work of the session to a conclusion. By holding two sittings a day the Chamber of Deputies was enabled to get through the Budget, the law reforming municipal and provincial bodies, and a new Penal Code. This last contained, in addition to serious penalties for offences against public morals, a number of clauses especially directed against ministers or ecclesiastics who by their words, actions, or writings should attempt to weaken the unity of the kingdom or the respect due to authorities. The municipal elections of Rome (June 17) were unexpectedly favourable to the Liberals. Signori Baccelli, Cairoli, Ferri, Seismet-Doda, Ferrari, and others were amongst the most noteworthy of those elected. At Naples the Liberals obtained (July 19) an even more unexpected victory, in both cases the majority of the council being wrested from Clericals. But this triumph was the last Signor Crispi enjoyed during the year. Abroad, Italy found herself at variance with France about Massowah. General Baldecerra, who had succeeded Signor San Marzano in the chief command, established

a tax upon foreigners. Several Greek merchants, appealing from the capitulations, refused to pay, and invoked the aid of the French vice-consul. This incident was followed by a rapid interchange of diplomatic notes between Signor Crispi and M. Goblet, and the ill-will arising therefrom was further intensified by the occupation of Zoulah by the Italians. At home the Government was troubled with the necessity of putting the farmers and wine-growers of the South in a position to hold their own against the terrible crisis brought about by the tariff war between Italy and France. Signor Magliani spared no pains to make economies in the public service, and the railway companies were called upon to lower the cost of transporting Sicilian and Calabrian wines to the Swiss frontier. But, whilst the Finance Minister strained every power to restore an equilibrium, his colleagues by their demands effectually destroyed it. Signor Crispi's interview with Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe (Aug. 22) gave rise to various rumours; the general opinion being that the headstrong Minister of King Humbert had gone to seek encouragement and support from the German Chancellor, but had only received counsels of wisdom and prudence. Moreover, the force of circumstances obliged the Italians to concentrate their efforts on those affairs in which they were already mixed up, for news arrived that a detachment of the expeditionary force under Captain Cornacchia had been almost wholly destroyed at Sagnaiti by the Abyssinian chief Debeb, whilst in another part of Africa a quarrel between the Sultan of Zanzibar and Italy was imminent.

The autumn manœuvres on land and sea bore witness to the steady strengthening and improvement of the Italian forces, and this fact perhaps entered for something into the eagerness with which the new Emperor of Germany paid a ceremonial visit to the Italian capital. The most delicate negotiations had been necessary to arrange the ceremonial of the young sovereign's visit, and to regulate the details of his interviews with the Pope and the King. The scrupulous requirements of the Roman Curia aroused no small irritation amongst the members of King Humbert's Court. But these unpleasant impressions disappeared before the brilliancy of the *fêtes* organised by the municipalities, and by the grand naval and military demonstrations. The critical eyes of some of the Emperor's staff detected at once the weak points of the Italian Staff and Transport Service. Shortly after the Emperor's departure an exchange of notes between the two Cabinets showed what steps were required before Italy could mobilise her army with rapidity. It was consequently decided that Parliament should be asked to vote fresh sums in order to double the railway lines of Northern and Central Italy.

During the autumn session the Senate revised the Penal Code voted by the Chamber, softening in some degree those clauses which were directed against the priesthood. Signor Crispi still further offended the Right by nominating as Under-Secretary for the

Home Department Signor Fortis, a member of the Extreme Left, whilst he further displeased the Navy by removing Admiral de Saint Bon on account of the criticism he had addressed to the Minister of Marine on the real value of the active squadron. The winter opened most unfavourably; a terrible crisis threatened the provincial districts of the South. The wines, deprived of their natural outlet in France, fell to the most ridiculous prices (21. 50 cti. per hectolitre). In Sicily, Calabria, &c., bankruptcies rapidly succeeded one another, whilst at Rome the building trades passed through a crisis of exceptional severity. In presence of these untoward symptoms Signor Crispi seemed disposed to take a more conciliatory attitude towards France. The King received with more than ordinary courtesy the new ambassador, M. Mariani, who had replaced M. de Mouy, and, further, the resignation of Signor Magliani (Dec. 24) seemed to offer an opening for renewed negotiations. This Minister, in order to cover the deficit of the Budget and to meet the further expenditure necessitated by the Triple Alliance, proposed to re-establish the two *décimes* on the land tax suppressed in 1886, and to increase the salt tax. The Chamber refused its consent, and Signor Magliani, the oldest of the King's Ministers, resigned. He had held his portfolio with Cairoli as with Depretis, and it was to the prudence of his administration that Italy in great measure owed the rehabilitation of its finances.

His resignation enabled Signor Crispi to remodel the Cabinet. Signor Grimaldi, Minister of Agriculture, was transferred to the Finance Department, having for his colleague Signor Perazzi, a Senator of the Right, who was named Minister of the Treasury. The portfolio of Agriculture was given to a deputy of the Left, Signor Miceli, and thus Signor Crispi continued the policy inaugurated by his predecessor, Signor Depretis. The Italian Budget for 1888-9 showed receipts 1,890 millions as compared with 1,927 millions expenditure, but the real deficiency would, it was anticipated, be far greater, an enormous reduction of receipts being anticipated from the Customs duties and a large additional expenditure arising out of military necessities.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY.

THE year 1888 will long be remembered in Germany as a year of mourning for the death, within a few months of each other, of two of its most beloved sovereigns; but the irretrievable losses which the nation thus sustained did not in the slightest degree shake its unity and its faith in the future, and the steadiness with which it bore its trials showed that there was more coherence in the new German Empire than its enemies had thought.

The first great question with which the German Parliament

had to deal was the Military Organisation Bill. The leading feature of the new scheme was that every German would belong to the standing army for seven years—three in the line and four in the reserve; he would then serve in the first-class Landwehr for five years, and in the second-class Landwehr up to his thirty-ninth year. The increase of the army (amounting to 700,000 men) caused by this measure would, it was calculated, involve an expenditure for arms, ammunition, &c., of 280,000,000 marks, which sum it was proposed to raise by a loan. The Bill came on for debate on February 6, and Prince Bismarck took the occasion of making a speech which was generally recognised to be one of his greatest efforts. He began by pointing out that it was the general state of Europe rather than the apprehensions of the moment which had led the Federal Governments to demand an increase in the fighting strength of the army. Since he had spoken in the Reichstag a little more than a year ago the situation, "if it had changed at all, had done so rather for the better than for the worse." A pacific President and pacific Ministers had been appointed in France, and the fears which had now arisen were rather caused by Russia. He did not see any reason, however, for altering his opinion that Germany's friendship with Russia was as strong as ever. "In opposition," he said, "to the views expressed by the Russian press, I have the unqualified word of the Emperor Alexander himself, having had the honour a few months ago, after an interval of seven years, of being received in audience by his Majesty. On this occasion I again convinced myself that the Emperor of Russia entertains no war-like tendencies towards us, and has no intention of attacking us, or in any way to carry on wars of aggression. During the whole of the proceedings of the Berlin Congress no wish of Russia came to my knowledge which I did not support, nay, which I did not cause to be carried into effect. Owing to the confidence reposed in me by the late lamented Lord Beaconsfield, I appeared during the most difficult and critical moments of the Congress, in the middle of the night, at his sick bedside, and at the time of the threatened break-up of the Congress obtained his consent to the Russian proposals also while he was lying ill in bed. In short, my attitude during the Congress was such that I thought at its conclusion, 'I have long held the highest Russian order set in brilliants, or I should be sure to receive it now.' In fact, I felt that I had rendered a service to a foreign Power such as a foreign Minister has seldom been able to render."

"But," the Chancellor proceeded, "we shall sue for love no longer, either in France or in Russia. The Russian press and Russian public opinion have shown to the door an old, powerful, and trustworthy friend, such as we were, and we shall not seek to push our way in again. We have tried to re-establish our ancient intimate relations, but we shall run after no one. That, however, will not prevent us from observing—nay, rather

it will serve as a spur to us in observing with double exactitude—the treaty rights enjoyed by Russia in relation to us. Among these treaty rights are such as are not recognised by all our friends—I mean the rights which Russia acquired at the Congress of Berlin with regard to Bulgaria, and which continued to be quite undisputed until 1885. There is no question at all for me, who helped to bring about, and was one of those who signed the Congress's decisions, that we were then all of the opinion that a preponderating influence in Bulgaria should devolve on Russia, after she had waived her policy as to Eastern Roumelia in consenting to the reduction of the sphere of the territory falling under her influence by taking 800,000 inhabitants from 3,000,000.

“On the strength of the views thus entertained at the Congress, Russia, before 1885, nominated the Prince (of Bulgaria), a near relative of her Imperial House, of whom no one then imagined or could imagine that he would wish to be anything else than a faithful adherent of Russian policy. Russia appointed the War Minister and a great proportion of the officers; in fact, she wielded sway in Bulgaria—there is no doubt whatever about it. But the Bulgarians, or some of them, or their Prince—I know not which—were not content with that, so that there was a *coup d'état* and defection from Russia. Thus there arose an actual state of things which we are in no way called upon to remedy by force of arms, but which, nevertheless, cannot in theory modify the rights carried away by Russia from the Congress of Berlin.

“Whether difficulties would arise were Russia to try and enforce these rights I know not, nor are we at all concerned with the matter; but we shall not support violent methods or advise recourse to them. I do not think, however, that there is any inclination that way (in Russia); indeed, I am pretty certain there is not. But if Russia attempts to make good her rights by diplomatic means—say, for example, by inducing the Sultan, as suzerain of Bulgaria, to intervene there—then I should consider it the duty of a loyal German policy to hold purely and simply to the stipulations of the Berlin Treaty and to the interpretation thereof which we then, without a single exception, attached to them—an interpretation which cannot be confused, in my mind at least, by the aspirations of the Bulgarians. In any case, Bulgaria, that tiny bit of country (*Ländchen*) lying between the Danube and the Balkans, is not an object sufficiently great for Europe on its account to be plunged into a war extending from Moscow to the Pyrenees, and from the North Sea to Palermo—a war of which no mortal can foresee the results. At the close of the war the combatants would scarcely know why they had fought at all.

“If Russia makes official application to us to support steps for the re-establishment of the situation in Bulgaria, as it was

created at the Congress, by referring the Bulgarians to the Sultan as suzerain, I shall have no hesitation in advising his Majesty the Emperor to comply with the request. This is demanded of our treaty—loyalty to our neighbour, with whom, whatever his prevailing mood, we must still cherish neighbourly relations, and make common cause against the foes of social and monarchical order in Europe—a task of which the sovereign of Russia has a full appreciation. I do not doubt that if the interests of his huge empire of one hundred millions of subjects enjoin him to wage war the Emperor of Russia will do so. But those interests cannot possibly enjoin him to wage such a war against us in particular, nor do I think it probable that such a behest of interests exists at all.”

Passing to the question of the concentration of the Russian troops on the German and Austrian frontiers, Prince Bismarck said that he did not believe it was Russia's intention or wish to conquer either Prussian or Austrian territory. “She has as many Polish subjects as she desires ;” and even if Germany were involved in a war with France a Russian war would not necessarily follow, though if Germany were at war with Russia “a French war would be absolutely certain—no French Government would be strong enough to prevent it, even if it wished to do so.” The real reason of the concentration of the Russian troops was, in his opinion, “that the Russian Cabinet has arrived at the conviction, which is probably well founded, that in the next European crisis which may take place the weight of Russia's voice in the diplomatic areopagus of Europe will be the greater the further Russia has moved her troops towards the Western frontier.” “I assume that Russia awaits a new Eastern crisis, and that she intends to be in a position to make her wishes felt.” As to Germany, “if an Eastern crisis occurs we shall, before deciding upon the attitude we should adopt, await the positions taken up by the Powers most interested.” But it was necessary, in order that Germany might do this with safety, to strengthen the defensive resources of the empire. From 1848 to 1870 Germany and Prussia were constantly either engaged in war or so threatened with war as to be in the greatest danger. “The fear of war was so great that merchants and manufacturers came to me as Minister-President and said : ‘This uncertainty is intolerable ; rather begin hostilities. War were better than this constant depression in all trades.’ But we quietly waited until we were attacked, and I believe we did well to take care that we should be the assailed and not the assailants. Since 1870 there has been danger of war every year.” The Chancellor then referred to the treaties he had entered into with Austria and Italy, and after pointing out that the events of 1878 had proved to him that Germany had no alternative but to ally herself with Austria or to become dependent on Russia, he concluded his speech as follows :—“There is no need to fear the hatred of Russia. No

wars are waged from mere hatred, for otherwise France would have to be at war with Italy and the whole world. The strength we possess will, it is to be hoped, reassure our public opinion and the nervousness of the bourses and the press. Our task is to strengthen this strength. We must, of course, have the best weapons for the fathers of families who will have to serve under the present bills, with the aid of which we shall be able to place a million good soldiers on each of our frontiers. Behind them stand our reserves. It must not be said, 'Others can do the same.' That is just what they cannot do. We have the material, not only for forming an enormous army, but for furnishing it with officers.

"We have a corps of officers such as no other Power has. When we undertake a war it must be a people's war which all approve, as in 1870. If we are attacked, then the *furor teutonicus* will flame out, and no one can make head against that. Neither the consciousness of our strength nor our hope of victory can restrain us from continuing our peaceful efforts. We do not allow ourselves to be cowed by threats. We base our alliance on the strength of our army. If we have no cause to use it, all the better, but we must make our arrangements with the idea that we do use it. Threats do not frighten us. The threats of the press are mere folly. Such things cannot have the slightest influence upon our action. We Germans fear God, and nothing else in the world. The fear of God makes us wish for peace and foster it. Nevertheless, he who breaks the peace will arrive at the conviction that the warlike and exultant love of the Fatherland, such as summoned the whole population of Prussia to arms in 1813, is the common possession of the entire German nation, and that he who attacks the German nation finds it armed to a man, every man having in his heart the firm belief that God is with us."

The Chancellor's speech was received with boundless enthusiasm by the House and the nation, and the Bill was passed *en bloc* without debate on Feb. 8.

While thus securing the empire against external dangers, the German Parliament also took steps for protecting it against its enemies at home. On Jan. 16 a new Bill against the Socialists was introduced in the House. This Bill prolonged the existing law on the subject to Sept. 30, 1893. By it the limitation of the right of domicile, which had hitherto only applied to professional agitators, was extended to all the members of the Social Democratic associations; the penalties for circulating forbidden prints, and especially for participation in foreign congresses, were made much more severe, and the central authorities of the several states of the empire were to have the right of depriving of civic rights every Socialist convicted under the law, and of banishing him from their territories. The Bill came on for debate on Jan. 27, and met with much opposition. Herr Singer,

a Socialist who had been expelled from Berlin in the previous year, spoke with much bitterness against the measure. He denied that there was any connection between the Social Democrats and the Anarchists in Germany, and declared that the Socialist law had become an instrument for the oppression of the working classes, the system of police espionage having assumed dimensions in Germany under Herr von Puttkamer such as were unknown in France even under Napoleon III. Herr von Puttkamer replied that the State could not dispense with the detective police without detriment to its peace and security; that he had police agents in Switzerland to watch the Anarchists, and that these agents had done good service not only to Germany, but to other States, "for they enabled us to inform the St. Petersburg police in time of the intended attempt on the Winter Palace, which was thus prevented." Herr Reichensperger, in the name of the Centre party, declared that his party would vote against the Bill, both because the increased punishments were too severe, and because the state of things produced by the present Socialist law was unnatural, and should not be made permanent. If other countries were to follow Germany's example there would be created a class of outlaws who would not be able to find shelter anywhere. The Liberalist leaders, Herr Richter and Dr. Bamberger, followed on the same side; but the Conservatives and National Liberals supported the Government, and the Bill was passed without a division on Feb. 17.

Another important Bill, which was introduced at the beginning of the year, was that for prolonging the duration of the German Parliament from three to five years, and on this occasion the German Unionists, or "Cartell party," composed of the Conservatives and National Liberals, again spoke for the Government measure, which they strongly advocated as calculated to prevent the incessant disturbance of trade and of the regular course of administration caused by the existing system of a general election every three years. The Bill was passed on Feb. 8 by a majority of 183 to 95.

The catastrophe which had for some time been apprehended in view of the Emperor William's great age occurred on March 9, and a special meeting of the Reichstag took place on the same day, at which the Chancellor announced the sad news. The Emperor Frederick, who, according to the Prussian and German Constitutions, succeeded his father as King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, was at the time staying at San Remo, where he was under the treatment of Sir Morell Mackenzie for the disease of the larynx from which he had been suffering since the previous year. He left San Remo on March 10, and on his arrival at Berlin at once issued (March 12) a proclamation to his people and a letter to the Chancellor stating the principles of policy by which he would be guided. The latter document was as follows:—

"My dear Prince, —On assuming power I feel the necessity of addressing you, the long-tried first servant of my father, who now rests in God. You have been the faithful and brave adviser who gave shape to the aims of his policy, and secured their successful realisation. I and my House are and remain most grateful to you. You, therefore, have, above all, a right to know the principles which will direct me in my rule.

"The constitutional and legal regulations of the Empire and of Prussia must, above all, be consolidated in the respect and customs of the nation. It is therefore necessary to avoid, as far as possible, the shock caused by repeated changes of the institutions and laws of the State. The furtherance of the task of the Imperial Government must leave untouched the bases on which the Prussian State has hitherto safely rested. In the Empire the constitutional rights of all the Federal Governments must be as conscientiously respected as those of the Reichstag; but the same respect for the rights of the Emperor must be demanded from both. At the same time, it is necessary to keep in view that these mutual rights are only intended for the promotion of the public welfare, which remains the supreme law, and that new and unquestionable national needs must always be fully satisfied. As the necessary and certain guarantee of the undisturbed furtherance of this task, I look to the maintenance unweakened of the defensive forces of the country, of my tried army and growing navy, which has serious duties before it in the protection of our possessions beyond the seas. They must both be maintained at their present perfection of organisation, to which they owe their glory, and which insures their future capacity to accomplish their duty.

"I am resolved to conduct the government both of the Empire and of Prussia with a conscientious observation of the stipulations of the respective Constitutions of the Empire and of the State. They were founded by my ancestors on the throne in wise recognition of the necessities and difficulties incident to the social and political life of the nation, and they must be respected by every one in order to give proof of their power and beneficial influence. It is my will that the principle of religious tolerance, for centuries past held sacred by my House, shall also for the future be maintained as a protection to all my subjects, to whatever religious community or creed they may belong. Every one of them is equally near to my heart, for they have all given equal proofs of like devotion in days of danger. In perfect accord with the views of my Imperial father, I shall warmly support all efforts destined to further the economic progress of every class of society, to conciliate their divergent interests, and to mitigate, as far as possible, unavoidable social inequalities, without, however, exciting the expectation that this can be done by State interference. Closely connected with the social question I consider that of the cultivation of youth, and the efforts to this end

must be on a higher scale and be made more widely accessible. We must, therefore, avoid raising fresh dangers by partial education, and awakening demands beyond the economic capacity of the nation to meet. We must also take care that through one-sided efforts for increased knowledge the task of education shall not remain neglected. Only a generation trained up upon the sound basis of the fear of God and simplicity of morals can possess sufficient power of resistance to surmount the perils which in a time of rapid economic development arise for the entire community through the examples of the highly luxurious life of individuals.

"It is my will that in the public service no opportunity should be lost of offering every opposition to the temptation to inordinate expenditure. My unbiassed consideration of every proposal of financial reform is assured in advance, unless the long-proved economy of Prussia does not admit of it. The imposition of fresh burdens is to be avoided, and an alleviation of the demands hitherto made on the country is to be effected. The self-government granted to the larger and smaller communities in the State I regard as beneficial. On the other hand, I would suggest for examination the question whether the right of taxation conferred upon these communities, which may be exercised by them without making allowance for the burden concurrently imposed by the Empire and the State, does not weigh unfairly upon individuals. Similarly, it will have to be considered whether simplification is not possible in the Government establishments, by which a reduction in the number of officials would permit of an increase in their salaries. Should we succeed in maintaining the vigour of the principles of political and social life, I shall have special gratification in watching the full development of the rich progress of German science and art.

"For the realisation of these my intentions I rely on your oft-proved devotion, and on the support of your tried experience. May I be destined thus to lead Germany and Prussia in a course of peaceful development to new honours, with the unanimous co-operation of the Imperial organs, of the devoted activity of the representatives of the people and of all the authorities, and with the confiding assistance of all classes of society! Not caring for the splendour of great deeds, nor striving for glory, I shall be satisfied if it be one day said of my rule that it was beneficial to my people, useful to my country, and a blessing to the Empire."

Yours very affectionately,

FREDERICK III.

Berlin, March 12, 1888.

This statement of policy produced considerable excitement among the members of the Liberalist party, by whom it was interpreted as foreshadowing a more Liberal system of adminis-

tration than that which had been hitherto pursued. Meanwhile the Emperor's illness made it impossible for him to attend to the details of government, and on March 21 he issued a decree, addressed to the Crown Prince William, entrusting him "with the consideration and settlement of such government matters" submitted to the Emperor's decision as the latter should refer to him. The Crown Prince was further authorised to append the necessary signatures in such cases as the Emperor's substitute.

Soon after the issue of the above decree, the project which had for some time been entertained of a marriage between Prince Alexander of Battenberg and the Princess Victoria, daughter of the Empress Frederick, was again brought forward. Prince Bismarck strongly objected to the plan on the ground that such a marriage would probably sooner or later lead to serious complications with Russia; and finding that his representations did not induce the Emperor and Empress to abandon the idea, he threatened to resign. Petitions were addressed to the Emperor by the members of the Conservative and National Liberal parties urging him to retain the Prince in office, and after some hesitation he yielded so far that he consented for the present not to take any further step in the matter. When the Queen of England arrived at Berlin on a visit to her daughter (April 25) the crisis was at an end, and the Prince had a long interview with her. But the representatives in the press of the Conservative and National Liberal majority (the Cartell party), which had for some time expressed dissatisfaction at the Liberal tendencies of the new Emperor and Empress, now began a series of violent attacks upon them. One of these articles, entitled "Petticoat Government," was made the subject of a powerful speech by the Liberalist leader, Herr Richter, in the Prussian Diet, on May 27, and his remarks on the same occasion as to the intimidation and bribery practised by Government officials at elections produced a great sensation in the country, and especially at Court. Among the Bills passed by the Diet was one for quinquennial Parliaments drawn up on the same lines as the similar Bill which had been passed in the Reichstag, and the Emperor decided that, together with this Bill, there should be published a rescript enjoining the Prussian Ministers to secure perfect freedom at the elections. This was regarded by the Minister of the Interior, Herr von Puttkamer, as an indirect censure upon himself, and he consequently resigned (June 8). The Emperor did not long survive this exercise of his sovereign rights for the cause of freedom. It had for some time been admitted by his physicians that his disease was cancer, and on June 15 it was announced that he was dead.

The Emperor Frederick had begun his reign by an address to his people; his successor, by an address to the army, in which he said that he and the army "belong to one another and are

born for one another." His address to the people was issued on June 18, and it declared, in the style of a sovereign of the Middle Ages, that he had vowed to God that after the example of his father he would be "a just and clement Prince" to his people, "would foster piety and the fear of God," and would "protect peace, promote the welfare of the country, be a helper of the poor and distressed, and a true guardian of the right."

On June 25 he opened the German Parliament with great pomp, and made a speech in which he repeatedly declared that he would continue the home and foreign policy of his late grandfather, but made no allusion to that of his father, and did not mention either England or France. A similar ceremony took place at the opening of the Prussian Diet on June 27. These preliminaries of the new Emperor's reign did not produce a very favourable impression of his character, which, however, was in some degree counteracted by a speech, delivered by his friend Count Douglas, at an electoral meeting at the beginning of October.

During his brief reign the Emperor, said Count Douglas, had already displayed an energy and a passion for work which made some of those about him dread that he was overtaxing his strength; but this fear left out of account the calm and placid temper with which his Majesty laboured at the most important affairs. He never grows impatient or nervous or hasty, and these fine qualities of calmness and self-possession naturally enable him to get through an enormous amount of labour. The Emperor had been called serious, and this was true to a certain extent. But this high and moral earnestness, which was the result of a clear consciousness of the nature of his position, as well as of deeply religious sentiments, did not prevent him from looking at practical life with a cheerful eye, nor was anything more foreign to him than a gloomy and morbid view of things. Even when as Prince he went through a course of detailed initiation in all the departments of an administrative Government, his quick perception and sound practical sense moved the astonishment of older and more experienced men, and so also it has been, added the speaker, since the Emperor ascended the throne. "In the midst of all his military preoccupations he has been able, by a strict and well-ordered distribution of his day, to devote himself to the business of all other departments with equal zeal; and, like his late grandfather, he never permits any one to talk with him on matters which he is not specially competent to discuss—a circumstance which is a warranty that his Majesty will never lend a willing ear to the whisperings of coteries and *camarillas*. At the same time he is thoroughly proof against personal flattery and fawning, though singularly impressionable to the candid words of honesty and truth, even when not according with his own views. The old Hohenzollern tradition of religious tolerance has no more decided champion than the young

Emperor ; while his true and genuinely human character makes him take an interest in all humanitarian and benevolent schemes. Improved dwellings for the working classes, hygienic plans of all kinds, the establishment of popular libraries and their importance as a means of counteracting the effect of an immoral literature—these, in fact all solid political reforms, whether attainable in the field of law or in that of administration, might reckon on the painstaking and intelligent sympathy of the Emperor. Thus, several years ago, for example, when the Emperor was still Prince William, he learned that a large industrial firm would probably be compelled to discharge 5,000 hands for want of work. The thought that so many families might, through no fault of their own, thus be plunged in distress made a deep impression on the Prince, who did not rest until by repeated personal intervention in the proper quarters he succeeded in procuring large renewed orders for the threatened firm ; and even still the Emperor has a joyful recollection of the pleasure which this act of benevolence then afforded him. Possessing a quick eye for the concrete aspects of any idea, the Emperor is not tainted with the slightest dash of romanticism ; on the other hand, like his august grandfather, he grants his royal protection to the practice of sound piety, and is averse from all indulgence and frivolous prodigality—as witness how, when commanding the Hussars of the Guard, he set his face sternly against gambling amongst officers of his regiment, thereby earning the gratitude and golden opinions of many. He had been set down as a bellicose Prince, but very wrongly, as was proved, among other things, by the immediate rise of securities after his accession to the throne. It is not perhaps generally known, but it is a fact all the same, that a couple of years ago, when the policy of Russia seemed to bode danger to peace, the Emperor undertook the rôle of a mediator, and with the best success. When Prince, too, he had with iron diligence applied himself to the acquisition of the Russian language. This unusual knowledge and the charm of his manner won for him all hearts in Russia when first he went there (two years ago), and what he then began he completed by his recent remarkable visit to St. Petersburg. In matters of religious belief the Emperor is anything but a partisan. His relations to the Court Chaplain, Herr Stöcker, were confined exclusively to his association with that clergyman in a work of public benevolence, and it is an act of extreme audacity and injustice to connect his Majesty's name and sympathies with the intolerant policy of the Anti-Semitic party."

After disposing of the business which required his immediate attention in home affairs, the Emperor proceeded to pay a round of visits to his fellow-sovereigns on the Continent. He first went to St. Petersburg (June 19), and the Czar gave him a most cordial reception. The German squadron, which accompanied the Emperor of Germany, formed a line opposite the Russian

fleet at Cronstadt, and the two sovereigns passed in the Czar's yacht between the Russian and German lines. The Emperor next proceeded with the squadron to Stockholm and to Copenhagen, at both of which places he was received with great enthusiasm. On his return to Germany in August he paid a visit to Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruh, and created some anxiety by remarking a few days after, in a speech at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, that the situation was grave, and that Germany would make any sacrifice rather than abandon a stone of the territory she had conquered.

On Aug. 29 the *Official Gazette* announced the resignation of the post of Chief of the General Staff by the veteran Field-Marshal Moltke on the ground of his great age, which made him unable to mount a horse. The resignation was graciously accepted by the Emperor, who, however, appointed the Field-Marshal to the office of President of the National Defence Committee. But this incident was soon forgotten in the absorbing interest created by the publication in the September number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* of part of the late Emperor Frederick's Diary during the Franco-German war, and by the subsequent report on the subject by Prince Bismarck, dated September 25.

According to the Diary, which commences just before the outbreak of the French war, the chief part in the work of re-establishing the empire in Germany was performed, not, as has been generally supposed, by Prince Bismarck, but by the then Crown Prince of Prussia. When he first broached the idea to his father, then known as King William of Prussia, he found him by no means enthusiastic in its favour. Nor was his leading Minister, Count von Bismarck, at first disposed to encourage the project. After Sedan the Crown Prince wrote, in reference to a meeting with the Chancellor at Donchery:—"The idea of a federal empire and the revival of the imperial dignity had scarcely been thought of. I noticed that he (Bismarck) was only conditionally inclined to it. I abstained from pressing the notion on him then, though for myself I was convinced it could not fail to be realised. The course of events is tending to bring it about, nor could things look more favourable for it than they do through this victory. On September 30 I spoke to the King on the empire question, which was growing in importance, and on which negotiations had been opened with the various States of Germany. But the King thought the matter as yet immature. He mentioned Du Bois Reymond's description of the imperial dignity as antiquated. In future he thought there would only be in Germany a King of Prussia and the various duchies. I replied that the other three kings, those of Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, compelled us to take the lead with the imperial dignity. I mentioned Napoleon, and the King's opposition to the idea at last began to give way."

On his birthday, October 18, the Crown Prince wrote:—

"The celebration of my birthday reminds me how serious is the problem I shall some day have to solve in the political life of Germany. I hope I shall not see any more wars. This, I hope, will be my last campaign." What that problem was the Crown Prince indicates in another entry in the Diary, where he says:—"My uppermost thought is how, when peace has been restored, the Liberal development of Germany shall be carried out." After "the dreams of German poets" had been realised by the proclamation of the new Empire at Versailles, the Crown Prince writes in a strain of joyful anticipation of the future, and especially of the time when he would come to the throne. He says:—"I shall have a strong hold over the now united nation, because I shall be the first sovereign who unreservedly adheres to constitutional government." The union of Germany, however, was not carried without considerable effort and difficulty. Negotiations had to be opened with all the German Princes, several of whom were hostile to the scheme. The Grand Duke of Baden, King William's son-in-law, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, shared the Prussian Crown Prince's enthusiasm for the idea, and their combined exertions ultimately triumphed over all opposition. How grave this was at one time may be gathered from the fact recorded in the Diary, that it was only after the discussion had led to a serious misunderstanding between the Crown Prince and the Chancellor, that the latter was finally converted to the idea, and persuaded to take it up as a practical question.

In Prince Bismarck's report, on the other hand, the belief is expressed that the Diary, in the form in which it was published, was not genuine. The Chancellor states that in 1870 the Emperor Frederick, who was then Crown Prince, "stood outside the political negotiations going on at that time," and that he (Prince Bismarck) "had not the King's permission to speak with his Royal Highness about the more private questions of our policy, because his Majesty was apprehensive, on the one hand, of disclosures being made to the English Court, which was full of French sympathies, and on the other of injury being done to our relations with our German allies, owing to the too ambitious aims and to the violence of the means recommended to his Royal Highness by political advisers of doubtful competency." The report also contains a criticism of the principal statements in the Diary, which is inserted here as a valuable contribution towards the secret history of the Franco-German war by one who took a leading part in it:—

"In the very first lines, under date July 13, 1870, it is said that 'I regarded peace as secured, and was, therefore, about to return to Varzin,' whereas there are documents proving, in the first place, that his Royal Highness was, at that time, aware that I considered war to be imperative, and only wished to return to Varzin on resigning my office in case it were declined, and proving, in the second place, that his Royal Highness was

at one with me on this point. This, in fact, is stated in the alleged memoranda of the 15th (of July) on the first page of the publication, where we read that the Crown Prince was entirely agreed with me that 'To give in for the sake of peace was already impossible.'

"It is also incorrect (p. 6) that his Majesty 'the King did not express any essential objection to the mobilisation.' His Majesty believed, and the Crown Prince knew that he believed, that he could still preserve peace and save the country from the war. His Majesty was at Brandenburg, and turned a deaf ear to my advocacy of the mobilisation during the whole journey from there to Berlin. But immediately after Ollivier's speech had been read to him at the station in Berlin, and after his Majesty had ordered me to read it to him again and again, and regarded it as tantamount to a French declaration of war, the King resolved on the mobilisation, *proprio motu*, and without further persuasion. His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, who was already in accord with me upon the necessity of complete mobilisation, then rendered further vacillation impossible by announcing the Royal resolution to the public, and to the officers present, in the words 'Krieg! Mobil!' . . .

"The assertion of the Diary that his Royal Highness intended to use force against our allies, and, if necessary, to violate the treaties faithfully kept by them and sealed with their blood, is a calumny against our late Master. Such thoughts, condemnable alike from the standpoint of honour and from that of policy, may have been cherished by persons in his Royal Highness's *entourage*, but they were not of a nature to find an echo in his heart, and were too imprudent to recommend themselves to his political understanding.

"Just as little in harmony with fact is what is said in the Diary about my attitude in the question of the Imperial dignity in 1866, and in the questions of the Infallibility dogma, the Upper House, and the Imperial Ministries. The Crown Prince never doubted that the founding of the Empire in 1866 would have been neither possible nor useful, and that a 'North German Emperor' would have been an 'Empereur,' but not the historical continuation and impersonation of Germany restored to the position of a nation. Further, the Upper House idea was settled between us at Donchery on Sept. 3, and his Royal Highness was convinced that it would not be possible to win the support of the German Kings and Princes for the project of making their position something similar to that of the Prussian Upper House.

"The Infallibility dogma was always a matter of indifference to me; less so to his Royal Highness. I regarded it as a false move on the part of the then Pope, and begged his Royal Highness to let this question rest, at least during the war; but, at all

events, his Royal Highness can never have had and registered in a daily-kept diary the impression that I wished to raise it after the war.

"It is stated (p. 10) that his Majesty the King dictated to Count Hatzfeldt the draft of a letter to the Emperor Napoleon. The Crown Prince was present when the King ordered me to draw up the letter, and when my draft was read by Count Hatzfeldt to his Majesty for his sanction. In this case, also, it is incredible that such an error could be made in a daily memorandum."

The report concluded with a request that the Emperor would sanction the prosecution of the *Deutsche Rundschau* and the person who forwarded the extracts from the Diary to that periodical. A judicial inquiry was at once instituted, and it was found that the culprit was Dr. Geffcken, a well-known political writer, formerly Professor of History at the University of Strasbourg, and an intimate friend of the late Emperor.

The remainder of the year was occupied by more visits to his fellow-sovereigns by the "travelling Emperor," as he was now called, and by a revival of the party struggles which had been partly suspended in consequence of the tragic events of the summer. In October the new Emperor went to Vienna, and considerable excitement was caused by the Emperor Francis Joseph taking the opportunity, at a State banquet given in honour of his visitor, to propose a toast to the German army, which he described as the comrade of the Austrian army. From Vienna the German Emperor proceeded to Rome, where he was given as hearty a reception as in the other capitals which he had visited. He had an interview with the Pope, and it was stated that the brusque manner in which he interrupted Leo XIII. when the latter began to speak of the claims of the Papacy to the temporal power gave deep offence at the Vatican, where it had been hoped that his visit might indicate a disposition to intercede with the Italian Government on behalf of the Holy See.

The German Parliament was opened for its first legislative session during the new reign on November 22. The Emperor, in his speech from the throne, expressed his satisfaction at Hamburg and Bremen, the last of the Hanse Towns, having entered into the Zollverein (October 15), and concluded as follows:—"Our African settlements have given the German Empire a share in the task of winning over that Continent for Christian civilisation. The Government of England, which is friendly to us, and England's Parliament recognised a hundred years ago that the accomplishment of this task must begin with the suppression of the slave trade and of the hunting of negroes. I accordingly, in the first place, sought for and have arrived at an understanding with England, the nature and purpose of which will be communicated to you. Further negotiations with other friendly and

interested Governments, and further Bills for the Reichstag, will follow.

“Our relations with all foreign Governments are peaceful, and my efforts are constantly directed to strengthening the peace. Our alliance with Austria and Italy has no other purpose. To bring upon Germany, without necessity, the sufferings occasioned by war, even by a victorious war, I should not regard as reconcilable with my Christian faith and with the duties which, as Emperor, I have taken upon myself towards the German people. With this conviction, I considered it my duty, soon after my accession, personally to greet not only my allies in the Empire, but also neighbouring friendly Sovereigns, and to seek to come to an understanding with them with regard to the fulfilment of the task that God has given us—viz. the task of securing peace and prosperity to our respective peoples so far as this depends on our will. The confidence shown in me and in my policy at all the Courts I visited gives me a right to hope that I and my allies and friends will, with God’s help, succeed in preserving the peace of Europe.”

The principal Bill passed by the German Parliament before the close of the year was that relative to the insurance of aged and invalid workmen. Under this Bill, which will affect about 11,000,000 of German working men, a workman earning 20s. a week has to pay out of that sum—or, rather, it is deducted for him by his employer—a fraction under 5d. as an insurance against sickness and death, and 2½d. as an insurance against old age and infirmity. There is also a special fund for accidents; but to this he contributes nothing. In return, he is entitled as a matter of right to the following benefits:—(1) In case of illness, thirteen weeks’ free medical advice and treatment, including dentistry and, if married, the expenses of his wife’s confinement; free medicine and minor surgical appliances; a money allowance amounting to one-half of his average wages; or, in place of all this, free board and treatment in a hospital, with, in certain exceptional cases, a small money allowance. (2) In case of death, an amount equal to twenty times the local daily wages of an ordinary day-labourer is paid to the survivors. (3) In case of accident, the insured workman receives the same benefits as in case of illness, with the addition of compensation for partial or total disablement or (to the survivors) on death. This, for a workman earning 20s. a week, amounts to a pension of 57s. 10d. per month if he is totally disabled; while, if he is killed, 80s. is allowed for burial expenses, and his widow, say with two children, receives 43s. 4d. per month till the children are fifteen years old. (4) When old age or infirmity comes on, and the workman is no longer fit for labour, he can claim a pension of 6l. a year, annually increasing to 12l. 10s., according to the length of time he has been employed. Thus, the German workman, by the com-

pulsory deduction from his income of less than eightpence in the pound, is secured against everything which can prevent him from following any employment he could otherwise get. Sickness, death, disablement, and infirmity are all provided for.

The sick-insurance system is understood to be self-supporting on the whole. If there should be any deficiency, provision is made for its being supplied by the employers or by the commune. The accident fund is maintained wholly by the employers. The old-age fund is supported by the workmen, the employers, and the State in equal proportions; that is, each pays a third. It will be seen that the only financial liability undertaken by the State is for one-third of the amount of the pensions payable to the aged and infirm; and these, unless some provision be made for them, the State is bound to support in any case. But, of course, the whole scheme is State-created, and undoubtedly there is State Socialism in it. The deductions from wages are compulsory; so are the payments and the responsibilities which the employers have to bear in the first place and the general community afterwards. Some show of non-interference by the State is made by the provision under which the various existing clubs, guilds, and unions are incorporated into the machinery of the system, and are left under the management of the members; but still it is all under the supervision of the Imperial Insurance Bureau. The individual workman has no more control over the amount which goes to his insurance than he has in this country over the payment and disposal of the tax imposed on his beer and tobacco. No act has to be done by the workman in order to place himself under insurance; he has literally nothing to do, neither to give notice of membership nor to pay personally any subscription. He enters the insurance by taking work; it is only when he desires *not* to enter that he must make a declaration and give proof that membership in another club exempts him from compulsion. The employer is responsible for the working of the Act with regard to his *employés*; he has to pay the whole subscriptions, and is also responsible under penalty for the due notifications of entrance and exit of members of a club where required.

The policy of the Government under the new Emperor continued to be favourable to the "Cartell" party of National Liberals and Conservatives, and the most eminent of the National Liberal leaders, Herr von Bunnigsen, was given the important post of President of the Administration of Hanover. In the elections for the Prussian Parliament, which took place in November, the "Cartell" party considerably increased their majority, as will be seen from the following figures:—

	Old Parliament.	New Parliament.
United Conservatives	200	199
Clericals	97	97
National Liberals	72	87
Liberalists (Opposition). . . .	40	29
Poles	15	15
Danes	2	2
Guelphs.	2	1
Independents.	5	3
	433	433

As the Clericals and National Liberals nearly balance each other, and Prince Bismarck can always reckon on the support of the Conservatives, he is sure of a majority for any measure he may introduce to the Prussian Parliament, for the National Liberals vote for him on all but ecclesiastical questions, and on these, the Chancellor's policy being one of compromise and concession, he obtains the votes of the Clericals.

Colonial difficulties again caused much trouble to the German Government during the latter half of the year. On Sept. 22, a dispute broke out at Kilva, on the East African coast, between one of the two officials of the German East African Company and several Arabs, and in the fight which ensued the German official was killed. The Arabs then attacked the station-house of the Company, and the other official, seeing that further resistance was impossible, committed suicide. A similar outbreak, with similar results, took place nearly at the same time at Bagamoyo and other stations of the Company, and such of the German officials as managed to escape were taken back to Zanzibar by a despatch-boat of the German navy. The insurrection appears to have been caused by the high-handed conduct of the Germans towards the natives, as none of the English in the district were attacked. In consequence of arrangements made between the English and German Governments for the suppression of the slave trade and the prevention of the importation of arms, the coast was blockaded by the English and German fleets (Nov. 30), and several of the coast villages, including the important trade-centre of Bagamoyo, were bombarded by the German ships. The policy of the Government was thus announced to the German Parliament by Count Herbert Bismarck on Dec. 15 :—He was delighted, he said, to find the Reichstag disposed to take part in the great work of abolishing slavery and supporting the civilising labours of the pioneers of German colonisation. So much had been said on this subject that hardly anything remained to be added. The situation had hardly changed since the publication of the White-book. Portugal had acceded to their agreement, and was ready to blockade the coast of Mozambique along a line of $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude. Wherever the East African Company, with its comparatively limited means, tried to carry out so comprehensive a work, it found the obstacles increased by Arab slave-dealers, who

found themselves threatened in their cruel business. The Sheiks, as the leaders of these bands call themselves, are under the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar, but have revolted against him and taken the lives and property of several German subjects settled there. The slave-hunts, that disgrace to humanity, depopulated and laid waste whole regions of Africa, and converted flourishing tracts of country between Tanganyika Lake and the ocean into deserts. "The slave-hunters are as cruel as they are unscrupulous. They destroy all they cannot carry away, and kill the inhabitants whom they do not take captive, and who, having no arms, are defenceless against them. In this enterprise we can unreservedly count on the support of England, which has always stood in the van of the anti-slavery movement. We have had confidential and thorough consultations with the English Government, which met us, in the most obliging manner, half way. We have no reason to doubt that it will continue to do so. It was important for the whole affair that we, so to speak, had wedded ourselves with England, as regards the East African coast, by the treaty of 1885. England will help us, with her spirit of enterprise and mighty capital, in perpetually and effectually combating slave-hunting. So long as the horrors of the slave-trade with all its disadvantages exist, so long is it impossible to open up Africa to civilisation, Christianity, and culture. The aim of the author of the resolution may be summarised in these three words. We share his wishes from the bottom of our hearts. The blockade has proved the best means of suppressing the slave trade, and we do not believe that we ought to undertake operations on land, for reasons which I need not tell you."

Count Bismarck then gave a detailed account of the blockade. He mentioned that the German vessels had already captured several slave ships, but that it was not yet decided what is to be done with the liberated people. Perhaps they might be employed as free labourers at mission stations. He then mentioned the obliging conduct of France, although she attached great importance to the maintenance of her old traditions. She did not assent to the Treaty of 1841, because England was at that time the only great Power which could send cruisers to suppress the slave trade, but France had now promised considerably to reinforce her Madagascar squadron, and to deliver the ships which carry on the slave trade under the French flag to the nearest French authority for punishment, which under the French law is very severe. Germany must for the present rest satisfied with this. The Federal Governments would derive from that day's debate encouragement to go forward on the path they had hitherto trodden, and would in so doing avail themselves of the help of Lieutenant Wissmann, "who," the Count added, "is among us to-day, and who, like many travelled merchants, has assured us that no very great force is needed to carry out our task on land. We have collected much material on the subject,"

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he continued, "but acting strictly on constitutional lines, we have not deemed it our duty to draw up a Bill without your encouragement. We shall propose in it the enlistment of police-soldiers, but shall not determine executive details till we receive hints from the House. In order to appear to foreign nations as united as possible in the discussion of the Bill, we should like to come to an understanding with the leaders of parties, in order to convince them that we shall keep strictly within the limits prescribed by the attitude of the Empire towards Colonial enterprises. Some relief to the navy seems to us necessary, and we therefore intend to establish a land blockade, for which about four hundred negroes under thirty whites will suffice."

The Count then mentioned the negotiations with the Congo State and with Holland, and declared the maintenance of Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani necessary. He concluded with the hope "that when we meet again after some weeks we shall do something that will redound to the honour of the German Empire and the German name."

Though the participation of England in the blockade was perhaps inevitable, the trade and the missionaries of the Powers undoubtedly suffered from the violent antagonism to Europeans generally which had been caused among the Arabs by the conduct of the officials of the German East African Society; and a similar result was produced in Samoa by the armed intervention of the German fleet in the struggle between the rival Kings Mataafa and Tamasese, the *protégé* of Germany. (See *Annual Register*, 1887, p. 247.) On Dec. 18 the German gunboat *Adler*, with the German Consul on board, proceeded to Mataafa's chief position, and a demand was addressed to him that he should disband his forces. A party of 120 men was on the same day landed by the corvette *Olga*; they were attacked by Mataafa's followers, and after retiring to the coast for reinforcements from the *Adler*, they drove the Samoans back into the interior. In this engagement the Germans lost a lieutenant and fifteen men; they afterwards bombarded five villages, and at the end of the year they were preparing further operations against Mataafa, who appealed to England and the United States for protection. The conduct of the Germans in this matter was very strongly animadverted upon in the United States Congress and press.

The threatening attitude of Russia in January led the German Government to publish, with the consent of Austria, the text of the Treaty of Alliance concluded on Oct. 7, 1879, "in order," according to the official *Reichsanzeiger*, "to put an end to the doubts as to its purely defensive character which are entertained in various quarters," and to prove that "both the allied Governments are guided in their policy by the endeavour to maintain peace, and, so far as possible, to ward off disturbers of peace." The text of the Treaty is as follows:—

"Whereas their Majesties the German Emperor, King of

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Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, must regard it as their unavoidable duty as monarchs to take care, under all circumstances, of the safety of their realms and the quietude of their peoples; whereas, further, the two monarchs will be able, as in their former relation as members of the German Confederation, to perform this duty more easily and effectively by the firm co-operation of the two Empires; and whereas, finally, a cordial co-operation of Germany and Austria-Hungary can menace no one, but is calculated, on the contrary, to fortify the European peace created by the Treaty of Berlin, their Majesties the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, solemnly promise one another that they will never give to their purely defensive agreement an aggressive tendency in any direction, and have resolved to conclude an alliance of peace and of mutual defence. To this end they have respectively appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:— His Majesty the German Emperor, his Extraordinary Plenipotentiary, Lieutenant-General Prince Henry VII. of Reuss; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, his Privy Councillor, Minister of the Imperial House and of Foreign Affairs, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Julius Count Andrassy; who have met to-day at Vienna, and, after exchanging their credentials, which were found good and sufficient, have agreed as follows:—

“Article I.—Should, contrary to the hope and sincere wish of the two illustrious contracting parties, one of the two Empires be attacked by Russia, the illustrious contracting parties are bound to assist one another with the whole military power of their Empires, and as a consequence of this to conclude peace only in common, and in agreement.

“Article II.—Should one of the illustrious contracting parties be attacked by another Power, the other august party hereby binds himself not only not to assist the aggressor against his august ally, but to observe at least an attitude of friendly neutrality towards the latter. If, however, in such a case the aggressor should be supported by Russia either in the form of active co-operation or by military measures threatening the party attacked, the obligation stipulated in Article I. of this Treaty, to assist one another with full military strength, at once becomes binding, and the conduct of the war by the two august contracting parties then becomes common till a common conclusion of peace.

“Article III.—This Treaty shall, in accordance with its peaceful character, and in order to exclude every misinterpretation, be kept secret by both august contracting parties, and communicated to a third Power only by consent of both, and in the manner agreed upon by both. The two august contracting parties, in view of the sentiments expressed by the Emperor Alexander at the meeting in Alexandrovo, cherish the hope that the Russian military preparations will not really prove threaten-

ing to them, and have, therefore, no occasion at present to make any communication on the subject ; but should this hope, contrary to expectation, prove erroneous, the two august contracting parties would regard it as a duty of honour to inform the Emperor Alexander, at least confidentially, that they must regard an attack on one of them as an attack on both. As witness whereof, the Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty with their own hands, and attached their seals.—Done at Vienna, 7th of October, 1879.

“ HENRY VII., Reuss.

“ ANDRASSY.”

The text of the two other Treaties—those between Austria and Italy and Italy and Germany—still remained a secret ; but the general drift of all three of them was already well known. If France should attack Germany or Italy, the two latter Powers were pledged to act together against her ; if Russia attacked either Germany or Austria, both were to make war upon Russia ; and if Russia and France together were to attack any one of the three allies, they would have to face the combined armies of all three. At the same time it daily became more evident that Germany would use every effort to prevent her being placed in such a position as to make it necessary for her to fulfil her obligations under these Treaties. In the Bulgarian question, which at that time was the one that most threatened the peace of Europe, she almost ostentatiously took the side of Russia and showed that she expected Austria and England to look after their own interests in the East. Prince Bismarck plainly indicated by the language of his semi-official organs in the press that, even if Russia were to proceed to an armed intervention in Bulgaria or Servia, Germany would remain inactive, and leave the other Powers to fight out their quarrel by themselves so long as no attack were made by Russia on Austrian territory, in which case Germany would be bound to protect her ally. By thus showing Austria that she could not hope for her support in the East, and Russia that if she precipitated a crisis she would have to fight with one of her hands tied, the Chancellor gradually brought both of these Powers into a more pacific mood. By the middle of the year the black clouds which had been gathering on the European horizon had by his consummate diplomacy been almost dispersed, and Signor Crispi's and Count Kalnoky's visits to Friedrichsruh in August and September contributed to strengthen the understanding between the three allies. With France, however, Prince Bismarck continued the policy of irritation which seems to be the leading characteristic of his general attitude towards that Power. On May 23 he astonished Europe by issuing a decree under which all foreigners, whether Frenchmen or not, who enter Alsace-Lorraine from France are to be turned back unless they are provided with a passport bearing the *visa*

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of the German embassy in Paris, such *visa* not to be valid for more than a year. This extraordinary measure was explained by the semi-official *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* as necessary for the more complete Germanisation of the annexed provinces; Germany, it added, "does not wish for war, but only for more distant relations with France." Further provocations were given by the expulsion from Berlin of the correspondents of two Paris papers, the *Gaulois* and the *Matin* (June 21), and the abolition of the French protectorate over the German Catholic missionaries in China (Nov. 14). Such incidents do not perhaps hasten the war of revenge, but they tend more and more to make it inevitable.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

During the first half of the year the people and Government of Austria-Hungary were in constant anxiety at the prospect of war. The menacing tone of the Russian press, the gradual concentration of the Russian troops on the Galician frontier, and the uncertainty as to the policy of Germany consequent upon the death of the Emperor William I., all produced a state of extreme tension in the relations between the European Powers, which was most acutely felt in the heterogeneous empire of the Hapsburgs. The first public declaration made by the Government on the subject was in the Hungarian Parliament on Jan. 11. The Premier, M. Tisza, referring to the assemblage of Russian troops near the Austrian frontier, said that the Cabinet was convinced of the Czar's sincerity in affirming his desire to maintain peace, but he added that there were in existence certain elements which were striving to bring about a war. "In opposition to these endeavours there stands the fact that not the smallest ground exists for doubting the *bona fides*, one to the other, of the Powers which have allied themselves for the preservation of peace and their own security. It is sufficiently well known that Russia is carrying out a marked displacement and transference of her troops towards the West; as also that the execution of this plan, which has been in existence for a long time, has been proceeded with of late to a somewhat considerable extent in the direction of the frontiers of this Monarchy. On this very account, while we do not cast a single doubt upon the peaceful declarations of the Emperor of Russia or his benevolent intentions, and while we ourselves accept, so far as prudential regard for our own safety permits, the explanations given from the Russian side which deny that these movements of the troops indicate any aggressive or warlike intention, it is our duty to take care that, while we avoid everything which could have the semblance of provocation, such measures are taken for all contingencies as the security of our frontiers and the effective use of our army demand. The aims and principles of our foreign policy are known alike to the

people of the Monarchy and to the whole world. In this respect I have already explained my views, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs has also spoken upon the subject. Every one knows that we aim neither at any extension of our influence in violation of treaties, nor at any increase of territory, as has been falsely attributed to us. We take our stand on the basis of international treaties. We desire, before all things, the preservation of peace; and we shall always be ready, for the sake of peace, to co-operate, in the most conciliatory manner, with the other European Powers for the maintenance of the state of things created by existing treaties. I can only reaffirm what has already been repeatedly said by the Government, that the alliance of the Central European Powers has never been anything but an alliance formed on a purely defensive basis, and, therefore, that the forcible achievement of specific political objects, or any aggressive action whatsoever, is foreign to it. As, moreover, a declaration of the most pacific intentions has come from the highest quarter in Russia, we are able, while at the same time guarding the vital interests of our Monarchy, and in spite of the many elements which are driving on to discord and to war, to ground on this the hope that the peace-loving monarchs and Governments will succeed in maintaining peace and in freeing Europe from the feeling of insecurity which now weighs so heavily upon her." This declaration gave great satisfaction to all parties among the Hungarians, and the Radical leader, M. Helfy, replied amid the applause of the whole House that Hungary had no desire to avenge Vilagos or to see Hungarian influence established in the Balkan Peninsula.

The effect produced by Count Tisza's speech was considerably heightened by the publication of the text of the Austro-German alliance in the official *Vienna Gazette* a few days after, and by a statement made on Feb. 6 to the Austrian Budget Committee by Count von Welfersheimb, the Minister for Land Defence, that the number of Landwehr recruits to be trained would have to be temporarily raised, and that this measure was imperative in view of the general situation. "The Austro-German Treaty of Alliance pre-supposed that each of the contracting parties had a force which would be equal to the task of carrying out the intentions and guarding the interests referred to in the Treaty under all circumstances;" and as armaments were being increased on all sides, it was necessary for Austria to do what was indispensable to complete her military preparations. A further announcement was made by the Minister on April 15 with regard to the calling in of the reserves. Powers would, he said, be asked for in special circumstances to enlarge the strength of certain regiments by calling in men of the reserve for that purpose without proceeding to a general mobilisation; and he gave as an instance of the "special circumstances" to which he referred the necessity of enlarging the regiments in Galicia. This proposal was acceded to, and the Polish soldiers who were

quartered in other parts of the empire were soon after sent to Galicia to join their comrades, thereby increasing the garrisons in that province by eighteen battalions.

At the beginning of May a Ministerial crisis was caused at Vienna by the policy of the new Minister of Education, Dr. Gautch. During the debate on the educational budget the Poles and the Czechs, who are the leading members of the majority, made some strong remarks on the disregard shown by the Minister for the national feeling in Galicia and Bohemia, upon which Dr. Gautch sharply replied that he considered it necessary that public instruction should be conducted in the interest of the State as a whole, and not according to the ideas of individual parties or nationalities. This statement gave much offence to his critics, and the division on the budget had to be postponed, as if it had been taken at the same sitting the Government would certainly have been defeated. Such a result would, however, have been equally disastrous to the Poles and Czechs as to the Ministry. Count Taaffe, the Premier, soon brought back his recalcitrant supporters, and the crisis was at an end. But then a new and more formidable question arose, which was not so easily to be disposed of. This was the Bill for a new tax on spirits, in order to supply the necessary funds for the augmentation of the army. The existing tax produced only 7,000,000 florins in Cisleithania and 8,000,000 in Hungary, and it was hoped that by a re-arrangement of the tax on the German system a considerably larger revenue would be obtained. In Hungary, however, spirits are made chiefly of maize, while in Galicia and Bohemia they are made of potatoes and sugar; and the imposition of a uniform spirit duty would have had the effect of giving Hungarian spirit a great advantage over that made in Austria Proper. Under these circumstances it was very difficult for the Government to secure a majority for the Bill. Out of the 353 members of the Austrian Parliament only 151 promised to vote for the measure; the others were either hostile or doubtful. The negotiations dragged on for some months, and the Bill was ultimately passed, owing chiefly to some important concessions made to Galicia as to the compensation to be granted for the loss of the right of "propination"—i.e. the right possessed by certain landowners and corporations to sell spirits on their land. The new tax came into force on Sept. 1, and the Austrian Minister of Finance, in his budget speech on Oct. 24, estimated that it would produce in Cisleithania 26,000,000 florins a year instead of 7,000,000 as formerly.

Meanwhile the measures for the augmentation of the army proceeded with unabated energy. In his annual speech to the foreign Committee of the Hungarian Delegation, Count Kalnoky pointed out (June 1) that though nothing had recently occurred in the East of Europe "to produce an enduring change in the state of things existing there, not one of the causes which had

produced apprehension for the preservation of the peace of the world had as yet been removed." The States of Europe were therefore compelled, in order to make their position secure, to strengthen their defensive forces; and this necessity was especially felt by Austria, "to whom the Eastern, and notably the Bulgarian, question was undoubtedly of more importance than to most of the European Powers." In the Committee on the military budget M. Tisza was equally explicit. The extraordinary vote of forty-seven millions must, he said, be left at the disposal of the Government to be employed for the army as might be most desirable, and five millions of it was required "owing to the fact that greater facilities for the movements of troops existed in a neighbouring country, thereby rendering it necessary for Austria-Hungary to take steps for shortening the time of mobilisation." He added that the new measures would enable the Austro-Hungarian army to take the field a fortnight sooner than under the existing system, and that the political situation rendered this urgently necessary.

The Army Bills were introduced in the Parliaments of Vienna and Pesth at the beginning of November. Under the new system a yearly average of 125,600 recruits are to be levied during the next ten years for the regular army and the two Landwehrs instead of 119,845 as formerly, and the recruiting period is to be extended from the end of the twentieth to the end of the twenty-first year of age. The Ministers explained that this would not practically increase the standing army, but would merely enable the authorities to put in the field the 800,000 men which form the war strength of that army—a task which had hitherto been impossible. The leaders of the various nationalities in the Parliament at Vienna, though declaring their intention to vote for the Bill out of patriotism, took the opportunity of severely criticising the foreign policy of the Government. Herr von Plener, speaking for the German element, said that, though allied with Germany abroad, the Government pursued a Slavonising policy at home; that it repelled the Germans in its own territories while going hand-in-hand with the German Empire; and that, though the ally of Italy, it is the friend of those who, if they could, would deprive Italy of her capital. Dr. Rieger, in the name of the Slavs, declared that, though they recognised the necessity of an alliance with Germany, they regarded the maintenance of the position of Austria as paramount. "We cannot seek refuge either in Russia or in Germany. The fate of the Poles in Russia cannot entice us any more than that Paradise for the Poles—Posen. We must remain Austrians, and have no future outside this Empire. That is why we vote for the Bill. But the Austrian Emperor cannot sink to the rank of a noble Governor of a German Province. We demand that Austria shall retain her full sovereignty. Austria should have equal rights in the Union. There is no place for us

outside Austria, but there is at the same time no future for a dynasty without us."

The leader of the Radical Czechs, Dr. Gregr, though concurring in this sentiment, expressed much misgiving at the alliance with Germany. The result of the Austro-Prussian alliance in Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 was, he said, the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. The present armed peace could only end in bankruptcy and ruin for every nation involved in it. "We Bohemians vote the present Bill to the Austrian Emperor, who is also King of Bohemia. We do not vote it for the Austro-German Alliance. Alliances do not last for ever, and in case the present alliance with Germany should some day develop into the contrary relation, we want Austria to be strong, ten times stronger than at present. I am no enemy of Prussia, although sympathy for Prussia the Bohemian people has never felt. The nationalities in Austria are not placed on a bed of roses, but may the Lord and all the Saints preserve us from Prussian rule! We want Austria to have an imposing army, in order that the alliance shall not crush her, because an alliance of the weak with the strong is slavery. Austria must be so strong that in case it becomes an indispensable necessity she may be able to break off the alliance. If we are strong enough, nobody will dare to threaten us, as happened recently to our shame. That is why we vote for the Bill."

The Bill passed in the Reichsrath on Dec. 19 with a majority of 182 to 23. Among the other important Bills passed in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments during the year were one for the regulation of the Danube at the Iron Gates, another fixing the budgets of the two halves of the monarchy, and a third prolonging the law against the Anarchists till September 1890. The regulation of the Danube, which was first proposed by the Emperor Trajan, and was the subject of special provisions in the Treaties of Paris, London, and Berlin, was only finally decided upon by the Government at the beginning of the year, when the plan of a Hungarian engineer, M. Wallandt, was selected from among several that had been laid before it. The cost was estimated at 9,000,000 florins, but the opening of the Danube to navigation will be of immense value to Austrian trade, and the Bill was passed shortly before the end of the year. The budgets presented by the Finance Ministers at Vienna and Pesth were both of a very satisfactory kind. The former, for the first time for many years, showed a surplus, owing to the increased revenue from the new spirit tax, the higher prices charged by the Government for tobacco, and the increased yield of the sugar tax. The revenue was estimated at 538,515,000 florins, and the expenditure (including the increased amount required for the army and navy) at 538,345,000. The Hungarian Budget showed an estimated expenditure of 354,000,000 millions against a revenue of

347,000,000, thereby reducing the deficit of the previous year from 12,000,000 to 7,000,000.

Two important changes in the Austrian Ministry took place on October 15. Dr. Ziemialkowski, who had been Minister for Galicia for nearly twenty years, was succeeded in that post by M. Zaleski, the Governor of Galicia, and Dr. Prazak, the Minister of Justice, was replaced by Count Schönborn, Governor of Moravia. The latter appointment seemed to show a marked change in the policy of the Government with regard to the national aspirations of the Czechs, which had hitherto been restrained both by Dr. Ziemialkowski and Dr. Prazak, and of which Count Schönborn had shown himself an ardent advocate. The result of the appointment was a coalition between the various groups of the German Liberal Opposition for the purpose of "maintaining the unity of the Austrian Empire and the rightful position of the Austrian Germans, and of preserving and developing the Liberal principles of the Austrian Constitution;" but the dissensions between the German deputies were so strong that the coalition presented but little chance of being a durable one, and the Slavonic element in the monarchy has of late years become so powerful that even a united German party would not be able to thrust it from the position it has attained. The only Slavonic province in which the Germans are in any great number is Bohemia, where thirty years ago they were predominant. In 1856 the population of Prague consisted of 73,000 Germans and only 50,000 Czechs, while now the number of Germans has dwindled down to 30,000, and that of the Czechs has grown to 150,000. The municipality is entirely in the hands of the Czechs, and Czechish inscriptions are to be seen everywhere in the streets. The same may be said of the other towns and villages in Bohemia. During the past two years the German population (two millions) has remained stationary, while the Czechish population has increased from three millions to three millions and a half. The same complaint is made by the Austrian Germans with regard to the Czechs that was expressed by Prince Bismarck with regard to the Poles in Posen; they assimilate the Germans who live among them, and a German who marries a Czechish wife usually becomes a Czech himself. A Czech, on the other hand, is seldom Germanised, even in towns predominantly German, like Vienna. What is even more remarkable is that the educated classes, which twenty years ago prided themselves on being "Austrians," and looked upon the Czechish language as a vulgar jargon spoken only by working men and peasants, are now the most powerful champions of the Czechish nationality. The old Bohemian aristocracy, with their immense wealth and influence, live at Prague more than they do at Vienna, and the language of high society in Bohemia is no longer German, but Czechish. The clergy especially have become fanatical agitators for the national cause, and the officials, for-

merly so energetic in pursuing the work of Germanisation in the Polish and Italian districts, are now equally active in serving the policy of their new masters of the national party.

The alarm caused in Austria-Hungary by the military movements of the Russian troops did not cause any disturbance of the official relations between the two Powers, and with the other States of Europe Austria remained on the same friendly footing as before. The interview at Innsbruck on April 23 between the Queen of England and the Austrian Emperor, and the moral support given by the English Government to the "League of Peace," produced a cordial sympathy between the two countries, to which Count Kalnoky gave warm expression in his speech on foreign affairs to the Delegations. As to France, an animated debate took place in the Hungarian Parliament on May 26 in consequence of the Minister of Commerce, Count Szechenyi, having dissuaded several Hungarian manufacturers from participating in the Paris Exhibition on the ground that it was "intended to commemorate the French Revolution, in consequence of which a daughter of the House of Hapsburg was beheaded." Several of the Radical members strongly objected to the view thus expressed, but the feeling of the great majority of the Hungarians was so bitter at the sympathy shown by France to their old enemy Russia that the House was almost unanimous in supporting the Government on this question. With Turkey, Austria became more closely connected by the completion of the railways to Salonica and Constantinople, which were opened on May 18 and August 11 respectively; and with Italy, as a member of the new "League of Peace," the Austro-Hungarian Government entered into very friendly relations, as was manifested by the meeting between Count Kalnoky and Signor Crispi at Eger on August 25. The negotiations between Russia and the Pope for a *modus vivendi* between the Orthodox Greek and the Roman Catholic Churches no doubt contributed to this result. The Croatian bishop of Diakovar, Monsignor Strossmayer, who is the chief advocate of such an arrangement in Austria, having sent a telegram to Kieff, in which he invoked God's blessing on the accomplishment of "Russia's world-wide mission," the Emperor Francis Joseph, in a meeting at Belovar on Sept. 11 of the whole of the Croatian clergy, sharply rebuked the bishop for his conduct—an event which was viewed with some displeasure at the Vatican and with corresponding satisfaction at the Quirinal. The interview at Eger was followed by a visit from Count Kalnoky to Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruh on Sept. 17. The object of this interview appears to have been to make the final arrangements for the "League of Peace," and not, as was supposed, to discuss any concessions proposed by Germany with regard to Bulgaria. The visit to Vienna in November of the Emperor William II. produced a certain coldness between the two Governments, in consequence of the omission of the German Emperor

to give a decoration to the Austrian Premier, Count Taaffe, owing, it was said, to the preference shown by that Minister to the Slavs over the Germans in the monarchy. This slight misunderstanding, however, was soon removed, and at the end of the year the relations between the two Governments were as cordial as ever. Renewed movements of the Russian army in the south-east caused some little trepidation, but when the Emperor Francis Joseph celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his accession on December 3 the political atmosphere was more peaceful than it had been for a long time.

CHAPTER III.

EASTERN EUROPE.

I. RUSSIA.

M. VISHNIEGRADZKY, who is regarded by his friends as the heaven-born Finance Minister of Russia, issued at the beginning of January his budget for 1888. The statement published by the official *Messenger* showed an estimated expenditure not quite seven million roubles above the estimate of the previous year. The excess was accounted for mainly by the service of the public debt, the amount of the pension list, and the expenditure for national education; and an increase of the receipts was, by a naïve manipulation of accounts which is traditional in the Russian Ministry of Finance, estimated so as exactly to cover the increased expenditure. The expected increases were put down chiefly to Excise and Customs duties, and to the produce of the new taxes on naphtha and matches. In his report the Minister pointed out that a small reduction of 54,443 roubles had been effected in the expenditure of the War Department, "in conformity with the pacific policy of Russia." He added that "the surplus of revenue is due to the favourable change in the economic condition of the country, although this should not lead to the general conclusion that this improvement will be of a permanent character. Much remains to be done. The obstacles still hampering the progress of agriculture, commerce, and industry will have to be removed, and diligent labour and economy will be needed before we obliterate some dark features which are still to be found in our economic condition. The improvement which has taken place has rendered it incumbent upon the financial administration to reduce the deficit, which in 1886 amounted to 51,000,000 roubles, but which in 1887 only reached thirty-six millions. Equilibrium in the budget could not, however, be obtained by mere retrenchment in the expenditure. It has become necessary to increase the revenue without injuring the productive power of the population."

Much doubt was expressed both in Russia and in other countries as to the trustworthiness of M. Vischniegradzky's esti-

mates, but the abundance of the harvest in Russia and its failure in other countries had such a favourable effect on Russian finance, that by the month of August the value of the rouble had risen from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* On Sept. 12 a decree was issued stating that, as there was reason to expect that the extent of the existing currency would soon no longer suffice for the requirements of commercial transactions, "which have already increased considerably, and will increase still more," instructions had been given to the Imperial Bank to issue credit notes to the amount of 15,000,000 roubles. This issue was authorised in accordance with an Imperial ukase dated July 20, authorising the Bank to issue credit notes as the necessities of the currency might require, with the reservation that the previous assent of the Minister must be obtained, and on the following conditions:—1st. The issues shall be guaranteed by the deposit of gold which belongs to the State Treasury and the Imperial Bank. 2nd. The deposits must be handed over to the Issue Department and placed to a special account in which the amount of the metallic value as well as that of the credit notes will figure according to their nominal value only. 3rd. The notes must not be withdrawn until the position of the market permits it, and the gold deposited as guarantee may only be returned into the State Treasury or the Imperial Bank after the notes have been withdrawn.

A fresh issue of 15,000,000 roubles of credit notes, "with a view to further strengthening the cash balance in the Imperial Bank," was authorised on Oct. 6; and a loan of 500,000,000 frs., to be employed for the conversion of the 1887 loan, was raised in November. These somewhat mysterious operations were viewed with considerable suspicion by financiers, but the value of the rouble remained pretty steady up to the end of the year.

A characteristic incident of Russian government which occurred on Jan. 13 produced considerable excitement in aristocratic circles at St. Petersburg. An official rebuke was administered by the Czar to General Prince Barclay for having permitted his grandchildren to be christened as Protestants. Such a rebuke is almost unprecedented in the case of a general officer. Four years ago, Count Heyden, Governor-General of Finland, was similarly censured for having exceeded his powers; but in that case the rebuke was signed by "the Grand-Duke of Finland," and was not so severely worded. In the previous reign there had only been one case of this kind, that of Colonel Paskievitch, who sent in his resignation immediately afterwards. Another mark of the Emperor's favour to the Russian Church was the grant of a high decoration to M. Pobiedonoscheff, the Procurator-General of the Holy Synod and a noted Panslavist. This sudden manifestation of pro-clerical zeal was perhaps caused by the fact that the Nihilists had become somewhat more active of late. At a trial of five men and two women, the former including a captain of Cossacks and a Government official, the accused

were found guilty of belonging to the secret revolutionary party known as the "Norodnaya Volya" (National Will), of keeping explosive bombs, and of founding a secret printing office at Taganrog; and they were sentenced to various periods of penal servitude. It was also reported, though no details were given, that a Nihilist plot against the life of the Czar had been discovered about Jan. 8, and that several officers of the Russian army were implicated in it.

The increasing influence of M. Pobiedonoscheff was further shown by the sharp answer given by him, with the Czar's express approval, to the representations of the Evangelical Alliance on the persecution of the Protestants in the Baltic provinces. The Alliance complained that the law against mixed marriages, which had been abolished by the Emperor Alexander II., had again come into force, that the Lutheran clergy were hampered in the performance of their religious duties, and that persons who had without sufficient consideration joined the Russian Church were forbidden to resume the creed of their fathers. To this the Procurator of the Holy Synod sent a reply in which the following are the most curious passages:—"The Russian Government is convinced that nowhere in Europe do all religions enjoy such liberty as in Russia. This truth is unfortunately not admitted in Europe. Why? Solely because in Europe religious liberty is confounded with an unrestricted right of proselytism. . . . It has been the will of Providence to place the Russian Empire on the broad open space between the Ural Mountains and the Carpathians, where Europe and Asia meet. . . . The Russian Empire obtained the high mission for humanity of standing on guard between the two continents, not inclining to either side, until the finger of God shall point out the time for the peaceful meeting of East and West in the spirit of Christian culture. Russia has done her duty. She has stopped the Mongols and other Tartar hordes from hindering the development of Christendom and civilisation. The Mohammedan world, which so long defied all the efforts of the Crusaders, has not only been stopped in its advance against Christendom, but has been deprived of its power by Russia. What gave Russia strength to fulfil her great task in the history of humanity? Nothing but her individuality and her persistent adherence to the fundamental conditions of her existence—to her independence of Asia and Western Europe. It was only her separate religious existence that saved Russia, between the great Mohammedan Power on the Bosphorus, with the Czars of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea for its allies, and the religious wars and massacres of Western Europe. The most important duty of Russia—one essential to her very existence—is the protection of the Orthodox faith against internal doubts and external attacks. The Western religions in Russia have always been actuated by a mixture of spiritual and secular motives. Catholicism was impregnated with Polonism, and

waged a merciless war against Orthodoxy. It destroyed all Russian elements in the name of the Polish dominion, and led Polish armies under its flag into the heart of Russia. Protestantism, as represented by the Livonian Knights, was equally animated by secular motives. They destroyed all that reminded the people of Catholicism; but they took possession of the country, and incited the Lithuanian and Finnish races against Russia by persecuting Orthodoxy as the symbol of union with Russia. Their descendants still fight for sole dominion in the country, and Protestantism covers, as Catholicism did before, the conflict with the banner of religion. The time for a peaceful co-operation of the Christianity of the East with that of the West has unfortunately not yet arrived, for the Western religions are in Russia still not free from worldly objects, and even from attacks on the integrity of the Empire. Russia cannot allow them to tempt her Orthodox sons to depart from their allegiance, and she therefore continues to protect them by her laws."

Next to M. Pobiedonoscheff, the personage who had the most influence with the Czar at the beginning of the year was Count Tolstoi, the Minister of the Interior. He had just before Christmas submitted to the Imperial Council a proposal to empower the Minister of the Interior to dismiss Protestant clergymen from their parishes in the Baltic provinces without a judicial inquiry. Such a right had not hitherto been possessed even by the Emperor himself, having been vested exclusively in the spiritual or lay tribunals; and great opposition was manifested in the Council to Count Tolstoi's proposal. A majority of twenty-eight (including the Czar's brother, the Grand Duke Alexis) to sixteen rejected it; but the Emperor approved the measure, and it was duly embodied in an ukase. A still more remarkable triumph for Count Tolstoi and the Panslavist party to which he belongs was the appointment of General Bogdanovitch as member of the council of the Ministry of the Interior. This officer, who was one of the chiefs of the Panslavist party, had for some time been staying in Paris, where he had exerted himself to the utmost in bringing about a Franco-Russian alliance. He was the author of the pamphlet entitled "*L'Alliance Franco-Russe et la Coalition Européenne, par un général Russe*," in which he said that a Franco-Russian alliance is "a historical necessity," that the meeting of the Russian and German Emperors at Skierniewice was "a comedy," and that the Czar still detests the Germans "from the bottom of his heart" and "has entire confidence in the Cossack spirit of his people." Shortly after this pamphlet appeared Count Tolstoi recommended its author to the Emperor for the post of member of the council of the Ministry of the Interior, as a recognition of his "patriotic zeal," but Alexander III. not only refused to adopt this recommendation, but dismissed General Bogdanovitch from the service. Count Tolstoi took this rebuff so much to heart that he went on prolonged sick leave,

and great was the joy of the Panslavists when the Czar not only revoked his decision, but gave the General the appointment for which his Minister had recommended him. Shortly after (April 26), General Ignatieff, the celebrated author of the Treaty of San Stefano, was appointed President of the "Slavonic Benevolent Society," a society which, under the cloak of charity, is the most active agent of the Panslavist organisations, and as such played a leading part in producing the "unofficial war" in Servia, the Russo-Turkish war, the risings in Bulgaria, and the fall of Prince Alexander.

The jubilee festival in commemoration of the nine-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Russia took place at Kieff in July. There was a very small attendance of clergymen from other branches of the Orthodox Greek Church; Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece were not represented by any of their ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the only foreign ecclesiastic of high rank who took part in the festival was the Metropolitan of Montenegro. It had been intended to take the opportunity for a great Panslavist demonstration, but in consequence of the meeting between the Emperor William II. and the Czar the plan was abandoned under orders from St. Petersburg. Among the congratulatory addresses read at the festival was one from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

One of the chief measures introduced under the influence of the Panslavist party was an ukase directed against foreign manufacturers in Poland. Ever since 1815 the immigration of foreigners to Poland for commercial and industrial purposes had been greatly favoured by the Government. Various ukases granted subsidies to immigrants, gave them grants of public land selected by themselves, supplied timber for building gratis, exempted them perpetually from military service and from the payment of taxes, and sometimes even ordered grants of money to be made them. The rising industries were also fostered by the establishment of chambers of industry and a bank. The industrial development of Poland was, in consequence, very remarkable, especially in the districts nearest to Germany. Suddenly the policy of seventy-three years was reversed; foreigners were prohibited from acquiring land in any way in Poland and the Baltic provinces, and immigration was thus stopped. Building, except by peasants, within $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile of the frontier was also prohibited, and the owners were not allowed to repair the existing buildings. In two governments alone this order affected 193 factories. Polish industries also suffered by the application of an old law which had never before been enforced in Poland—viz. that forbidding foreign Jews to engage in trade without the consent of three Ministers; and as this permission was systematically refused, foreign Jews were virtually excluded from taking part in the trade and industry of Poland. A still greater danger threatened in the proposed measures for protecting Russian industries against those of Poland. This

would probably be the first time that the protective system has been applied for the purpose of protecting one province against another in the same State. Polish cotton mills were handicapped in their competition with Moscow by imposing a higher duty on raw cotton imported by sea than on that imported by land. The effect was to increase the cost of raw material for the Polish spinners and to decrease it for the Moscow ones, for the former must either pay the higher freight or the higher duty. If they import by Germany they must pay the higher freight, if by sea to Riga or Libau they must pay the higher duty, the Moscow spinners being clear gainers by the arrangement.

On Sept. 5 the Czar and Czarina, with all their children, proceeded on a tour in Southern Russia. They were received with the usual official demonstrations, but according to private accounts from the Caucasus the Russian Government and the Imperial family were viewed there with feelings of anything but attachment; the people were nearly ruined by the excessive taxation, the produce of which mainly went into the pockets of the Russian officials, and further taxes had to be levied to defray the cost of the magnificent festivals given in honour of the Czar. On the return journey the Imperial train, owing, it is said, to the weight of one of the carriages and the unusual speed at which it was going, went off the rails (October 29); the dining saloon, in which the Imperial family were breakfasting, was shattered to pieces, but fortunately its inmates escaped with a few bruises. In the other carriages, however, nineteen persons were killed and eighteen wounded. According to the official report the disaster was not attributable to any criminal motive, but many believed that it was caused by the Nihilists.

Some important changes were introduced during the year in the Russian army. The yearly contingent of recruits was increased from 215,000 to 250,000 men, and the period of service in the regular army was reduced from six years to five. At the same time the service in the reserve was augmented from nine years to thirteen, so that the total period of service was increased from fifteen years to eighteen. The Minister for War, however, had the power to reduce the service with the colours to four years, and this reduction was applied to all the infantry regiments. A further important change was the increase (in November) of the army corps in the western districts of the Empire to two divisions each. As the Kharkof military district was at the same time abolished, this did not make any difference in the total strength of the army; but it considerably increased the force which Russia has available for operations in Europe.

Agrarian affairs caused the Government much anxiety during the year, and the question of the relations between the landowners and the peasants was repeatedly discussed in the Imperial Council, though without any practical result. The consequences of the emancipation of the serfs have not tended either to the pro-

sperity of the Empire or to the moral improvement of the new peasant proprietors. The latter are constantly making new claims upon their former masters, and often revenge themselves by burning down the nobles' houses when their demands are not accepted. The result is that the nobles leave their estates in charge of stewards and settle in the towns, where they endeavour to retrieve their losses by gambling or by taking salaried appointments. As the land allotted to the peasants belongs not to the individual who works on it, but to the commune, no care is taken to employ it to the best advantage; drunkenness has spread to an alarming extent, and the people have become so impoverished that they are unable to pay their taxes. In the Central and Eastern governments the unpaid arrears on this account are from 50 to 142 per cent., and failure to pay taxes has become so general that the Government does not venture to distrain on the peasants' land or goods in order to recover the sums due. With a view to provide a remedy for this state of things Count Tolstoi, the Home Minister, introduced in the Imperial Council on December 23 a proposal for altering the system of local administration in a reactionary sense, but he was opposed by the Minister of Justice and the all-powerful M. Pobiedonoscheff, and no decision on the subject had been arrived at when the year closed.

The opening, on May 27, of the Samarkand section of the Transcaspian Railway—1,000 miles of which had been constructed by General Annenkoff in three years at the comparatively small cost of 43,000,000 roubles—was made the occasion of some remarkable articles in the Russian press on the relations of Russia and England in Central Asia. The following were the remarks made on this subject by M. Vatzlik, a friend of General Annenkoff:—

“No one knows better than the English do that the Russian Colossus, at present encircling Central Asia with one arm, if he wished to stretch that arm a little further, could reach the historical routes to India—namely, the Bamian and Bolan Passes, and with the other arm encircle the whole of Eastern Asia. At the present time the Russo-European system of railroads in the direction of Asia has four terminal points—Tumen, Orenburg, Baku, and Samarkand. The Russo-Persian system of railways will undoubtedly be extended to the Persian Gulf, and its connection at one of the stations of the Transcaspian Railway with the railway system of India is anxiously expected. The construction of the Transcaspian Railway in the space of three years at an expenditure of 43,000,000 roubles is a colossal enterprise, as regards both its civilising and its political effects. This enterprise seizes upon the vital threads of the power of England; it connects at once all the trade-routes converging in the Black Sea with the Caspian by means of one line of railway. From Baku there is direct water communication with Usun Ada; and at that point the Transcaspian Railway connects the trade-routes

above mentioned with the East, *via* Askhabad, Merv, and the ancient Oxus or Amoo Daria. This great enterprise, called into existence, it is true, by military requirements, has been carried out by purely pacific means, and secures for Russia supremacy in Asia, and the success of her military enterprises in that region. And the Transcaspian Railway not only fully secures in technical and political respects the re-establishment of the historical routes between the West and East; it also affords the means of rapidly transporting Russian troops into the heart of Central Asia in case our vital interests are menaced in that quarter. Russia must use every effort to convert this railway into an actual Central Asian line and to bring about its connection with the Indian railway lines. If this is not done England will exert every muscle to paralyse the execution of the project. The existence of the railway will likewise in the future exercise a beneficial influence on the political condition of Bokhara, Afghanistan, Persia, and India. There is no reason henceforth to fear any attempt at hostilities from that side. At the present time Russia has at her disposal a very considerable armed force in Central Asia, in case the necessity should arise for advancing against an enemy. At Askhabad, Merv, Sarakhs, Penjdeh, Chardjui, and Kerki, in the direction of India, Afghanistan, or Persia, reserves and supplies can be stored and rapidly pushed on from all sides. Thus in a comparatively short space of time an army of 100,000 men could be concentrated at the scene of action. The construction of the Transcaspian Railway will also tend to a large development of Russian trade with Central Asia. . . . It is, however, necessary that the Russian Government should take energetic measures to protect the railway from the pretensions of the English, who are doing all in their power to extend their commercial relations in the possessions of the Shah, under the pretext of exploiting the mineral wealth of Iran; the real object being to obtain the concession for the construction of an extensive railway system in Persia, and ultimately to establish a powerful competition against the Transcaspian Railway and to draw to the side of the English the inhabitants of Khorasan."

General Soboleff, formerly the Russian Prime Minister in Bulgaria, at the same time took the opportunity of suggesting the possibility of a "Russo-Indian Empire." The time will very soon come, he said in an article in the monthly periodical *Russkaya Starina*, when the Hindoo Koosh will be the frontier of the Central Asian possessions of Russia, and Herat become Russian territory. The English will then occupy Cabul and Candahar; and the two rivals will face each other armed to the teeth. But such a state of things cannot last. "By the end of this century the population of Russia will have increased to 180,000,000; the Russian army, and its means of concentration and transport, will have increased in proportion. To prevent an invasion the Anglo-Indian army will then have to be increased to 500,000

men, which would cause a yearly deficit in the Indian treasury of at least 30,000,000*l*. And that army must always be in India, for, in view of the possibility of a rapid march of the Russians from Herat to Candahar and from Balkh to Cabul, it would be dangerous for the English to wait for reinforcements from England." Under these circumstances, the General concludes, the best solution of the question, both for Russia and for England, would be for the two Powers to enter into an understanding that Russia should be left free to pursue her policy in Eastern Europe, in return for which she would engage not to attack England in India. The exultation of the Russians at the success of their policy in Central Asia was, however, brought to a sudden check by the news that Sir Henry Wolff, the new British Minister to Persia, had induced the Shah to open the Karum river to British merchant vessels and to refuse to admit a Russian consul at Meshed. Both Northern and Southern Persia, it was stated at St. Petersburg, had fallen completely under the power of the British Minister, and his success was regarded as a national disaster only to be compared with the failure of the first expedition against the Turcomans. Vigorous representations were made by M. de Giers at Teheran, the result of which was that in December the Shah yielded on the question of the Russian consul, and issued a decree under which the Karum river was opened to merchant ships of all nations.

In the Bulgarian question, as will be seen from the narrative under that head at page 30, the Russian Government continued to use every effort to remove Prince Ferdinand by diplomatic means, but did not attempt to use violence when these means proved unsuccessful. "*La Russie se recueille*" was now its motto, as it had been after the Crimean war. The possession of the Dardanelles has become a more important object for Russia than ever, now that she is developing the mineral and agricultural treasures of her provinces to the east of the Black Sea, for, in the event of a war, Germany would probably not be so complaisant to her as Prussia was during the Crimean war, and the Dardanelles would then be the only outlet for her trade. There was a good deal of mutual irritation between Germany and Russia during the first half of the year in consequence of the high duties imposed by the two Governments on goods exported across the Russo-German frontier, but, singularly enough, the publication of the Diary of the Emperor Frederick produced quite a revolution in the public mind of Russia to the advantage of Germany. Prince Bismarck was now looked upon as the man who had overcome the English influence at the German Court, which, according to the Russians, had endeavoured to involve Germany in a war with Russia. The more friendly feeling towards Germany was further strengthened by the meeting of the German and Russian Emperors; but the subsequent visits of the Emperor William II. to Vienna and Rome, and the bitter attacks on Russia

which appeared in the German press, again produced a tension which continued to the end of the year. In other respects, too, the foreign policy of Russia cannot be said to have been marked by any great successes. The negotiations with the Vatican for a *modus vivendi* between the Russian and Roman Churches did not produce any result, and the increasing arrears of the war indemnity due by the Porte to Russia, though they afford Russia a convenient means of putting pressure on the Ottoman Government, had reached a sum (800,000*l.*) which would have been very welcome to the Russian Finance Minister, but for the payment of which no satisfactory arrangement could be obtained from the Porte.

II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

At the beginning of the year Bulgaria continued to be the centre of political interest in the European East. Another plot in that country of conspiracies was discovered early in January; the ringleaders were killed or captured, however, before they could do any mischief. The chief, Nabokoff, was formerly a captain in the Russian army, and had made an attempt on the life of Prince Alexander in May 1886, when he escaped punishment owing to his being a Russian subject. From the papers found on him and the other conspirators, it appeared that the funds for the conspiracy had been supplied by the Panslavist Committees at Moscow and Odessa. The rising was speedily put down by the Bulgarian troops, and Nabokoff was killed as he was leading on his men against them. On Jan. 23, Prince Ferdinand started with his mother for a second tour in his dominions. He was accompanied by the "King-maker," M. Stambouloff, whose presence assured the Prince a good reception, but the people generally showed as much indifference at the sight of their new ruler as they had done in the previous year, and cries of "Long live Alexander!" were still heard in some of the more remote villages. The Prince had scarcely returned to Sofia when Russia began to negotiate with the Powers, in order to induce them to declare officially that the occupation by Prince Ferdinand of the Bulgarian throne is contrary to the Treaty of Berlin. To this, however, Austria, England, and Italy objected; and Russia then demanded of the Porte, as the suzerain Power, a proclamation to the effect that the presence at Sofia of Prince Ferdinand was illegal. This demand was supported by Germany and France, but not by Austria, England, or Italy, who held that before any such step were taken, Russia should state what course she would adopt in the event of Prince Ferdinand's abdication. On March 5, however, the Grand Vizier sent a telegram to M. Stambouloff, repeating his previous declaration of Aug. 22, 1887, that "the presence of Prince Ferdinand at the head of the Principality is illegal, and contrary to the Treaty of Berlin." Upon this, a Council of Ministers was held at Sofia, and the Bulgarian

Government decided not to send any reply to the telegram. Meanwhile the Porte, acting on the instigation of the Russian Ambassador, inflicted a severe blow on Bulgarian trade by imposing an *ad valorem* duty of 8 per cent. on all goods exported from Bulgaria into Turkey. This was ostensibly an act of retaliation for the duties levied by Bulgaria on Turkish goods; but the latter, such as wine, fish, caviare, oil, and sweetmeats, represent a much smaller value than the exports from Bulgaria, and especially from the fertile districts of Eastern Roumelia, whose prosperity is entirely dependent on their foreign trade, and which have no outlet for their produce except through Turkey. The Bulgarian Government now again had recourse to its old expedient of threatening the Porte with a rising in Macedonia, but the device was too stale to impose on the sagacious politicians of Constantinople. Macedonia is a compound of nationalities in which the Bulgarians are by no means predominant. There are the Greeks, who are nearly as numerous and quite as influential, and the Roumanians, forming a third nationality as important as either of the two others; and any attempt at a Bulgarian rising would be certainly resisted by the majority of the population in Macedonia as well as by its Turkish rulers. But the alarming reports spread on the subject proved as groundless as they had previously been, and Prince Ferdinand occupied himself during the rest of the year in consolidating his position without any further disturbance by his opponents, either at home or abroad. The prosecution of his confidant, Major Popoff, for embezzlement, caused the retirement of MM. Stoiloff and Nacevitch from the Ministry, and produced some estrangement between the Prince and the all-powerful M. Stambouloff, who was believed to have instituted the prosecution because the Prince had endeavoured, through Major Popoff, to secure a personal following in the army. Major Popoff's sentence, however, was remitted, the vacancies in the Ministry were filled by supporters of M. Stambouloff, and the crisis was at an end.

Bulgaria's next neighbours, Roumania and Servia, were this year in a very disturbed state. At the beginning of the year Roumania was in the throes of a general election. The question at issue was a momentous one, for it involved the maintenance in power of the Bratiano Government, which since 1876 had preserved order in the country, and had supported the pacific policy of Austria and Germany, while the Opposition loudly proclaimed its sympathy for Russia and France. The Government was the representative of the National Liberal party, the supporters of the King and the Constitution, and, at the same time, of moderate reform; while the Opposition, led by Flevas, the late Mayor of Bucharest, was a combination of Radicals and unbending Conservatives of the old boyard class. These had agitated so violently against the Government, that M. Bratiano, in order to disarm the agitation, had considered it necessary to appeal to the people.

Each electoral district is divided into three curiæ—the first two consisting of landowners and householders, and the third mostly of peasants, who if they cannot read or write have to vote through substitutes; and notwithstanding the efforts of the Opposition and the Russian Minister, M. Hitrovo, to gain over this numerous class of the population, the Government obtained a majority of 126 to 57. This, however, was not sufficient for M. Bratiano, who had expected that the country would show its disbelief of the charge of corruption that had been made against him by giving him a more triumphant majority; and he accordingly resigned. The King then attempted to form a Coalition Ministry, but without success, and ultimately M. Bratiano reconstructed his Cabinet, retaining most of the former members of it (March 18). The new Cabinet was received in the Chamber with the same insults as its predecessor, and the state of affairs became so menacing that on March 21 the King proceeded to Vienna, on his way to the late Emperor William's funeral at Berlin, to consult the Austrian Government as to what should be done to avert a catastrophe. A series of riots at Bucharest followed, in which revolvers were fired at deputies standing in the court of the Parliament-house, and one of the doorkeepers of the Chamber was killed. On the King's return some of the deputies of the Opposition proceeded to the palace to urge the King to form a new Ministry; and it became evident that so long as M. Bratiano (who, though his personal honesty was unimpeached, had allowed himself to be surrounded by men of doubtful character) remained in office there would be no peace in the country. Moreover, the "Junimists," or Young Conservatives, who were the ablest and most influential members of the Opposition, had openly separated themselves from the Russian party, and declared themselves adherents of the Austro-German alliance. Under these circumstances the King yielded, and a Coalition Cabinet of Old and Young Conservatives was formed, with M. Rosetti, who belonged to the latter party, as Premier (April 8). The leading spirit of the new Cabinet was the Foreign Minister, M. Carp, who was for some time Roumanian Minister at Vienna. The new Ministers were on the whole well received by the Chamber, but scarcely had they assumed office when the news arrived of risings of the peasants in various parts of the country. These risings were mainly caused by the distress produced among the agricultural population by the failure of the maize harvest and the severe winter, though there is reason to believe that the discontent arising from this cause was heightened by agitators in the pay of Prince Couza, the adopted son of the late Hospodar, and of the Russian Pan Slavists. Several of the landowners and prefects were killed, and the insurgents demanded fresh grants of land to the peasants, whom they represented as being unable to live on the small plots allotted to them in the distribution of 1864. The rising was with some difficulty put down by the troops, and large quantities of grain were distributed

among the starving peasantry under military supervision. Meanwhile a trial took place at Bucharest, which showed that the charges of corruption which had been the causes of the fall of the Brătianu Ministry were not without foundation, for it disclosed a system of bribery on a large scale which had prevailed in the Roumanian War Office and Admiralty. The new Ministry, however, though free from reproach in this respect, did not succeed in restoring the order and tranquillity which had prevailed under its predecessor. All the officials, from the highest to the lowest, were changed, and those who had lost their places formed an element of discontent and disturbance which took every opportunity of showing its hostility to the Government. Even the King was violently attacked in pamphlets which were circulated all over the country, and Prince Couza was openly put forward as a candidate for the throne in the place of the Hohenzollern Prince, who was represented as placing the interests of a foreign State and a foreign Church above those of the Orthodox Roumanians.

A crisis seemed again to be imminent, and the Ministry found it necessary, in order to clear the political atmosphere, to dissolve the Chambers, and proceed to another general election. The Ministerial programme comprised a thorough reform of the Administration, the sale of the Crown lands to the peasantry on easy terms, and an amendment of the factory laws. The National Liberal party, on the other hand, demanded an increase of the armaments and a Protectionist tariff; while the Radicals (who, as above stated, had seceded from the "Junimists" when the latter entered the Ministry) advocated the dethronement of the King and an alliance with Russia. Of these three parties, the National Liberal was the most pronounced supporter of the dynasty and of the alliance with Austria and Germany; the "Junimist" or Ministerial party, which was greatly dependent on the support of the Conservatives, though both its home and its foreign policy had practically been the same as that of its National Liberal predecessors, preferred to keep silence on these points, as its Conservative allies had shown a tendency to favour Prince Couza and Russia. The elections took place at the end of October, and their result showed how great is the influence which in a politically undeveloped country like Roumania the Government exercises on such occasions. The National Liberal party, which at the spring elections had obtained 126 seats, was now reduced to barely twenty, and the Radicals numbered twenty-five more. But in the so-called Government party there were only fifty "Junimists"; the remaining eighty were Conservatives, and in the election of a President of the Senate the Conservative candidate, General Florescu, an old opponent of the dynasty, obtained a majority of votes against the Government candidate, M. Kretzulescu, formerly Roumanian Minister at St. Petersburg. This trial of strength made it necessary to reconstruct the Ministry by the

appointment of three influential Conservative Ministers, M. Ver-nescu, General Manu, and M. Lahovary; but such a compromise could not satisfy the Conservatives, and the split between them and the Junimists daily grew wider. The position of affairs at the end of the year was full of danger: the revolutionary party, in presence of the weakness of the Government, pursued its agitation with impunity, and the spread of Socialistic doctrines among the peasantry seemed to be preparing the way for a new agrarian rising of much more formidable dimensions than the previous one.

In Serbia, as in Bulgaria, the year began with preparations for a general election, the King having ascertained that the Liberals would prevent the voting of the Budget by leaving the House, as the remaining members were not sufficient to form a quorum. The result of the election, which was declared on March 6, showed an overwhelming majority for the Government, which obtained 133 seats, while the Liberals won fifteen only, and the remaining seven seats were occupied by men of no political colour. The King thus gained his object, but in the following month he came into conflict with his Ministry and the Radical majority on a question of military organization. Under the existing system every Servian capable of bearing arms had to undergo a military training of two years. The Premier, General Gruitch, proposed that only a small portion of the nation, to be called the "active army," should undergo this training, and that the remainder should form a "national militia," which would only be trained for four months yearly, and occasionally on Sundays. This scheme was referred to a commission of commanding officers of divisions, who unanimously reported against it. Notwithstanding this, the Premier introduced his proposal in the Skouptchina, which accepted it with amendments tending still further to reduce the strength of the army. The King, however, refused to sanction the new Army Bill (April 27), upon which the Ministry resigned, and M. Cristitch, the "Iron Minister," who is always called in when party government in Serbia becomes impossible, was appointed Premier, with Ministers belonging to the Progressist party, of which M. Garaschanin is the leader. The first act of the new Cabinet was again to dissolve the Skouptchina; and while the necessary preparations were being made, documents were seized by the Belgrade police (May 18) which proved that a conspiracy, in which a number of officers of the army were implicated, had been formed to dethrone King Milan and proclaim Prince Karageorgievitch, the son-in-law of the Prince of Montenegro, and a *protégé* of Russia, King in his stead. A number of arrests were made, and the revolutionary movement was for the moment checked; but the King, who was still estranged from his wife (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1877, p. 269), thought it prudent not to allow her to return to Belgrade from Wiesbaden, where she was staying with her son. He had for some time wished to be

divorced from her, but this step had always been opposed by his Ministers. M. Cristitch, however, consented to apply for a divorce to the Synod of Belgrade; the Queen's son was taken from her and joined his father (July 14), and, after much negotiation and opposition on her part, the divorce was pronounced on the ground of "unconquerable mutual aversion, and danger to the Servian State" (Oct. 24). Two days after the King issued a proclamation, declaring the necessity for a new Constitution to prevent the evils caused by party strife, and fixing the elections for Dec. 2. A Special Commission for revising the Constitution, composed of twenty Radicals, twenty Progressists, twenty Liberals, and ten members chosen by the King, was at the same time appointed, with the King as President, and the three party leaders, MM. Ristitch, Garashanin, and Gruitch, as Vice-Presidents. The draft of the new Constitution was published on Nov. 30. It provided for individual liberty and freedom of the press, placed all religious sects on an equal footing, granted the suffrage to all men paying 15 francs a year in taxes, rendered all classes of the community eligible to serve as deputies, and established only one Chamber, three-fourths of whose members were to be elected, and the remainder to be councillors of state, bishops, judges, and retired generals. The King was also to be left the prerogative of declaring war or making peace, and of summoning the Skouptchina at his pleasure. The result of the elections was that though the Government, at the King's express desire, did not this time interfere in them, the Radicals again came in with a decisive majority. The position was extremely critical, as it was known that the Radicals did not approve of certain points in the Constitution, especially those which gave the King the right of declaring war or making peace. After some hesitation the King yielded this important point, but there still remained the provision that all classes should be eligible to serve as deputies. As hitherto members of the professions, such as lawyers, physicians, &c., were disqualified, this provision was very distasteful to the Radical party, which was almost entirely recruited from the peasant class. The King, however, was determined no longer to leave his Ministers at the mercy of a Parliament mainly composed of illiterate peasants, though he waived his original demand that the Skouptchina should at once divide on the proposed Constitution. Accordingly, when the Skouptchina met on Dec. 30, a committee of fifty-four members, consisting of forty-four Radicals and ten Liberals, was appointed to examine the Bill. The question was not settled at the end of the year, and great uncertainty prevailed as to the result.

In Greece there were great rejoicings at the news of the betrothal of the Crown Prince, the Duke of Sparta, to the Princess Sophia, sister of the German Emperor, it being hoped that this alliance with the most powerful reigning House in Europe would have the effect of also strengthening the political relations

between Germany and Greece. This was the more desirable as serious differences had broken out between Greece and Turkey on account of the disturbed condition of Macedonia, which was attributed chiefly to the intrigues of M. Panorias, the Greek consul at Monastir. Rifaat Pasha, the new Governor-General of Macedonia, in his attempts to put down brigandage in that province, discovered that many of the brigands were the agents of a political agitation whose head-quarters was the town of Monastir, where there was a secret society composed of a number of Greek schoolmasters, monks, bankers, and merchants. Some documents were found which gravely compromised the chief ecclesiastical authorities and the consul. These documents were published in the newspapers; upon which the Porte demanded from Greece that M. Panorias should be recalled. This the Greek Government refused to do, alleging that the documents in question were forged; but the energetic intervention of England, Austria, and Italy prevented the affair from having any further consequences.

The declaration of the Italian Government that it had taken possession of Massowah and Zula led to a further postponement of the acceptance by Turkey of the Suez Canal Convention. In a circular note, dated Aug. 14, the Porte protested against this declaration as being an infringement of its sovereign rights, which it held were expressly secured by Article 10 of the Convention. Italy demurred to this reading of the Convention, and was supported by England and France, who, however, made a concession in regard to the International Commission of Supervision by accepting the Porte's proposal that an Ottoman Commissioner, specially appointed by the Porte for that purpose, should preside at the stipulated annual meeting of the Commission, on the condition that every other meeting should be presided over by the senior member of the consular corps in Egypt. With this and a few other modifications of minor importance, the Convention was signed on Oct. 29, and the ratifications were exchanged at the end of the year. The only other important international questions in which Turkey was concerned were the construction of fortifications near the Persian frontier and the new Patent Laws. As to the first point, the British Ambassador, Sir William White, insisted upon the works being discontinued, as they were a menace to the British steamers running on the Tigris; and his demand was, after some hesitation, complied with. The introduction of the Patent Laws had already been accepted in principle by the Powers, but they demanded that the revenue obtained from patents should be placed under the control of European delegates; and Sir William White further required that the tax on patents should be applied to all foreign subjects without exception, that any reservation granted to others should be also extended to British subjects, and that the British consular authorities should have the right to intervene if British subjects

should have cause to complain of the application of the new laws. These demands were also accepted by the Porte.

The completion of the Eastern railways, placing Constantinople in direct railway communication with Calais, was certainly the most momentous event of the year in Eastern Europe. This measure had been decided upon by the Berlin Congress; but nothing was done until 1883, when the *Conférence à Quatre*, composed of delegates from Turkey, Austria-Hungary, Servia, and Bulgaria agreed upon a plan of operations, which, however, owing to money difficulties and international jealousies, took five years to carry out. The facilities now given for rapid communication between the west and the extreme east of Europe cannot fail greatly to stimulate trade and to break down the barriers to the progress of civilisation arising from differences of nationality, customs, and creed.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM. II. NETHERLANDS. III. SWITZERLAND. IV. DENMARK
V. NORWAY. VI. SWEDEN. VII. SPAIN. VIII. PORTUGAL.

I. BELGIUM.

THE renewal of one-half of the Chamber of Representatives was the chief event of the year. It will be remembered that the overthrow of the Liberal party in 1884 had been brought about by a sudden and complete change of political opinion in Brussels. The Belgian capital, which up to that time had always hitherto returned Liberal representatives and senators, in that year elected a list exclusively composed of so-called Independents, but who in everything but name belonged to the Catholic party. Scarcely had three weeks elapsed when the same electoral body of Brussels, on the occasion of new elections for the Senate, by a revulsion of opinion, gave a majority to the Liberal candidates; and since then at every bye-election, occasioned by death or resignation, the Liberals have always defeated their adversaries.

Much curiosity and some anxiety were therefore shown as to the attitude the electoral body would adopt when, as was the case this year, all the representatives for Brussels had to offer themselves for re-election. The balance of probability was in favour of the Liberals, who, as was well known, had a majority of more than 2,000 electors over the Catholics on the register. But the dissensions which for some years had convulsed the Liberal party, brought about by the Radical policy of the Extreme Left, increased in bitterness during the year, and finally resulted in a complete separation of the Radical group from

the rest of the Liberal party. Incessant but fruitless efforts were made by the leaders of the Moderate party to bring about an understanding with the Radicals; the latter, under the guidance of M. Jansen and more especially of M. Féron, the real leader of this group, categorically refused every conciliatory offer. The last proposition made by the Moderate Liberals, in view of the approaching elections, was that the two groups should unite their forces and present a single list of candidates, chosen from all sections of the Liberal party, proportionately to the number of their respective adherents. To this compromise the Radicals refused to consent, and insisted on presenting their own list of candidates. The Moderate Liberals thereupon did likewise. The result was, that while the Catholics unanimously voted for their single list, the divided Liberals scattered their votes upon two lists. The first polling showed no decisive results, none of the candidates having obtained an absolute majority, and a fresh election was consequently necessary. Again the Radicals could not be prevailed upon to unite with the Moderates against their common enemy, the Catholics; and their own candidates having withdrawn, the greater number abstained from taking any part in the poll, whilst several went so far as to vote for the Catholics. The result was that, in the avowedly Liberal city of Brussels, the Catholics were returned by a majority of about 200.

This conduct of the Radicals aroused the utmost indignation of the whole of the Liberal party; but this in no way modified their conduct, as was proved in a subsequent partial election at Brussels, when the Radicals repeated their former policy, and thereby ensured the victory of the Catholic candidate.

In the rest of the country, the polling resulted, though in a less degree, in favour of the Catholics, who carried two new seats, thereby raising their majority to 60 in the Chamber of Representatives, composed of 188 members. In the Senate they had a majority of 19 out of a total of 69 members.

The triumph of the Catholic party had, however, been pre-saged a few weeks before the general elections by the result of the provincial elections throughout the whole country, when the Liberals had been almost everywhere defeated, although by far less important majorities than in previous years.

The Liberals, however, did not lose heart, but on the contrary found comfort in the discovery that, in spite of the crushing majority their opponents could muster in both Chambers, the Catholic party seemed to be losing ground, since at each election the number of Catholic electors going to the poll was steadily diminishing.

Apart from these electoral struggles, the most important question that occupied public opinion was that relating to the defence of the country. In the previous year a very considerable sum had been voted by the Chambers in view of fortifying

the strategically important valley of the Meuse. Further large sums were voted in the present year for the same object, and the projected works were begun and energetically pushed forward. But in military affairs the essential point was that of personal service with the colours. The adoption of this system would not only numerically increase the Belgian army, but it would greatly raise its social and professional standard. Unfortunately this measure, which the Liberal party has unanimously supported and the working classes have earnestly demanded, has been as strenuously opposed by the immense majority of the Catholic party. Although of the most vital interest to the country, this question constitutes a very bad electoral platform, and, almost exclusively on electoral considerations, the Catholics opposed its being put forward. Public opinion, however, has ripened much on this point, and at the next election it will probably play an important part. For some time a certain excitement was created by the persistence with which a number of French journals asserted that the Belgian treaty of neutrality had been violated by the King and his Government, adding that secret arrangements had been made between Belgium and Germany, and that Belgium had up to a certain measure notified her adhesion to the Triple Alliance. The emotion created by these repeated rumours was only calmed when, in answer to an interpellation on the subject, the Minister of Foreign Affairs publicly declared that Belgium strictly fulfilled all the duties that her neutrality imposed upon her, and that no treaty of any kind had been concluded with any neighbouring nation.

The question of the national languages was warmly discussed throughout the country. The Belgian population, composed of two distinct races, in about equal numbers, the Flemings and the Walloons, had hitherto recognised French as the only official language. During the last few years, however, the Flemish populations have organised an energetic movement in favour of their language, and towards the close of the year a representative of Antwerp brought forward a Bill for recognising in the Flemish provinces the official language in everything appertaining to criminal procedure. The Bill was opposed with great vigour by all the representatives of the Walloon part of the country, the Catholics on this occasion uniting with the Liberals. The Walloons argued, and not without reason, that this Flemish movement, which had already attained very large proportions, would at last bring about a complete disunion of the two races; and they supported their view by references to the often exaggerated claims of the Flemish, which had already excited the jealousy of the Walloons. The Bill was nevertheless passed by both Chambers, and before the close of the year became law.

A slight Ministerial change took place in the course of the year; M. de Moreau, Minister of Agriculture and Public Works, who had displayed but little capacity, resigned his post, and was

replaced by M. de Bruyn, one of the most distinguished members of the Catholic party.

The Budget for 1889, as presented by the Minister of Finance, was most favourable, and showed a surplus of 14,000,000 frs.

II. THE NETHERLANDS.

Early in the year, and for the first time since the revision of the electoral laws, the constituencies were appealed to to return representatives to both Chambers. An essential feature of the new law, as previously explained, was the requirement of social position or intellectual capacity in addition to the payment of certain taxes. The representatives were also increased in both Chambers, from 86 to 100 for the Second Chamber, and from 39 to 50 for the Upper or First Chamber.

The electoral contest between the Liberals on the one hand and a coalition composed of the Catholics and the ultra-Protestants on the other proved a severe one. The electoral programme of the Conservative party included denominational education and the establishment of a Protectionist tariff. The abolition of all sectarian teaching in public schools was eagerly demanded by the Liberals, who further desired to modify certain features of the new military organisation, and asserted the doctrine of Free Trade.

The result of the elections was remarkable and inconclusive, inasmuch as the Conservatives obtained a small majority in the Second Chamber, whilst the victory of the Liberals in the First Chamber was complete. The more popular body was composed of 45 Liberals, 26 Catholics, 27 ultra-Protestants, 1 Conservative, and 1 Socialist—namely, Domela Nieuwenhuys, the leader of the party; whilst the First Chamber comprised 34 Liberals, 10 Catholics, and 6 Conservatives or ultra-Protestants.

As soon as the result of the elections was made known the Ministry resigned, considering that they had accomplished their special mission by the revision of the electoral laws and the establishment of the eventual order of succession to the throne.

The King at once confided to Baron Mackay, an anti-Liberal, the task of forming a new Ministry, and after short negotiations it was constituted as follows:—Baron Mackay, President of the Council and Minister of Interior; M. Ruiz, Justice; M. Godin de Beauffort, Finance; M. Hartsen, Foreign Affairs; M. Keneenis, Colonies; Colonel Bergamsius, War; Captain Vyserinck, Marine; and M. Havelaar, Public Works. Moreover, and in spite of the Liberal majority in the First Chamber, the King chose as President of that body M. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, whose anti-Liberal views were well known.

At the opening of the Parliamentary session Baron Mackay, speaking in the name of the King, explained the intentions of the new Ministry. He assured the anti-Liberals that he would

energetically uphold their views on the Education question, adding that the Government were trying, within the limits marked by the Constitution, to remove the difficulties which stood in the way of the development of free and denominational teaching. Besides this, the Government promised to study most carefully the social question, which, as was shown by the events of previous years, had acquired a very considerable importance.

The declining state of the King's health, however, occupied public attention more than any question of party politics. In the preceding year (1887) the Chambers voted a law establishing the order of succession to the throne in case there should be no direct heir, now existing in the person of the Princess Wilhelmine, only nine years of age. It was therefore necessary to designate the persons who would be called to exercise guardianship over the young Princess, and this, according to Art. 32 of the Constitution, could only be done by direct legislation. The two Chambers were therefore called together, and after some deliberation enacted that Queen Emma should act as guardian of the Princess during her minority, and that she should be assisted by a council, composed of four members to be chosen by the King, and five high dignitaries of the country—namely, the Vice-President and the oldest member of the Council of State, the President of the Court of Accounts (the Auditor-General), and the President and another member of the High Court of Justice. To this council the names of all persons selected for the education of the Princess will have to be submitted, as well as each application for permission for the Princess to leave the country.

This settlement, however, related only to Holland, and not to the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg, which, according to the law of succession, would be governed on the King's death by Duke Adolphus of Nassau, who had been dispossessed of his throne by Prussia in 1866. In the course of the present year, therefore, the Duke officially reconciled himself with the House of the Hohenzollerns, during a visit he paid Emperor William II. at Mainau; and it was anticipated that German influence would be all-powerful in the Grand-Duchy as soon as it passed under the administration of the Duke of Nassau.

It must not be forgotten that King William III. himself had been for a long time accustoming the populations of the Grand-Duchy to the idea that they would some day be governed by a German Prince. For example, not many years back he dismissed the Conservative Blockhausen Cabinet, whose hostility against German influence and sympathy for France were well known. The Thilges Ministry which followed, without making any open declaration of its leanings, was nevertheless very favourable to German influence. In the course of the present year M. Thilges resigned, and was succeeded by M. Eyschen, formerly diplomatic Minister of the Grand-Duchy at Berlin, who openly avowed his

sympathy for Germany, and who was regarded as a *persona grata* at Berlin. However, a very important political party, composed of the Conservatives, headed by M. de Blockhausen, and supported by the ultra-Catholics, strongly opposed the German tendencies of the Cabinet.

Although the troubles which had marked the course of 1887 were not repeated during the year, the Socialists have not remained inactive, and the progress of their ideas in the ranks of the army caused much uneasiness to the military authorities, who were forced to resort to severe measures, and in many cases to transfer regiments to other garrisons.

At Atchin the situation was not yet quite satisfactory, for in July there broke out a rebellion which caused the loss of several European lives. Order was soon re-established, thanks to the energetic measures taken by the Colonial Government; but some uneasiness and anxiety still prevailed up to the close of the year.

The Budget for 1889 disclosed for the preceding year a deficit of about 18,000,000 florins; whilst the credits demanded for the defence of the country exceeded by over 2,000,000 those voted in the previous year.

III. SWITZERLAND.

At the beginning of the year a rather serious misunderstanding between the Swiss and German Governments arose out of the question of the right of asylum. It had long been notorious that Germany, Russia, France, and other Powers had in Switzerland salaried agents of their secret police, whose mission was to inform their respective Governments of the doings of their political refugees in Switzerland, principally Socialists and Anarchists. In order to fulfil their mission as completely as possible, these agents resorted to all the means in their power, so as to penetrate into the very midst of the people they were to watch, and one of their favourite practices was to present themselves as refugees expelled from their country on account of their political opinions. By this pretext they frequently deceived their fellow-countrymen and became acquainted with the secrets and intentions of the revolutionists. In view of more rapidly gaining credence, these agents were generally the most violent of all the Anarchists in their discourses; they even went so far as to organise Anarchistic plots. Their example was readily followed by their friends, and was in several cases the cause of the excesses of language that were to be found in the Socialist and Anarchist publications. The speakers and writers were thereupon brought before the Swiss courts, followed by their expulsion from Switzerland, or their surrender into the hands of their respective Governments. The presence of these *agents-provocateurs* caused great annoyance to the Swiss Government, which resented the existence on the Swiss territory of a foreign police, ready to

resort to means dangerous alike to public order and security and the good reputation of the country. At Zurich the German Socialists, finding that their secrets had been betrayed and suspecting some of their own body, decided to make search, the result of which was the discovery that two of their pretended associates, Schroeder and Haupt, were discovered to be German emissaries. The fact having been proved beyond all doubt, they gave information to the police of Zurich, whose chief, Captain Fischer, made an independent inquiry, which fully confirmed the charge. Instead, however, of awaiting the legal results of his report, Captain Fischer committed the serious indiscretion of confiding the whole affair to two German Socialist deputies, informing them of the relations between Schroeder and Haupt and the German police on the one hand, and of the German Socialists and Anarchists on the other. This revelation caused a great sensation in German official circles, and the German Minister of Interior, Herr von Puttkamer, in bringing the affair before the Reichstag, expressed in severe terms his astonishment that an agent of the Swiss Government should have allowed himself to inform two strangers of facts of such gravity before any official solution had been given to the case. The result was the exchange of several bitter diplomatic notes between the two countries; and finally, although Captain Fischer was officially blamed for his conduct, he was not dismissed from his post, as Germany had demanded; whilst, in spite of the protests of the German Government, the two *agents-provocateurs* who had been the cause of the whole incident were prosecuted for attempts to disturb public peace, and finally Schroeder was expelled from Swiss territory.

This incident decided the Federal Council to organise on an improved footing its political police. M. Droz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that Switzerland would continue to give and ensure the right of asylum to peaceful strangers, but would on no account allow Anarchists and salaried agents of the German police to imperil the security of the country. He added that Switzerland was firmly resolved to prove that democratic institutions were perfectly compatible with the strict observance of international obligations. He concluded by demanding a credit of 20,000 frs. for the reorganisation of the Federal political police; a demand which was unanimously granted by the Federal Chambers.

Quite at the close of the year another dispute, although of less importance, cropped up between the Governments of Switzerland and Germany, arising out of the use of a high road on the Swiss frontier, but momentarily passing over the territory of Alsace. Two villages in the canton of Berne were almost exclusively interested in the maintenance of this highway, which until quite lately could be used for the transport of goods. During the autumn, however, the German frontier customs office

was suppressed, and the road between the villages could no longer be used for commercial purposes. In other words, one Swiss village was shut out from all direct dealings with the rest of its canton because the road uniting it therewith ran for a little way on German territory. But, according to a convention made in 1828 between France and the Swiss Confederation relative to the Alsatian frontier, and which continued to be binding on Germany, by which the treaty had been neither denounced nor abrogated, this road was to be regarded as international. The Government of the canton of Berne, therefore, requested the Federal Council to remonstrate to the German Government, in order to re-establish things on their previous footing; but up to the end of the year no solution had been arrived at, and the general opinion in Switzerland was that Germany would take no account of the Swiss protest.

The protracted discussion between Switzerland and the Holy See respecting the diocese of Tessin was at length brought to a close. The canton will in future be united to the diocese of Bâle, and administered by an apostolic dignitary who will be authorised to exercise episcopal functions. This convention was adopted by the Federal Chambers by 97 against 8. At the demand of the Radicals, the Federal Council inserted in the project of law a clause formally reserving the rights of the State with regard to the nomination of the Vicar-General of Tessin by the Pope. This clause was the cause of long and animated discussion in the Federal Chambers, and was finally only agreed to by 57 against 53.

Under the Radical administration of M. Carteret, the Government of the canton of Geneva decided some years ago to establish a Liberal Catholic Church, of which the ministers were to be salaried by the State. The attempt, however, proved a signal failure, as in all the Catholic parishes the population remained firmly attached to the Roman Catholic Church, and absolutely no one frequented the newly-established churches. In the course of the year three of these endowed priests offered to resign their functions, on condition that the Government should pay them two whole years' salary. This proposal was accepted; but when the populations thereupon requested the suppression of the three now useless parishes M. Carteret refused, under pretence that the number of parishes being established by law could not be diminished without special legislation. The Superior Council of the Liberal Catholic Church also formally protested against a reduction of the number of parishes, and it was this act that principally decided the Council of Geneva not to suppress them. Public opinion was not a little astonished to see, after fifteen years of *Culturkampf*, the civil authorities submitting themselves to the decision of ecclesiastical powers which they themselves had created.

The important question of the defence of the country con-

tinued to occupy public attention during the year. The majority of the Swiss officers pronounced in favour of the concentration of all military resources in the hands of the Confederation, as responsible for the defence of the territory and for the country's neutrality. Up to the present time the cantonal administrations have possessed, even in military questions, certain remnants of power and authority that might some day prove a source of danger. In the arrangement of this question, as in many others, the death of the President of the Confederation, Herr Hertenstein, was a great loss for the country.

At the close of the year Herr Hauser and M. Ruchonnet were respectively elected President and Vice-President of the Swiss Confederation for the ensuing year.

IV. DENMARK.

The year opened with bright prospects, for there was hope on all sides that the political deadlock, which had lasted for fifteen years, would come to an end in the course of the year. All minds too were intent upon the great event of the year, the Great Exhibition which was to be held in Copenhagen during the summer, and upon other festivities attendant on the King's Jubilee. But although the Exhibition and the festivities were a success, the political situation at the end of the year was as unsatisfactory and as far from settlement as at any time during this long and weary struggle.

Before the Rigsdag had adjourned for the Christmas holidays (1887) the Folkething (the Lower House) had referred the "provisional" Budget, which the Government had issued during the recess (Oct. 20-Dec. 5) to a committee (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1887, p. 291). This was the fourth year that the Estrup Ministry had carried on the business of government by aid of "provisional" Budgets; and, judging by the little effect this latest experiment in extra-constitutional procedure had upon the people, it seemed as if they already had got so accustomed to "provisional" Budgets that they no longer resented this method of settling the finances of the country. The first sittings of the Rigsdag (Jan. 6) were occupied with the discussion of a Bill brought in for the admission of women to Boards of Guardians and to School Boards. The Minister of the Interior supported the Bill, but it was finally rejected (Jan. 11) by the Landsting (the Upper House). The House then occupied itself for a considerable time on the discussion of the Artificial Butter or Margarine Bill, which, strange to say, was not debated on political lines. The individual convictions of each member as to the good or evil effect this measure would have upon the great industry of the country—the butter trade—were frankly and fairly put forward. Great divergency of opinion showed itself in the ranks of the Liberal party, but towards the end of the session an agreement

was at last come to in a committee composed of members of both Houses, and the Bill (May 1) became law. This Bill enacted, that for a period of two years all export of margarine from the country was prohibited, that margarine manufactured for sale in the country must not be coloured more yellow than the colour of ordinary winter butter, and that any composition where the quantity of margarine was greater than that of genuine butter should be prohibited. It may here be mentioned that, although there were only two or three margarine factories in Denmark, the Copenhagen Socialists sent to the Folkething a petition against the Bill, with 68,252 signatures, obtained in the course of only ten days, as a protest against the protection of the interests of the butter monopolists of the kingdom.

The Budget Committee of the Lower House having brought up (Feb. 4) its report on the Budget, towards the end of the month the amended Budget was read for the third time, and sent up to the Landsting, but in such a form, that it was not likely that either the Upper House or the Government would accept it. The Bill having been read for the first time (March 2) in the Landsting, rapidly passed that body in less than three weeks. It was then (March 20) sent back to the Lower House, when it soon became evident that the policy of the Liberal party had been to allow the Bill to go through the various stages without absolutely rejecting it, but still without making any serious attempt to come to an agreement upon the Government proposals. The Budget was therefore at once returned to the Upper House, by which it was referred to a joint committee of both Houses. No agreement was, however, arrived at, the representatives of the two Houses making (March 30) conflicting reports. Each House maintained its original position, and it was generally expected that the Rigsdag would be promptly prorogued. But at the last moment, just as the financial year was about to expire, it was suddenly reported that an agreement was possible, not only with regard to the Budget, but also with regard to other important questions at issue between the Liberals and the Government.

Some farmers, members from Jutland and other places, had, on their own behalf and on that of colleagues of the same opinion, approached the Government and the leaders of the Conservative party in the Upper House and declared themselves willing to make certain necessary concessions with a view to passing a regular and lawful Budget. These approaches were received in a friendly spirit by the Government, and during the private negotiations which ensued the Government proposed, as the general conditions of an agreement, that a credit should be voted to enable the Government to disband the gendarmerie, which had been created by a "provisional" law in 1885, and since included in the "provisional" Budgets of the Government; and further, that a grant of six to eight million kroner towards the fortification of

the capital should tacitly be agreed to. The members of the Lower House who were anxious for a compromise were not, however, numerous enough in conjunction with the Conservatives to carry these proposals in the Rigsdag, and they were therefore obliged to sound some of their own party leaders in order to ascertain whether any support on their side could be obtained. Two of the Liberal leaders, Count Holstein-Ledreborg and Mr. Bojsen, and one of the farmer-members were delegated to discuss the matter with two members of the Government and Count Moltke, as a representative of the majority of the Upper House. The two Liberal leaders refused, however, to agree to the proposed conditions of compromise, but until the whole of the Liberal party had had an opportunity of expressing their opinion no final decision could take place. In the evening of the same day (March 24) the Liberals held a meeting, without, however, coming to any agreement. During the day both Houses had been busily engaged in disposing of some minor Bills before the close of the session, and before the adjournment it was decided to hold a sitting the following day, Easter Sunday. In the forenoon of that day another meeting was held by the Liberal party, when a motion to the effect that the negotiations with the Government should not be continued was carried by a majority of only seven, eighteen members abstaining from voting. In the afternoon both Houses met, and the proposed compromise having fallen through each House passed its own Budget; thus virtually rejecting the Government Budget. The Lower House further passed a resolution against the issue of any credit for fortifications, and an hour later the Rigsdag was prorogued. On the same day a "provisional" Budget for the financial year 1888 was issued by the Government.

During the summer months the country was politically quiet, as all interests were absorbed by the Northern Industrial and Arts Exhibition, which was opened in Copenhagen in May, and which was visited by large numbers of people, including many foreigners.

An unusually small number of political meetings were held during the recess. The discussions at these meetings and in the columns of the Liberal organs were during this time not so much attacks on the Government as upon the various factions of the Liberal party itself, mostly in consequence of the proposed compromise.

Shortly before the re-assembling of the Rigsdag (Oct. 1), a conference of delegates from all the Liberal associations in the country was held in Copenhagen. This meeting was called together to consolidate the party, especially its advanced fractions, by expressing disapproval of all compromises with the Government. The Liberal members of the Rigsdag were not elected as delegates for this meeting, but it was understood that they were to consider themselves bound during the new session

lated, and their strength broken up in bitter strife, instead of uniting it in harmonious and persevering work for the welfare of our sorely tried country. Such a regrettable and dangerous condition of the land the House does not find itself justified in concealing from the King, especially on such an important occasion for King and country as the present. But if we thus have to renounce taking part in these festivities, which under ordinary circumstances would have united all Danish men and women, we do so in the hope that the time will not be too distant when the King, whose high calling it is to keep above the parties, will succeed in letting peace and reconciliation replace the bitterness of the present strife and bring about a true understanding between the Government and the Rigsdag." The members of the Liberal party intimated their approval of the words of the President by rising from their seats. The Conservative members, however, left the House during the President's speech, and afterwards joined the Ministerialists in the Landsting in a congratulatory address to the King independent of the other parties. A fortnight later a conference of delegates from the Conservative Associations was held in Copenhagen, when a vote of confidence in the Estrup Ministry was passed.

Thus the political situation at the time of the adjournment of the Rigsdag for the Christmas holidays was little changed from what it had been at the commencement of the year, and presaged little hope that the King's Jubilee year, as many had expected, would be transmitted to posterity as a year of reconciliation and good understanding between the political parties.

In other ways, however, the year was noteworthy for the many meetings, festivities and celebrations, that took place. Of these one of the most noticeable (June 20) was in celebration, in both town and country, of the hundredth anniversary of the *Stavns baandets Løsning* (the peasants' emancipation from villenage and serfdom). All parties were agreed as to the importance of this great reform, which had so greatly contributed to the welfare of the country through the development and the progress of agriculture.

During the summer Emperor William of Germany visited the Danish Court, and it was hoped that a better understanding between the two countries had been established, especially with regard to the treatment of the Danish-speaking population in Schleswig. These hopes were, however, doomed to great disappointment. For some years the German Government had shown great disregard for the feelings of these unfortunate people of Danish origin, by banishing them from Northern Schleswig; and to add to the harsh proceedings already taken, a new decree was issued shortly before Christmas, according to which the German language was the only one in which all instruction, with the exception of religious, was permitted to be given at the public schools. There was further foreshadowed a more systematic proscription of the mother tongue outside the schools; the

Mr. Berg, the old Liberal leader, had still a number of supporters in the Lower House, and seemed, during the latter part of the session, to be in the ascendancy. Finally, Count Holstein-Ledreborg had also formed a small independent group around him, so that at the close of the year there were four fractions of the Liberal party. All, however, were agreed in rejecting or obstructing the Budget or other Government measures, and, on the other hand, in introducing a number of private bills which, according to the decision at the conference, were to prepare the ground for future legislation. None of the groups, it was thus shown, ventured to revolt against the mandate of the Liberal delegates. As soon as the Rigsdag opened, a private member, anticipating the action of the Government as in former years, introduced the last "provisional Budget." The Budget thus brought forward was summarily thrown out, and when the Government in due course laid their Budget on the table, it was referred to the Budget Committee. The new Budget was formally read a first time in the Folkething (Oct. 10), and two days later it was referred to the same committee which had had the Budget under consideration during the preceding session. No report had been made to the House before the Rigsdag adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and it seemed as if it would be delayed for some time after the reassembling of the two Houses. Nearly all the other Government Bills were also referred to committees, the tactics of the party recalling the most hopeful days of Mr. Berg's "withering" policy.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the King's accession to the throne was celebrated (Nov. 15) with great festivities all over the country, the Liberals, however, ostentatiously abstaining from taking any part in the Jubilee. In the Folkething a rather remarkable scene occurred on the day before the Jubilee, when Mr. Hogsbro, the President of the House, made the following speech:— "Before I adjourn this sitting, I have to remind the House that to-morrow his Majesty the King celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne. It would have been highly desirable that I could have had the honour to present to his Majesty the congratulations of the Folkething. If, however, I abstain from asking the authority of the House to do so, it is owing to the fact that the great majority of the Folkething, however strongly it upholds, according to the Constitution, the irresponsible position of the King, cannot—in accordance with the address to his Majesty adopted by the House in March 1885—in truth congratulate his Majesty upon a reign, during which his Ministry have chosen to make that breach of the Constitution which this House at the time sought to avert, and during which they have disregarded the right of this House to participate in the discussion on the financial as well as the general legislation of the country. Thus, the foundation of the free Constitution of our country has been shaken and the sense of justice among the people vio-

lated, and their strength broken up in bitter strife, instead of uniting it in harmonious and persevering work for the welfare of our sorely tried country. Such a regrettable and dangerous condition of the land the House does not find itself justified in concealing from the King, especially on such an important occasion for King and country as the present. But if we thus have to renounce taking part in these festivities, which under ordinary circumstances would have united all Danish men and women, we do so in the hope that the time will not be too distant when the King, whose high calling it is to keep above the parties, will succeed in letting peace and reconciliation replace the bitterness of the present strife and bring about a true understanding between the Government and the Rigsdag." The members of the Liberal party intimated their approval of the words of the President by rising from their seats. The Conservative members, however, left the House during the President's speech, and afterwards joined the Ministerialists in the Landsting in a congratulatory address to the King independent of the other parties. A fortnight later a conference of delegates from the Conservative Associations was held in Copenhagen, when a vote of confidence in the Estrup Ministry was passed.

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three Ministers and moved that, under the circumstances, the House should postpone the discussion of Mr. Konow's motion for a week. In agreeing to this proposal, Mr. Konow requested that the minutes of the Council of State on Oct. 20 of the previous year, when the three Ministers consented to remain in office, as well as the minutes of the Council meeting of the preceding day, when their resignation was accepted, should be laid before the House. This information the Storting, according to the Norwegian Constitution, had a right to demand. The Prime Minister replied that he would confer with his colleagues before this motion was discussed and would reply to it on the morrow.

In the meantime it was important to reconstitute the Cabinet, but the Prime Minister experienced the greatest difficulty in finding colleagues to accept the vacant portfolios. In his eagerness to complete his Cabinet, Mr. Sverdrup turned to every side, offering the posts at length to persons who never had even dreamt of such an honour. At one time it appeared as if Mr. Sverdrup would not only fail to find three men to join his Ministry, but that he would discover further difficulties arising from the threatened resignations of Messrs. Richter and Blix, whose confidence in the Ministry was believed to be shaken. There can be no doubt that at this critical moment Mr. Richter held the very existence of the Sverdrup Ministry in his hands. Had he resigned, it would have affected the political situation to such an extent that it would have broken up the Ministry altogether and brought Mr. Sverdrup's government to an end. Mr. Richter would then in all probability have been called upon to form a new Administration more in harmony with the majority of the Liberal party in the House, and at its head he would have been master of the situation and once more restored calmness and confidence to Norwegian politics. As later events showed, this would undoubtedly have been the most desirable thing, and would have saved the country from serious political struggles and undignified complications, and the tragic event already referred to might have been altogether avoided.

The first recruit whom Mr. Sverdrup was able to secure for his Cabinet was a Lieut. Jacobsen, a young man quite unknown in the politics of the country; such a selection naturally met with general ridicule in the press of the advanced Liberal party. Two days later (Feb. 24) Mr. Blix resigned, and the Ministry was as incomplete as ever.

The minutes of the two Council meetings which the Storting had asked for had, however, been read to the House (Feb. 22), and from these it appeared that it had been agreed upon "that the *status quo* of the Ministry should be maintained till after the meeting of the Storting, when, in case of no question being raised on that point by any member of the House; or in case one or more members of the Government so desired, an opportunity would be sought to ascertain if his Majesty's Government was

not in possession of the confidence of the Storting, and whether a change in the Ministry in consequence would be necessary." But when, in accordance with this agreement, the three Ministers after the assembling of the Storting asked for an opportunity of bringing the situation under public discussion, it appeared from the minutes of the Council meeting of Feb. 17 that on this occasion it had been decided by a very narrow majority that the motion of Mr. Konow should not be replied to. As the promised opportunity was denied to them, the three Ministers had resigned, considering that this denial was a "breach of faith and promise" on the part of Mr. Sverdrup. The fact, however, that the Prime Minister, on the day after the Council meeting, had in the Storting promised that the Ministry would reply to Mr. Konow's motion, produced a most painful impression both in and outside the House, and did not tend to improve the difficult position into which the Government had drifted.

The debate on Mr. Konow's motion in the Storting was opened by Mr. Sverdrup (Feb. 25) asking for a further adjournment, but after some remarks from private members the Minister withdrew his proposition, but declared that as the motion referred to opinions and transactions within the Ministry, he would not reply; his view of Parliamentary government being, the Ministry could only resign on a direct vote of want of confidence being passed. Mr. Sørensen, a member of the present Government, which had introduced Parliamentary government to the country, further added, that the Ministry need not resign, even if a vote of want of confidence were passed, in view of the approaching general election of the following year. This astonishing declaration by a Parliamentary Minister was received with loud laughter by the House. The formal debate was, however, postponed until the following day (Feb. 26), when Mr. Blekastad, at the commencement of the sitting, proposed a further adjournment, the Storting expressing at the same time its expectation that the Government would in the interval be so reconstructed as to again be able to command the support of a Parliamentary majority. A declaration from the three Ministers, Messrs. Arctander, Astrup, and Kildal, giving a detailed account of what had occurred in connection with their retirement, was then read to the House and produced a great sensation. In replying to this declaration, Mr. Sverdrup said he would only repeat the protest he had made against the motion of Mr. Konow, and appealed to the House, recalling his long services to the country and adding that he would not have been able to have given these for so long had he not known how to endure personal attacks and misrepresentations. On the question of the adjournment of the debate Mr. Sverdrup declared on behalf of the Government that if Mr. Blekastad's motion were agreed to they would consider it a vote of want of confidence and would resign. He was followed by Mr. Richter, who, to the surprise of all, supported

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Mr. Sverdrup and his retention of office, concluding by saying "that Mr. Sverdrup was the man around whom most of the people in the country would rally." This sudden change of front on the part of Mr. Richter practically decided the result of the debate, for, contrary to what had been anticipated, Mr. Blekastad's motion, after a discussion of four days, was defeated, although by the narrow majority of ten votes: 51 members voting against and 61 for the Government. The majority was composed of the 31 Ministerialists of the Liberal party and the 30 Conservatives. It thus became apparent that of the large party of 86 Liberals who had brought Mr. Sverdrup into power, there now only remained 30 to support him at this critical moment. The Minister, however, reasoned that, having obtained a majority in the division on Mr. Blekastad's motion, although it was brought about by a combination with the Conservative party, he would not resign, but remain in office.

Mr. Sverdrup then proceeded to complete his Ministry, by the addition (on March 5) of Mr. W. S. Dahl, the advocate who had conducted the prosecution of the late Conservative Government in the great State trial four years before; and of Mr. L. K. Lindstøl, a country bailiff and member of the Storting. Mr. Lindstøl, it should be added, only two days before had voted with the advanced Liberals against the Government in the division on Mr. Blekastad's motion. A few days later (March 13), Mr. O. Schjøtt, Professor of Greek at the Christiania University, was appointed in place of Mr. Blix, and the Ministry was at last complete, at least for the time being. About this time Mr. Haugland, the Minister of Finance, was granted leave of absence for two months on account of his health, and Mr. Olaf Olsen, Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, was constituted Minister of this department in Mr. Haugland's absence. Mr. Olsen was well known to be a Conservative in politics, and it was significant of the difficulties which Mr. Sverdrup had to contend with in forming a new Ministry, that he was obliged to resort to the ranks of his old opponents to find even a temporary member of his Cabinet.

In the beginning of April the detailed statement of the Revenue was at length laid before the Storting. From this it appeared that the Government proposed increased duties on several articles, especially on tobacco and spirits; these were eventually agreed to by the House and came into force at once.

In the Military Estimates figured a new "cruiser," which was to be built at an expense of over one million kroner, of which 325,000 kr. were to be voted this year. The Prime Minister defended the Government proposal warmly, but it was finally defeated by 76 against 32. Notwithstanding this fresh defeat, Mr. Sverdrup showed no signs of resigning. A Ministerial crisis was spoken of, for two of the Ministers, Mr. Richter and

Mr. Sörenssen, had sent in their resignation on account of this adverse vote, but owing to the absence of the King on a visit abroad, their resignations were not accepted.

The day of the Independence of Norway (May 17), generally celebrated with great festivities throughout the country, was this year selected by the Christiania Working Men's Union for a demonstration in favour of Universal Suffrage. The working classes found that neither the Government nor the Storting was inclined to fulfil the pledges given in this matter, and the Christiania Working Men's Union invited Mr. Björnstjerne Björnson, the well-known poet, to be their spokesman on this occasion. Mr. Björnson, who was absent on a lecturing tour in Sweden and Finland, responded at once to the invitation and returned in time to deliver his speech, which was listened to by thousands. He attacked the Government, and especially Mr. Sverdrup, the Prime Minister, whom he accused, not only of having broken his word on the question of Universal Suffrage, but also of having been the cause of demoralising the Liberal party, and of having brought dishonour on it in the eyes of their own people and abroad, of which, he said, he had had opportunities of convincing himself. The speech attracted great attention both in Norway and Sweden, and a few days afterwards, on being interrogated as to what he especially referred to with regard to the latter accusation, Mr. Björnson published in one of the daily papers an explanation, in which he, among other things, openly accused Mr. Sverdrup of having in the Storting made an untruthful statement with regard to his share in the negotiations with the Swedish Government in 1885, in connection with the proposed settlement of the transaction of diplomatic affairs for the two countries (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 409). Mr. Sverdrup had then said (June 17, 1886), that "if anything had been brought to his knowledge which pointed in the direction that the Norwegian-Swedish Foreign Minister, by the proposed amendment of the constitution, should always be a Swede, he would at once have dissuaded his countrymen from entertaining any proposal of the kind." Mr. Björnson maintained that Mr. Sverdrup not only knew of the text of the "protocol" of May 15, 1885, which contained the proposed conditions for the settlement of the diplomatic matters, but had also attempted to saddle his colleague, Mr. Richter, the Minister of State at Stockholm, with the responsibility of the proposal of a Swedish Foreign Minister, which had been received with general disapprobation throughout Norway. Mr. Björnson further stated that he knew this on the authority of Mr. Richter himself, who in a letter to him had clearly hinted at the true state of affairs, with the purpose, as Mr. Björnson supposed, of getting him to stop the attacks that were then being made upon Mr. Richter in one of the organs of the advanced Liberal press, with reference to his supposed share in the protocol of May 15, 1885. It ought here to

be explained that this protocol was prepared at Stockholm, and that Mr. Sverdrup purposely visited the Swedish capital to confer with his colleagues there on this matter. In the speech just referred to, Mr. Sverdrup also said that he had not had the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the wording of the protocol during his stay in Stockholm. It was not, however, likely that the Ministerial delegates at Stockholm would have taken upon themselves in such an important matter to act upon their own responsibility, and, moreover, it subsequently transpired that the whole text of the protocol was telegraphed to the Prime Minister a couple of days after he left Stockholm, and no protest or word of dissent was ever received from him from that date till he, more than a year afterwards (June 17, 1886), publicly disclaimed all knowledge of its contents.

Mr. Björnson's article had no sooner been published than he was attacked both by the Ministerial and Conservative press for having thus violated the confidence of a private letter, whilst Mr. Richter was also blamed for having, as a member of the Government, been in private correspondence with Mr. Björnson, a well-known opponent of the Ministry. Mr. Richter and Mr. Björnson were old friends, but had lately only corresponded on special occasions, generally in connection with some important event in Mr. Richter's life. In the present case it might be considered ill-advised of Mr. Björnson to have made use of his friend's letter; but he defended himself on the ground that, in a matter all important to the interests of the country, he was fully justified in making use of it, and thereby exposing Mr. Sverdrup's conduct in connection with the matter. Mr. Richter was deeply pained at the publication of the letter, especially as it would bring to the knowledge of the King that he was in friendly correspondence with Björnson, whom the King regarded as his greatest enemy. Mr. Richter's position in the Ministry and his relations with the King consequently became difficult. He had also suffered much in health since the death of his wife a couple of years before, and his sensitive nature realised with dismay the untenable position which the Government had taken up. Mr. Richter was naturally loyal both to his colleagues and to the King, but was at the same time anxious to please his friends in the advanced Liberal party, and thus found himself in a most difficult position. The Ministerial as well as the Conservative organs continued their attacks upon him, and finding that even Mr. Sverdrup, whom he had loyally supported, had turned against him, Mr. Richter recognised that he could no longer form part of the Government. He, therefore, again insisted upon his resignation being accepted. To this the Crown Prince would not assent, in the absence of the King his father, at that time in the Mediterranean. The King shortly afterwards reached London, where he doubtless was fully informed of the circumstances, and on receiving a telegram from Mr. Richter pressing

his resignation, it was accepted, and he was (June 6) officially informed of this. Mr. Jacob Stang, a member of the Government at Christiania, was temporarily appointed as his successor, an appointment which met with general disapproval, and especially by the sensitive Mr. Richter.

Having withdrawn from the Ministry, he probably expected that he would be left in peace, but this was not to be the case. It had been reported that he aspired to the post of Norwegian and Swedish Minister Plenipotentiary at London, and it was even said that it had been promised to him. The Swedes never looking favourably upon the appointment of Norwegians to the foreign legations, the rumours of Mr. Richter's appointment to London created a storm of opposition both in Swedish Government circles and in the Conservative press in Stockholm. A scurrilous attack upon Mr. Richter appeared (June 14) in the leading Conservative organ in Stockholm, declaring him to be utterly unfit for the appointment to London, and otherwise referring to him in depreciatory terms; and the day previous the principal Conservative paper in his own country, the *Morgenbladet*, contained an article in the same spirit. These envenomed attacks fell upon a nature already depressed by family troubles, and finding himself forsaken by his colleagues and in disgrace with the King, his mind gave way under the weight of despair, and he was found dead (June 15) in his chair, having shot himself through the head with a revolver.

The news reached the Norwegian Storting while the House was sitting, and created the most profound consternation. Richter had been a member of the Storting for a considerable period, and was generally respected and esteemed. In the midst of the widespread grief a remarkable scene occurred. As soon as the news reached Mr. Daae, one of Mr. Richter's nearest friends and an ex-Minister of the Government, he walked rapidly across the floor to where Mr. Sverdrup was sitting, and shaking his fist in the face of the Prime Minister, exclaimed with great vehemence, "This body hast thou on thy conscience!" The sitting was at once adjourned amid great confusion and excitement.

In the Odelsting on the following day Mr. Daae made a short and impressive speech in memory of his dead friend, which was listened to in breathless silence, all the members of the House standing up.

Mr. Richter was born in 1829 and took his degree in jurisprudence at the Christiania University in 1847. He went to England for a couple of years, and in 1856 he became co-editor of the Liberal paper, the *Aftenbladet*. In 1862 he entered the Storting, where he soon made himself heard and respected. He was President of the Odelsting for some time. From 1878-84 he was Consul-General for Norway and Sweden in London, until he entered the Sverdrup Ministry. He had also been one of the early champions of Parliamentary government in Norway. Richter has been blamed for remaining so long in the Ministry after he

had lost faith in its chief, but he persisted in the hope of finally reconciling Mr. Sverdrup with the majority of the Liberal party. Richter did not, however, possess sufficient energy and strength of mind for such a task, and succeeded only in getting himself entangled in the political intrigues both of his friends and his enemies. His tragic death heightened the controversy carried on by the organs of all parties. The reactionary papers even accused Mr. Björnson of being the cause of Richter's death. Mr. Björnson retorted on his traducers by a series of articles revealing certain matters which did not tend to raise Mr. Sverdrup in public esteem. Mr. Daae, Richter's friend, also communicated a letter written to him by the latter, showing that the publication of Richter's letter to Björnson was not in any way the occasion of his resignation. He had made up his mind some time before that he ought to resign as soon as possible, seeing no hope of any adjustment of the differences between Mr. Sverdrup and himself. Richter objected especially to the way in which Mr. Sverdrup had reconstructed his Cabinet, feeling little sympathy with some of his colleagues. Among his notes, found after his death, was the following: "I now recognise that if I continue in the Ministry, I do so with the bitterest of feelings that I am in unworthy company."

After the many revelations which the Richter affair had brought to light, and owing to the general dissatisfaction with the Sverdrup Ministry in the ranks of the advanced Liberals, Mr. Steen, the President of the Storthing, proposed towards the end of the session a vote of want of confidence in the Government. The debate occupied three days (July 3-6). The Conservatives, who had faithfully supported the tottering Ministers in all their recent difficulties, voted on this occasion also with the Liberal supporters of the Ministry, although they at heart disliked the Sverdrup Ministry. Mr. Sverdrup in the course of the debate illustrated the new attitude he had taken up. "It was necessary," he said, "for the chief of the Ministry to strive to obtain that confidence which alone could secure him his place in the Ministry—the confidence of him who is the master of the Ministry," meaning thereby the King; a declaration which showed a complete revulsion from those views which some years previously had placed King Oscar and the then President of the Storthing (Mr. Sverdrup) in bitter antagonism. The Ministry, however, obtained its vote of confidence by 64 to 50, and was confirmed in power.

In the course of this remarkable session several important legislative measures were carried, notwithstanding the disorganised state of the parties. One of these was a "Married Women's Property Act," which greatly improved the position of the wife with regard to her personal property, and giving full control of her own earnings. A new "Citizenship Act" was also passed, which included among other remarkable clauses one preventing Norwegians selling landed property to foreigners without

first obtaining the King's permission. This Bill, which was speedily found to be in many respects unpractical and reactionary, was hurried through the House in order to prevent the sale of some important fishing stations in the north of Norway to a proposed English company. A "Russian scare" having also got abroad about the same time, and influenced even the oldest politicians in the House, the Government were able to pass their Bill after a few hours' discussion, with only four dissentients. Several important Government proposals were however rejected. A Bill for the appointment, promotion, and discharge of naval officers, based upon the system in force in Denmark, was unanimously thrown out; whilst a proposal for the extension of stamp duties was defeated by 49 against 84 votes. The Storting decided that Norway should take part officially in the Paris Exhibition of 1889. An amount of 100,000 kr. was voted for the necessary expenses. The Government Budget proposed a revenue and an expenditure of 43,400,000 kr., but the Storting agreed to a revenue of 43,900,000 kr. and an expenditure of 43,700,000 kr., leaving a surplus of 200,000 kr. A loan of 55½ million kroner was also agreed to for the conversion of older loans, whereby a considerable saving in interest would be effected.

An important educational reform, which had been under consideration in committee for a long time, was finally postponed; and at length the Storting was prorogued (July 3), the session being the last of the Triennial Parliament of Norway.

In succession to Mr. Richter, Mr. Jakob Stang was permanently appointed (July 20) a Minister of State at Stockholm, and Mr. Olaf Olsen, Minister of Finance, became a member of the Cabinet, undertaking the Department for Public Works in addition to his own. With Mr. Sørenssen's resignation (Aug. 1) the seventh member of the Sverdrup Ministry as originally constituted in 1884 disappeared.

A large number of meetings took place during the months of August and September in view of the coming elections in the autumn. It soon became apparent that an alliance between the Ministerialists and the Conservatives would take place, in order to prevent the return of the advanced Liberals. The contest became very bitter, especially between the two Liberal fractions. The elections began towards the end of August and were not completed until December. In October 62 members had been elected, of which there were 28 advanced Liberals, 22 Ministerialists, and 12 Conservatives, but after that time the tide went greatly in favour of the Conservatives, who coalesced everywhere with the Ministerialists against the Radicals. Even such strongholds of sturdy Liberalism as the Akershus and the Bergen counties were lost in this way. Some of the most prominent leaders of the advanced Liberals, such as Messrs. Steen, Qvam, and Konow, thus lost their seats in the new Storting. The final result of the polls showed that the Ministerialists had not been able to raise

their numbers beyond 22, whilst of advanced Liberals 38 were elected. The Conservatives succeeded in returning 54 of their party—or almost a majority in a House numbering 114 members. The return of so many Conservatives was avowedly due to the split in the Liberal party, and must not in any way be supposed to be likely to indicate a permanent state of things. Meanwhile the Sverdrup Ministry remained in office—completing its ranks by the appointment of Mr. Thilesen, an unknown lawyer—and it was left to the new Storting to decide how long the alliance between the Ministerialists and the Conservatives would be maintained on its present basis.

VI. SWEDEN.

The tariff question absorbed public interest in Sweden during the year. Political parties were no longer divided into Liberals and Conservatives, but were classed as Free Traders or Protectionists. It will be remembered that owing to a curious irregularity in connection with the Stockholm election of the previous year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1887, page 302) the elected 22 Liberal members of that city had been disqualified, and the Conservative list was declared by the authorities to have been duly elected. The Protectionists thus obtained a majority of 2 in the Second Chamber of the Riksdag, but pending the appeal to the High Court of Justice against the decision of the returning officer, the Free Trade Ministry, who at once had tendered their resignation, was commanded by the King to retain their portfolios.

The year opened, therefore, in great expectation as to the decision of the High Court, which, however, had not been made known when the Riksdag assembled (Jan. 18) and was opened on the following day by the King, who in his speech only foreshadowed measures of minor importance. As, moreover, there was a surplus on the previous year's Budget, no increased taxation would be proposed, except a higher duty on spirits and tobacco.

A few days afterwards (Jan. 24) the High Court of Justice gave its decision on the appeal on the Stockholm election. It confirmed the decision of the returning officer, and the election of the 22 Protectionists, owing to a mere accident, or, as a Stockholm paper called it, "a wonderful visitation of the Lord," was ratified and became a historical fact. It was now generally expected that the King, who for the first time after the passing of the new regulations of 1866 for the formation of the Swedish Diet had made use of his right to dissolve the Riksdag, would again resort to the same means, and by new elections obtain a renewed verdict of the country on the tariff question, since that of the general elections had been upset by the disqualification of the elected Stockholm members. To the surprise of all, however, the King refused to avail himself of his right to dissolve the Riksdag. The Liberal press maintained that if in the previous

year there had been ground for dissolving the Riksdag, there was still more reason for doing so on the present occasion. Some of the Liberal papers likewise proclaimed boldly that a majority obtained by a mere accident had no right to dictate to the country a policy which the mass of the electors had only just shown was opposed to their wishes. They objected to being made the laughing-stock of the civilised world on account of the absurd situation created by the disqualification of the Stockholm members, and suggested that the schoolboy of future generations would not be able to read, without a smile of incredulity, how once upon a time the neglect of a Parliamentary candidate to pay his taxes to the amount of 11 kroner 58 öre (18 shillings) had changed the whole policy of the country. Such a statement would read more like an anecdote of the time of King Orre than an event of the reign of King Oscar II.

As soon as the decision of the High Court of Justice was made known, Mr. Themptander, the Prime Minister, placed his resignation and that of his colleagues in the hands of the King, but it took some time before it was possible to form a new Ministry. The King approached first of all Archbishop Sundberg of Upsala, hoping that this well-known politician, who had had no little share in the Protectionist agitation, would undertake the difficult task of forming the new Administration, of which he himself was offered the Premiership. The Crown Prince was sent to Upsala to confer with the venerable prelate and to prevail upon him to undertake the formation of the Ministry and the inauguration of the "new system;" but after "mature consideration" he declared himself obliged to refuse the proffered honour. From the head of the Church the King then turned to the leaders of the Court party, and appealed to Baron Gillis Bildt, formerly a member of the Riksdag, and from 1874 to 1886 Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, to construct a Cabinet. This ex-diplomat after considerable hesitation at length gave a promise to "sacrifice himself," as the official press called it, but on the condition that Mr. Bergström, a county governor and a well-known politician from the stirring times between 1870 and 1880, would join the Ministry. It was supposed that this condition was more on account of the latter's administrative than of his political qualities, and that Baron Bildt, who during his long absence abroad had not been able to follow all the developments in his native country, desired to have an experienced man like Bergström by his side. Mr. Bergström consented to this arrangement, and the new Ministry was at length (Feb. 6) finally constituted. Six members of the old Cabinet retired, but the others joined the new Ministry. Among these was Count Ehrensvärd, who was reinstalled at the Foreign Office, but his acceptance of a portfolio in the new Ministry was the subject of much comment, as he was well known to entertain Free Trade views. The new Ministers were Baron Bildt, Prime Minister;

Count Ehrensward, Foreign Minister, Mr. Bergström, Minister of Justice; Baron Palmstjerna, Minister of War; Baron Otter, Minister of Marine; Von Krusenstjerna, Minister of the Interior; Mr. Wennerberg, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs; Baron von Essen, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Lovén and Mr. Lönegren as Consultative Councillors in the Ministry.

In the meantime the Budget Committee had presented to the Riksdag their report on the proposed duty on corn which the Committee supported, and two days after the new Government had come into power the proposal was passed. Two more days later the Government promulgated the new Act, and the King having given his sanction it forthwith (Feb. 14) came into force. The "new system" thus boldly inaugurated was pressed onwards by its supporters, and duties on bacon, potatoes, butter, and a number of industrial articles and even raw materials, were successively proposed and voted. Before the end of the following month (March) the Riksdag had raised not only the customs duties, but also the excise on all spirits, &c., but, on the other hand, they had lowered slightly the one on tea and coffee and had abolished those on mineral and other oils used for lighting purposes.

The discussion on further import duties proposed, and some minor Government Bills, occupied the Riksdag for the remainder of the session. The question of new buildings for the Riksdag and the State Bank, costing five million kroner, was also finally settled; the site chosen being Helgeandsholmen, the north side of Stockholm. As the new buildings necessitated the removal of the royal stables on the island, a further sum of one million kroner was agreed to for the erection of new stables. The old question of subsidies to the Royal Theatre and Opera came again on for discussion. The First Chamber voted about three-quarters of a million kroner beyond the ordinary yearly grant for the rebuilding of the former, and agreed also to defray the deficit of the year, and the expenses connected with improvements for the better protection of the buildings from fire; but the Second Chamber refused to grant any money for rebuilding, while it agreed to pay the deficit and the proposed improvements against fire. No settlement of this question was therefore come to, but 2½ million kroner were voted for the continuation of the main line of the Northern Railway. A proposal for the extension of the franchise, brought in by a private member, was thrown out, as was also a Bill for the establishment of a Ministry of Agriculture; but an amendment of the Press laws was passed, by which punishment for inciting to mutiny or revolution was extended to inciting to violence against persons and property.

After the prorogation of the Riksdag public attention was occupied for some time by a controversy between the Swedish and the Spanish authorities. The Spanish Government had introduced a high excise duty on spirits, by which a Swedish

factory which imported great quantities of spirits into Spain, and had a large stock in bond there, lost considerable sums. The Spanish authorities seized the spirits stored in that country in payment of the excise, and on the matter being brought before the Spanish Government they refused to submit the case to a court of arbitration, according to the commercial treaty between the two countries. Towards the end of the year it seemed, however, probable that the Spanish Government, after having again considered the case, was willing to assent to the proposed arbitration.

Another matter which engaged the public attention was the publication of a Royal Dictamen, in which the King had resorted to this unusual way of making known his personal opinion with reference to the new customs duties. These, he believed, would press heavily upon the working and poorer classes of the community, and the additional amounts received therefrom should, he thought, be applied to the amelioration of their condition in some way or another. The intentions of the King were, no doubt, good, but some of the Liberal papers objected to "the constitutional chief of the State thus placing himself in the breach between public opinion and his councillors."

Notwithstanding this protest, during the summer a Grand Committee, from which all Free Traders were excluded, was appointed to consider the whole question of protective duties, and to prepare a proposal for a just and gradual equalisation of the customs duties.

In the autumn some bye-elections for the First Chamber took place, but this result was only still further to strengthen the Protectionist party, to which the country seemed prepared to give a fair trial; and, although in September Mr. Bergström, the Minister of Justice, resigned his portfolio, and Mr. Akerhjelm was appointed his successor, it was impossible to connect this change with any misunderstandings in the Cabinet.

The new German Emperor, Wilhelm II., paid a visit to the Swedish capital. King Oscar promptly returned this courtesy by a visit to Berlin, where he stood godfather to the latest born of Emperor Wilhelm's sons. It was on the occasion of his return from this visit to the German Court that King Oscar made the very remarkable after-dinner speech at Malmö (Sept. 2) in which he spoke of the friendly reception he received at Berlin, and said that the relations of the two countries now were such that "after this Sweden would have to count the mighty monarch of Germany as belonging to its fighting powers."

In the early spring there was celebrated at Bournemouth, in England, the marriage of the King's second son, Prince Oscar Charles, with Miss Ebba Munck, a lady of Swedish nationality but not of royal blood. The Prince had in consequence to renounce his royal titles and privileges as a member of the royal family, and will henceforth be known as Prince Berna-

dotte, retaining his rights as a Swedish citizen. The popularity of the Prince at home and abroad was greatly increased by his resolution to obey the dictates of his heart. He retained his rank as a commander in the Swedish Navy, and settled down at Carlskrona, where he bought a house. A marriage of a Prince of Sweden with a daughter of a private gentleman had not taken place for over 300 years, and King Oscar strongly objected to the step; but, finding that the Prince could not be influenced in the matter, he was finally induced to yield, on the persistent entreaties of the Queen, who was on the eve of a dangerous operation.

VII. SPAIN.

The Parliamentary Session was resumed (Jan. 9) by some lively discussions in both Chambers. In the Senate the Marquis Trives desired to put down for immediate discussion the duties on cereals, but this proposal was lost by 88 to 49 votes. A like fate attended a similar motion by Sen. Emilio del Castillo, whose attempt to change the orders of the day proposed by the Government was negatived by 130 to 64 votes. The debates on the Address then commenced, and after a few skirmishes, of which the periodical return lessened the interest, the Government was called upon to defend itself against a serious attack relating to the events of the Rio Tinto. The works of this district had declined to submit themselves to the new laws regulating the combustion of copper mineral, and a strike speedily broke out. The Minister of the Interior (Jan. 16), in reply to an interpellation, declared that the municipal authorities had absolute right to forbid whatever might be hurtful to public health. This reply, however, failed to arrest the crisis, and by the commencement of February the strike had assumed serious proportions. Upwards of 4,000 miners out of employ attacked the works. The military were summoned and a fight ensued. The Civil Governor of the Province of Huelva, who was present during the disturbance, gave orders to the soldiers to fire. By this act of energy the riot was at once stopped, and in Congress the Government, when questioned, were able to throw out a vote of want of confidence, moved by the Conservatives, by 176 to 19 votes.

This victory seemed to strengthen Sen. Sagasta's Ministry, especially as the policy of the Foreign Office under Sen. Moret had been such as to satisfy the national dignity. Taking up an idea put forward in 1882 by the Marquis de la Vega de Armigo, Sen. Moret demanded that Spain should be recognised as a Great Power. The consent of Austria and Germany had been obtained some time previously, and, Lord Salisbury having consented to raise Sir Clare Ford to the rank of Ambassador, it was not difficult for the Spanish Government to obtain the assent of the other Powers. The Legations of London, Vienna, Berlin, and Rome were forthwith transformed into Embassies. Russia

alone refused to recognise this promotion of Spain. Prince Gortchakoff continued to represent Russia at Madrid, and Marquis Campo Sagrado the little King Alfonso on the banks of the Neva. Nevertheless public opinion in Spain was clearly expressed in favour of a cautious foreign policy, and especially of a continuance of absolute neutrality between France and the Triple Alliance. This opposition of the country to doubtful enterprises and foreign adventures was especially visible in the matter of the Morocco Conference. The Spanish Government had taken the initiative in bringing about a meeting of the Powers with the object of discussing the government of settlers in Morocco protected by the representatives of the European States. In spite of the importance of this reform the hostility of the Moorish Government on the one hand, and the intrigues of the European Powers, caused the Spanish proposals to be dropped.

Dynastic and financial difficulties soon, however, arose. Towards the end of February the Government imagined that it had discovered an intrigue between Queen Isabella, the Duke de Montpensier, and the Spanish Conservatives. Doña Isabella, the young King's grandmother, was officially invited to quit Madrid, and the Duke de Montpensier, then in France, was requested not to cross the Pyrenees; but the Duke took no notice of this warning. Interrogated on various occasions by Sen. Romero Robledo, the chief of the Reformistas, Sen. Sagasta gave evasive replies, which were not in harmony with the explanations given by the Minister of the Interior, Sen. Castillo. This incident greatly weakened the Ministry, and a few days later Sen. Puigcerver found himself unable to name his candidates on a committee charged to examine his proposals for covering the deficit; his object being to raise certain taxes and octroi duties, and to impose a stamp upon Treasury bonds. A coalition, at the head of which was Sen. Gamazo, a former Minister of Finance, was formed, and received the support of a number of provincial deputies. These demanded the reduction of the land tax and an increase of the customs duties on cereals. Sen. Puigcerver thereupon resigned, but Sen. Sagasta persuaded him to continue in office. A Ministerial crisis was adjourned, but the financial crisis remained, and the want of union in the Parliamentary majority rendered the position of the Government as precarious as ever.

Whilst within the Cortes political parties spent their time in sterile discussions, a great effort was being made in Spanish industry to realise the progress it had made since the close of the Civil War. With this object an international exhibition was organised at Barcelona, and the Cataline capital spared no effort to make it successful. The Queen Regent visited the city, and spent several days there in the midst of magnificent *fêtes*, amongst which the most imposing perhaps was the assembly of the iron-

clad fleets of England, France, Italy, and Germany. In the midst, however, of these rejoicings the Queen Regent was suddenly recalled (June 9) to Madrid by the state of political affairs. The Sagasta Ministry, on the sudden dislocation of its Parliamentary supporters, resigned in a body. In April it had defeated by an enormous majority, 554 against 48, an amnesty proposed by the Republican Deputies, it had moreover carried its treaties of commerce with Russia and Italy, but in the month of May its Liberal supporters having claimed a fulfilment of its promises with regard to political reform and the establishment of universal suffrage, it found itself deprived of its greatest element of strength. Unfortunately, too, General Cassola, Minister of War, obstinately pushed forward his projects of military reorganisation, against which General Lopez Dominguez, the most noisy leader of the military party, protested. The Minister threatened to resign if his proposals were not inscribed on the orders of the day in the Chamber, even before the Budget. Sen. Romero Robledo, surnamed from his well-known impetuosity, "Colonel of Hussars," seized this opportunity to attack the Ministry. In a preliminary skirmish the Government had obtained a majority of 157 against 63 on a vote of confidence, but, in view of the large number of official deputies who voted with the Ministry of the day, this majority was but a slight one. Shortly afterwards, the Captain-General Martinez Campos having refused to ask the watchword for the garrison of Madrid in the absence of the Queen from the Infanta Eulalia, on the ground that she was married to Prince Antonio de Bourbon (a son of the Duke de Montpensier, and only a lieutenant-colonel of hussars), Sen. Sagasta resigned; the results, however, of this step were without immediate importance. Sagasta was invited to reconstitute his Cabinet, which he did with few changes among its members. Sen. Moret became Minister of the Interior, the Marquis de la Vega de Armigo, Foreign Affairs. Sen. E. O'Ryan replaced General Cassola at the War Office, the portfolio of Agriculture was given to Sen. Canalejas, and that of the Colonies to Sen. Ruiz Capdepon. This new combination prolonged the existence of the Sagasta Ministry to the end of the year. The commerce of the Peninsula had to support the effects of the tariff war between France and Italy; the French authorities, in order to prevent the entry of Italian wines into France through Spanish shippers, insisted upon certificates of origin, signed by the French consul in Spain. This precaution was, moreover, accompanied by an increased watchfulness on the part of the French Customs, which aroused serious troubles in many towns, especially Valencia.

The Parliamentary recess was marked by a press controversy which attracted the attention of Europe. A former Minister of Justice, Sen. Francisco Silvela, published a letter in which he demanded sweeping reforms in the judicial system and prison management of the country; a criminal trial led to the most

astounding revelations as to the state of the Spanish prisons and *presidios*. It was shown that prisoners and convicts were able by means of money to walk about the towns with their warders, and to arrange extraordinary evasions from custody. This sudden revival of *picaresque* manners was somewhat humiliating for enlightened Spaniards of all parties. Another characteristic episode was the series of manifestations against Sen. Canovas del Castillo made by the students of Salamanca, Granada, Valladolid, Valencia, and Barcelona. The former Minister of Alphonso XII. undertook in November a political tour, of which the Conservatives took advantage to make ovations to their chief; this was regarded by the young Republicans of the universities as a provocation, especially as Sen. Canovas was accompanied on his journey by Sen. Villavid, who as Prefect of Madrid in 1884 had distinguished himself by his severity in the struggle between the students and the Administration. On the present occasion, however, the Ministry were lucky enough to restrain the Republican ardour of these youths without bloodshed.

On the reassembling of the Cortes (Nov. 19) the military party at once attacked General Cassola's proposed reforms, and party spirit in the army ran so high that at Madrid some young officers of the staff forced their way into the office of the *Correspondencia Militar*, which supported the views of the Minister, and assaulted the editor. On this occasion the great Republican leader, Sen. Castelar, delivered a remarkable speech, in which he eloquently denounced these outrages on the liberty of the press; nevertheless the Sagasta Ministry was scarcely stronger at the close of the year than at its opening, and in the month of December one of its most important members, Sen. Moret, was forced to resign. Nevertheless Spain had been preserved for another year from revolution, and from serious complications at home and abroad. The recall, too, of the Marquis de Benona, ambassador at Berlin, who was thought to be too warm a partisan of the Triple Alliance, proved that Spain could hold herself towards Germany in an independent attitude.

VIII. PORTUGAL.

The history of this little kingdom during the year was remarkably calm and uneventful, and under the existing Ministry peace abroad and order at home were maintained, with the practical result that at the close of the year Portuguese credit, as judged by the value of the State loan, stood 10 per cent. higher than at the commencement. In opening the Cortes (Jan. 2), the King referred to the treaty signed at Pekin, which would place on a surer footing the commercial relations of China and Portugal. The Government Bills submitted for consideration included measures dealing with Parliamentary elections, public

instruction, the relations of capital and labour, and with the freedom of agricultural reform. The King then referred in his message to the rapid development of the colony of Delagoa Bay, where the first section of the railway had been opened; and commended to the Cortes the necessity of promoting colonisation and public works in a possession which had been guaranteed to Portugal by the arbitration of France. The services of Major Paiva Andrada in his expedition to the Zambesi were specially mentioned by the King, as having done much to establish securely the Portuguese dominion in that country. At a subsequent period a high military rank and further honours were conferred upon Major Andrada.

In submitting the Budget for the coming year (Jan. 16) the Minister of Finance, Senhor Cyrillo de Carvalho, gave a hopeful view of the national finances. The heavy deficit which had been foreshadowed in the previous year had during its course been reduced to the extent of 1,691 contos of reis, whilst the new year's Budget promised a surplus of 1,285 contos. The Minister further declared that no foreign loan would be necessary for at least a couple of years. His plan of official reform included amongst other proposals the establishment of a tobacco State monopoly, the reduction of tonnage dues, and the revision of the existing method of raising revenue. The railway from Alemtejo to Algarves and the construction of the Leixoes Docks at Oporto, were also commended to the care of the Cortes, to which body the Minister also promised to refer the knotty questions of Lisbon municipal finance.

A statement made in the House of Commons (May 17) by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that England did not recognise the right of Portugal to control Central Africa or to obstruct the course of the Zambesi, led to a long and protracted debate in both Houses of the Cortes. In answer to Senhor Vilhena, a former Minister of Marine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that no official correspondence had taken place between the two Powers with reference to African affairs. He then went on to say that Portugal, following the example of England, Germany, and the Free Congo State, maintained the principle that for territories in the interior of Africa an effective occupation did not constitute a condition *sine quâ non* of possession, or political dominion, or of a demarcation of the respective spheres of influence. The Portuguese Minister, moreover, declared that, in view of the resolutions of the Berlin Conference and of previous treaties, it was to be inferred that Portugal claimed the right to determine the conditions of trade on the Zambesi; but that Portugal would not refuse to modify existing legislation if not injurious to her colonial interests in Africa. All the speakers, who continued the debate during five days, maintained the Zambesi to be a Portuguese river, and supported the Ministry in its claim for complete freedom of action in Africa.

The state of the King's health occasioned very considerable anxiety throughout the year. In the earlier part he had been laid up with a severe attack of pleurisy, and after much delay, during which he made but little progress, the doctors recommended him to try a voyage in the Mediterranean, followed by a visit to his native place, Coburg, and to Switzerland. He ultimately extended his journey to Berlin, where he was cordially received (Aug. 12) by the Emperor, and to Ischl (Aug. 28), where he was the guest of the Emperor of Austria, and after a prolonged stay in Germany returned by way of Madrid, where he was most cordially received (Oct. 8–15) by the Court and people.

At one moment the calm surface of Portuguese politics seemed about to be disturbed by the refusal of the Morocco Government to give satisfaction for an attack made by the Moors of Larache on Portuguese fishermen. A corvette was promptly ordered to Tangier to support the demands of Portugal, and a frigate soon followed; and, the Moorish Government having tendered its apologies, the two ships quitted (Oct. 28) the port. But it was rather in the south of the African continent that Portugal attempted to extend her influence. The plan of knitting together her possessions on the east and west coasts by means of a railway had long taken hold of the imagination of a certain school of Portuguese politicians, especially those of the Protectionist school. It is this school which desires to close the Zambesi to foreign flags, hoping to create in the centre of Africa a close market for home-made goods, which the Brazils no longer offered. As a step in this direction, the Government was induced to give a subsidy to a mail steamship company for a bi-monthly service between Loanda and Mozambique by way of the Cape—although it was obvious that no possible trade could exist between these two spots. The Portuguese Protectionists, moreover, claimed the support both of France and Germany in their interpretation of an exclusive transcontinental policy under the Treaty of Berlin in 1886, and they aimed apparently at extending their influence round both Angola and Mozambique in order to give proof of their constant expansion.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA.

INDIA, CENTRAL ASIA, AFGHANISTAN, CHINA, AND JAPAN.

THE chief events which troubled the peace on the frontiers of India were the revolt of Ishak Khan against the Amir, the expedition to Sikkim to relieve the country from the presence of hostile Tibetans, and the operations against the tribes of the Black

Mountain to punish them for a long series of depredations on our borders. Each of these will be noticed in some detail.

Afghanistan.—After the suppression of the Ghilzai revolt the power of the Amir of Afghanistan was firmly established, and he had leisure to turn his attention to the subjugation of some of the independent, or semi-independent, tribes which inhabit Swat and Bajour, and the country to the north of the Khyber. He took up his position at Jellalabad, and the tribes, conscious of their danger, forgot their own disputes to combine against the Amir, and refused his overtures. He was, however, successful in detaching one or more of the local chiefs to his side, when circumstances recalled him to Kabul and the operations were suspended. The general was, however, left to coerce the Shinwaris, who had refused to pay the taxes which were due, and had treacherously murdered about fifty members of a *jirga*, or commission, which had been sent to inquire into the dispute. The *jirga* in Afghanistan bear a peculiarly sacred character, and this atrocity, which is unparalleled in their history, drew upon the Shinwaris the condemnation of the whole nation. The general retaliated by burning villages and harrowing the country, but before he had made an effectual impression upon the Shinwaris he was recalled to meet the graver danger of the revolt of Ishak Khan. This chief, a cousin of the Amir, had been a companion of his exile, and had cordially assisted him in his efforts to consolidate the kingdom. He had been rewarded with the Governorship of Afghan Turkestan, but of late the Amir had reason to suspect the fidelity of his cousin, and when summoned with other chiefs to Kabul he ventured to disobey, and induced the Mir of Maimana to join him. It was an inopportune moment, for the Ghilzais had been suppressed and Ayub Khan was a prisoner in the hands of the English, and the Amir was able to devote his attention solely to the revolt. But perhaps Ishak was conscious that the summons to Kabul was, in fact, a sentence of degradation and death. He boldly proclaimed himself the Amir, and endeavoured to win over the garrison at Maimana, but the regiments which he sent seized their leaders and delivered them to the Governor of Herat. He had no support in the country itself, which is inhabited by Usbeks, and had to rely solely upon the local Afghan troops, which he had corrupted; but he still had an army of 7,000 men, subsequently increased, with which he tried to gain the pass at Bamian. Gholam Hyder had, however, already occupied the pass, and promptly stormed the Kamard fort and routed a force of cavalry at Shori. Ishak concentrated his forces at Tashkargan, where Gholam Hyder attacked him on September 4. The battle was against the Amir—the left wing was beaten and driven from the field; but while Ishak's troops stopped to plunder the camp Gholam Hyder retrieved the day by leading a vigorous attack with his right wing upon the division commanded by Ishak, and

put him to flight with severe loss ; then, turning upon the other division, also put it to flight. Ishak fled to Russian territory, and in a few days the beaten army surrendered. Afghan Turkestan again passed under the Amir's rule.

The only other event in Afghanistan which requires notice is a raid by Turkoman Salors across the boundary recently defined by the Commission, and their conflict with Afghan troops. It was feared at the time that this was a preliminary measure to revive the boundary dispute with a view to further encroachments, but it was finally seen to be an unimportant matter, the raid being made to induce certain Turkoman families to cross over to their kinsmen on the other side of the border. The Amir has proved himself a strong and vigorous ruler, perfectly capable of maintaining his authority and of subduing refractory tribes. He has had the cordial support of the Government of India, and has had seasonable gifts of modern arms and ammunition, which contributed materially to his success at Tashkargan ; but still there are many questions, usually arising between neighbouring Powers, which require settlement, and the Amir has invited the Indian Government to send him a mission to confer upon all questions so that he may learn personally the views and intentions of Government. A mission, led by the Foreign Secretary, with a suitable following, was accordingly about to visit Kabul when the revolt of Ishak obliged it to be postponed. Possibly it will reassemble, now that the revolt is at an end.

Tibet and Sikkim.—With Tibet the Government of India had no quarrel. Indeed it had been proposed to send thither an important mission to establish mutual and beneficial relations of trade and commerce. But the jealousy of the Lamas not only objected to the mission, but, in anticipation of the arrival of any other embassy, the Tibetans occupied Lingtu, and built a fortified wall across the road over the Jalapla Pass, which is the most important of all the passes which lead into Tibet. The pass itself is in the territory of Sikkim, a dependency of the Government of India, and this action on the part of Tibet was a distinct invasion of the rights of Government, which could not be tolerated. The question was complicated by the peculiar position of the Raja, whose possessions lie partly in Tibet and partly in India, and who therefore owns a double allegiance : to the Government for his possessions in India, and to the Dalai Lama for his possessions in Tibet. But Lingtu itself is on the Indian side, about which there was no question. The Raja appeared to be completely under the influence of Tibet, and during the progress of the quarrel kept more or less constantly to the Tibet side of the border, while he encouraged the influx of numbers of Tibetans into his Indian state. The dispute might have been settled without much delay if the position of China towards Tibet had not to be considered, but the Emperor of China is the acknowledged suzerain of the Lamas of Tibet, and representations had first to be made to China

to avoid any misunderstanding, and to induce the Emperor to use his influence to compel a peaceful settlement. China undoubtedly did whatever was in her power, and on the failure of her efforts recalled her ambassador from Lhasa. All representations having failed, the Dalai Lama was informed that we had no desire to invade Tibet or to interfere with his rights over Sikkim in Tibet, but that his position at Lingtu could not be permitted; and he was allowed until March 15 to withdraw his outpost. The letter was not noticed, and Colonel Graham advanced. On March 20 the advanced stockade at Jeluk was stormed, and the enemy retired with loss and confusion, apparently so demoralised that on the 21st the force advancing on Lingtu found it deserted. The enemy, however, had not retired entirely; they had taken up another position on the border, at the Tukola and Jalapla Pass, and here proceeded to fortify themselves while reinforcements were brought up. The English were entrenched at Gnatong, exposed to the severe cold and snow which prevails at this altitude of 13,000 feet, when the enemy, taking advantage of a reduction of the garrison, attacked them on May 22, but were repulsed without difficulty. The determination of the enemy to hold their positions and to overcome Sikkim in India obliged the English to dislodge them. Meantime the enemy had been strongly reinforced, and were putting guns into position, when Colonel Graham attacked them on September 24 and drove them down the valley with a loss of 1,000 men. The pursuit was continued to Chumbi, the residence of the Raja. His papers were captured, but he himself fled in dismay and did not come into the camp for some days. The enemy dispersed in all directions, and, there being no further possibility of resistance, the English retired within their border to await the arrival of the Chinese Ampa, who was said to be already on the way from Lhasa. This high official was received in the English camp with due ceremony in the middle of December, and the settlement of the matters in dispute will now be effected by direct reference to China. It is believed both China and Tibet will recognise Sikkim as a dependency of India.

The Black Mountain.—Against the tribes of the Black Mountain the Government of India had a long series of complaints. In 1868 an expedition had entered the country, but retired after exacting a nominal obedience and an assurance of peaceful behaviour. Since then the tribes have become more and more unruly, committing murders and robberies across the border and retiring to the security of their fastnesses. The local Government had often recommended punitive measures, but the Government of India had held its hand, and had chosen to consider these disturbances in the light of offences by individuals rather than by the tribes. In June, however, Major Battye and Captain Urmstone, in making a reconnaissance on the border, were set upon and murdered while accidentally separated from the small

force under their command. The native troops, on learning their fate, immediately returned, and, driving off the tribe, recovered the bodies of their officers. This occurrence brought matters to a crisis; a heavy fine was imposed, and due time given for payment, and on failure to comply the country was invaded by four columns, numbering 8,000 men. The river column, marching along the Indus, came upon the enemy entrenched at Kotkai, dislodged them from their positions, and inflicted a severe defeat. The enemy in this action fought with great courage, a body of Ghazis charging the English with desperation and being destroyed to a man. The boats brought from the Lower Indus were now dragged up the rapids, and their unexpected appearance so disconcerted the enemy that they abandoned Palosi, and Maidan, the stronghold of the Hindustani fanatics, was captured and burnt without a struggle. No further resistance was offered to this column, which held the river, while the other columns scoured the valleys and burnt the villages of the offending tribes. The enemy, beaten and cowed in all parts, hastened to make their submission, and paid the fines which were imposed before the troops were withdrawn. Thakot, hitherto considered inaccessible, was visited, and good roads were made to facilitate the march of troops on future occasions. With the help of these roads and the knowledge of the country obtained by the survey officers who accompanied the troops, no further trouble need be apprehended from the Hasanzais, Akazais, and other tribes who inhabit the glens of the Black Mountain, who were formidable because of their inaccessibility and the mystery which surrounded them. The Chagarzais were promised that they would not be molested if they would not give assistance to the enemy, and, as they kept the conditions, it was not considered right to visit their valleys, although there are complaints against them. It is not considered advisable to annex these valleys to British India, but it will now be possible to exercise a strict supervision over them by means of outposts. The tribes have been sufficiently punished, they have paid their fines in full, and have restored all their prisoners, and it may reasonably be hoped that peace and good order will be maintained by the hopelessness of resistance. One of the advantages gained by the expedition is the expulsion of the Hindustani fanatics from their stronghold of Maidan and from the country of the Hasanzais. This body, which is recruited by the most desperate and discontented persons from Northern India, and by deserters from the army, has led a wandering life, but for some years has been settled at Maidan, where they were the inciting cause of much of the disturbance on the border. Their removal will tend to the preservation of peace and order.

Burma.—The columns sent into the Shan country encountered little or no opposition. The object was to visit the Shan States lying on this side of the Salween, up to which the sovereignty of Burma extended, and, although the chiefs enjoy considerable in-

dependence, they made no attempt to throw off their allegiance and quietly acquiesced in the change of masters. A durbar was held, at which the chiefs were present, and were made to understand that, if the English had no desire to interfere with their internal affairs, yet that they had assumed the right of the kings of Burma, and the chiefs must continue to be subject and tributary, and maintain peaceful relations to each other and to the central authority. In the settlement of this question also negotiations had to be entered into with China, who, from her position in Japan, might have made the settlement of these states a difficult operation. But China has acquiesced in the English occupation of Bhamo and in her overlordship of the Shan States, and the impetus which will be given to trade by the opening of the railway to Mandalay will prove a potent factor in the settlement of the country. The expedition into the Yaw country was equally successful in putting an end to dacoity. In fact, dacoity has ceased to be a system and a profession, and the history of the year is a history of the pursuit and capture of small and insignificant bands of robbers by parties of police. Yet these dacoits are not to be tolerated, and their leaders have one after another deserved their fate. Yakut was captured by a body of Burman police and hanged. Boh Thae and Boh Toke were surprised and killed. The great use of these expeditions is the geographical knowledge obtained, and materials are fast being accumulated for a complete and reliable map of Burma. The expedition to Magong took us to the jade mines in the far north, and to the lake in its vicinity, where a police post has been located. While Upper Burma was being pacified and reduced to habits of order and obedience, there was a sudden rising in Tavoy, which had been denuded of troops, but order was quickly restored on the arrival of reinforcements. The hill tribes of the Chins and the Lushais are now shut in between the Indian and the Burman frontiers, and, as the Chins have attacked and killed British subjects, including an English officer engaged on survey work, it has been found necessary to send an expedition against them. They were attacked in December and suffered some loss, and are now being followed up by our troops; but the difficulty lies in the utter want of roads in these hills and forests, of which a belt of ninety miles intervenes between Burma and India, and in the impossibility of utilising any transport except that by coolies. Expeditions against the Kachins and Karens are also on the eve of starting. Generally speaking, British Burma may be said to be quiet; the revenue is increasing, and the Administration is busy with its regular work, while the country to the north is exposed to the attacks of the wild tribes on the frontier, against whom punitive measures are about to be taken to force them to respect authority and to take security that they will be peaceful neighbours.

Other States.—There appeared to be a certain tension in the

affairs at Hyderabad, and a disposition to override the recommendation of the Minister, when matters were brought to a crisis by the suspension of the Public Works Secretary, better known as Abdul Huq. It appeared that an arrangement had been concluded in 1883 by which the entire mining rights of the State were transferred to Messrs. Watson and Stewart, of London, for ninety-nine years, on consideration of their forming a company with a capital of one million sterling, to be employed in developing the mineral resources of the State. It was, however, stipulated that shares to the value of 150,000*l.* only should be issued in the first place, on which only 75,000*l.* should be paid up for employment in the coal-fields already discovered, and the balance was to be held in reserve for future and gradual employment as fresh discoveries were made. The Government of India confirmed the agreement, and Abdul Huq was appointed to carry these negotiations into effect. As actually carried out, the company issued shares for the full million sterling, and the concessionnaires retained 850,000*l.* in their own hands as the price of the assignment of their rights to the company, and of this Abdul Huq received a quarter. Shares representing 150,000*l.* were issued to the public, but, not being well received, the Nizam was induced to apply the State funds to the purchase of shares, and Abdul Huq sold his own shares to his own Government at a considerable premium. On the nature of the transaction being discovered, Abdul Huq was suspended, and then refunded the purchase-money and received back his shares. At the same time the fraudulent nature of the transaction attracted the attention of Parliament, and a Commission was appointed to investigate the circumstances; but the only practical recommendation made by the Commission was that the financial transactions of Native States with the European public should be more under the control of the Government of India.—The disturbances in Nepal, which were noticed last year, were suppressed after the defeat of Rambir Jung; and the stations which had been captured were recovered from the hands of his partisans.—The affairs of Holkar were unfavourably noticed. The Raja appears to be given to astrology and to unworthy companions, with the necessary result of misgovernment and misrule; and the difficulty of the situation caused the Dewan (Minister) to resign.—In Kashmir some insurgent tribes attacked and captured Chaprot, but were repulsed at another fort, and on the arrival of Kashmir troops they apologised for their misbehaviour; but the troops had not been able to recapture Chaprot before the close of the year.—The Raja of Travancore, more peacefully employed, has created a Legislative Council for his State, on the model of the Indian Councils.

The National Congress.—The Congress is an attempt to apply pressure to the Government of India, and to force attention to a number of Indian questions by democratic methods and

organised mass meetings, conducted with a certain regularity and formality, and held at stated intervals in the leading cities of the Empire. Meetings have been held at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and the next will be held this year at Allahabad. The number of delegates, chosen in most of the important towns, and with a semblance of popular election, has been steadily increasing, and now consists of about 1,200 persons. Last year a movement of dissent began with the Mohammedans of Bengal and the North-West, who repudiated any connection with the methods and aims of the Congress. The movement has spread, and a permanent gulf appears to be established, broadly speaking, between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, and this movement is not unlikely to spread to other sections of the community. The Congress does not merely aim to be an association for the attainment of a particular object, to be dissolved when its end is attained, but aspires to be a permanent association representing the voice of the people, and a true exponent of its wishes and its needs. It demands a reform of the Legislative Councils, which should be reconstructed on a wide and popular basis, the majority of the members being chosen by election, with powers to compel the observance of its decrees by the Viceroy and Governors, and with an absolute control over the purse of the Government. The reform of the Legislative Councils has been under consideration for many years, and it is understood that proposals are now before the Secretary of State which will increase the number of members, and the method of appointment may be modified, but the responsibility of the Viceroy and the Governors must be to the Crown and not to locally elected councils. Other less questionable proposals are to repeal the Arms Act, to separate the judicial and executive functions of magistrates, to promote technical education and encourage local manufactures, and to establish a military college for the education of native gentlemen, and open a military career for them in the Indian army and as Volunteers. None of these proposals are new, and all have been discussed in the press for many years. The novelty is the discussion of these questions in massed meetings of delegates from all parts of India. Perhaps there is not much to be said against the public discussion of political questions, but the officers of the association have ventured upon the publication of pamphlets and catechisms for the political education of the people, in which the motives and conduct of English officials are misrepresented and held up to public contempt. The Congress at Allahabad has discussed political questions with more sobriety, and has apparently been influenced by the declarations of the Viceroy regarding the seditious tendency of their behaviour.

The Viceroy.—Lord Dufferin resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne in December. He will be remembered in connection with the settlement of the Russo-Afghan boundary, and

by the skill and address with which he averted war with Russia after the unfortunate incident of Penjdeh, and the manner in which the jealousy and hatred of the Afghans have been turned into a feeling of trust and confidence. He converted Afghanistan into a strong outpost of England, and behind a friendly ally he raised the impregnable defences of the Indian Empire. In the far east he averted inevitable complications with European Powers, and protected the British province of Lower Burma by the annexation of Upper Burma. This step has involved the empire in financial deficit, which there is every reason to hope will be temporary. The country is rich, and is capable of great development under a strong and peaceful rule, while it affords extraordinary facilities for accommodating the surplus population of the congested districts of India. While his foreign policy was highly successful, Lord Dufferin was blamed for the increase of taxation, necessary to cover the cost of his forward, masterful policy, and for the small encouragement he gave to the hopes and aspirations of the natives. To use his own words, he has "done something towards enabling India to read her own thoughts, to discriminate between vain dreams and possible realities, to comprehend real wants as distinguished from ideas, which are neither needs nor wants, and which cannot be given to her." By the Finance Commission he obtained a vast fund of comparative information which will enable the Government to exercise economies with judgment and success; and by the Public Service Commission he endeavoured to obtain for the natives of India a large and important share in the higher appointments of the public service. Of the native chiefs he said that, "both as regards their private characters, their sense of duty, their desire to benefit their subjects, and their friendly feelings towards the British Government, there is every cause for satisfaction. I can assure them that the British Government desires no better than that they should administer their several States in accordance with their own lights, untrammelled by undue interference, and along whatever lines are most natural to the habits and customs of their people." Lord Dufferin also acknowledged with great satisfaction the voluntary and patriotic offers of the Nizam and other princes of India in placing large sums of money at the disposal of the Government towards perfecting the national defences. It was not found possible to accept the offers in the forms in which they were made, but advantage has been taken of their generous and patriotic inclinations to mature a scheme which has received their cordial support. The leading Native States will be required to maintain and equip a part of their forces in the most efficient manner, and they will be given frequent opportunities to be brigaded with British forces and to take part in their manœuvres. An efficient and considerable force will thus be created, which will be held in reserve for the benefit of the empire. In recognition of his signal services, the

retiring Viceroy was created Marquess of Dufferin and Earl of Ava, and left India with the applause of a grateful people.

The Finance Commission.—At the same time when it became necessary to increase the revenue, to avoid an impending deficit, by imposing the income tax, the Government resolved to issue a Financial Commission to revise provincial and imperial expenditure. The circumstances in which the Government found itself placed compelled it to examine with anxious attention the possibilities of such an effective decrease in its expenditure which might in a sensible degree contribute to relieve it of the financial embarrassments with which it was threatened. The provincial contracts were on the eve of expiration, and the large amount of money required for the frontier defences and for famine works, coupled with the continued fall in the value of silver, made it necessary to seize the opportunity to reduce unnecessary expenditure wherever possible, and to contract other expenditure which might be postponed. Accordingly the Commission inquired into the differences of procedure in different provinces, and compared the strength and cost of establishment, and examined the necessity for expenditure. Their inquiries resulted in a number of valuable suggestions: to alter the construction and procedure of the High Courts, to revise the manner of granting travelling allowances, to simplify the manner of obtaining stores from England and purchasing them in India, to revise the pay and grades of the police and to reduce the strength of the Public Works Department, to amalgamate important offices for which there was not sufficient work, to introduce economies by appointing natives instead of Europeans to many offices, and generally to abolish appointments which might be abolished, and to reduce the pay of appointments which might be reduced. On their reports the Government were able to reduce the financial grants by nearly 700,000*l.*, and their recommendations for economies have been considered by the local governments, and for the most part have been adopted, and will be adopted as opportunities occur. Other large economies have been indicated to the Imperial Government, and the total savings which have been recommended as possible amount to no less a sum than 1,284,000*l.* Of course these cannot be effected at once, but a very large part of them have been accepted as desirable and will be carried out in time.

The Public Service Commission.—The Public Service Commission was appointed to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service. The Commission visited all the provinces of India, and collected a large body of evidence given by natives and Europeans. Broadly speaking, the Commission found that, outside the appointments reserved by law to the men selected by open competition in London, the great majority of appointments (2,419 out of 2,588) were already

held by natives of India, and that pains had been taken to exclude Europeans from these appointments. Greater opportunities for natives would therefore mean a more systematic exclusion of Europeans from appointments in the Police, Educational, Medical, and other departments in which they predominated, and the handing over of a number of appointments now held exclusively by the Covenanted service. The question had to be faced whether these appointments should be reserved exclusively for natives, or whether all natural born subjects of her Majesty had an equal right to consideration; and this important issue had to be decided in favour of the view which the statute of 1834 and the Proclamation of 1858 had pronounced:—‘It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.’ Conceding equal justice to all British subjects, the Commission elaborated a scheme under which the appointments now reserved to competitors in England has been reduced. This body will form a *corps d’élite*, and will be known as the Imperial service. It will be open to natives of India who may win their appointments by competition in England, and will be employed to fill the highest administrative appointments in India. The second service will be known as the Provincial service, which will be recruited in India, either by open competition or by competition among candidates previously selected, and by promotion from the subordinate service of persons who are of proved merit and ability. For this Judicial branch appointments may be made from the ranks of barristers and pleaders who have distinguished themselves. The statutory Civil service, which was designed for the appointment of natives of high birth and local influence to the higher ranks, it is proposed to abolish and to absorb into the Provincial service. The minor recommendations of the Commission include proposals for the proper working of their scheme and for the recruiting of special officers for the Public Works, Forest, Survey, Educational, Telegraph, and other departments; and the general tenor of these recommendations is that specialists should be imported for the highest offices, while all the talent which India can supply should be utilised as far as may be for minor work and less important duties.

Education.—Education has received considerable attention. Within five years the number of schools has increased by one-third, and the scholars in still larger proportion. There are about 130,000 schools and over 3,500,000 scholars; but these figures, large as they are, merely serve to show that only one child out of ten of school-going age is under instruction. The primary schools, which teach the elements of reading and writing and such simple rules of arithmetic as might be useful to peasants, meet the wants of 94 per cent. of the boys. The secondary schools, in which English is taught, have an attendance of about

5 per cent. ; while the remainder attend high schools and colleges of art, law, medicine, and engineering, of which there were 114 in 1887. Special arrangements have been made for the education of European and Eurasian children, but the Mohammedans are received in the ordinary schools, and of late have been taking more advantage of the facilities afforded to them. The cost to the State is about 1,000,000*l.* a year, and over 1,500,000*l.* is contributed by local bodies and by fees and endowments. The Government recognises its responsibility to provide facilities for the education of the people. But its policy is to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise—it pioneers the way and leaves the people to follow in the path indicated. When, therefore, approved local efforts are made to supply educational wants, Government retires from the field and stimulates local efforts by grants in aid. It is expected, therefore, that the cost of education to Government will diminish for some years. The inspecting staff is now imported from England, but it is preferred to substitute educated native gentlemen as inspectors, and to import European professors and specialists for short terms of years. The minor staff is recruited from training colleges.

Legislative.—The principal Acts of this year are the Inventions and Designs Act, and the Act to amend the Law relating to Imprisonment for Debt. The former is a consolidating Act, and introduces all the modern improvements to obtain by a simple and cheap process full protection for any invention or design. The term of a patent being maintained at fourteen years, a payment of R. 40 (4*l.*) secures the exclusive privilege for four years ; and thereafter, if the inventor thinks it advisable to maintain the privilege, he may do so by annual payments of 5*l.* for the next five years and 10*l.* for the last five years of the time. By omitting to make the payment he may abandon the exclusive privilege at any time, and the invention will become available for the benefit of the public. In this way the inventor is made the judge whether it is worth his while to maintain his patent or not, and the fees are graduated so as to correspond approximately with the increasing value of the invention. By this plan, also, patents for inventions of small value are speedily eliminated, and cease to stand in the way of more valuable combinations. At the expiration of a patent the inventor may apply for an extension of the privilege ; and if it is found that he has been inadequately remunerated, the Government may extend the term of the privilege for a further period not exceeding seven years, and in exceptional cases for fourteen years. The Debtors Act makes a radical alteration in the mode of executing the judgments of Civil Courts. India is not a country where the power of imprisonment for debt can be abolished altogether ; but experience has shown that it may be exercised in a very vindictive spirit. Women, who by the custom of the country do not appear in public, have not infrequently been sent to gaol, and men have

been arrested and imprisoned from improper motives. A feeling has therefore grown up that women should be exempted from imprisonment altogether in execution of a decree for money; and that, as regards men, the Court should have the power to inquire and determine whether the warrant of arrest should be granted. At present the Courts may refuse to grant attachment both against the person and property, but they have no power to refuse an application made against either one or the other. The remedy which has been provided is to make the Court and not the creditor the authority to decide what compulsory process should be issued for the recovery of a debt. If the debtor is a pauper, the Court may declare him an insolvent, and release him. The general effect of this will be to prevent the imprisonment of any but fraudulent debtors. The Civil Procedure Code of 1882 was amended by redrawing, or adding explanations to, sections about the meaning of which different Courts had not been able to agree, and certain matters which had not been provided for have been regulated. The authorised record of a suit is the vernacular of the district, but as this causes an infinity of trouble and delay in translating for appellate purposes, power has been given to make the record an English record when the judge of the Court is thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular. The Contagious Diseases Act was repealed. It was passed in 1868, and was applied to certain important towns only, but in 1880 it was found to be unworkable in Calcutta unless it were made more stringent, and in 1882 it was proposed to repeal the Act on the ground that it did not effect any appreciable good. But in England similar Acts had been favourably reported upon, and nothing was done until the repeal of these Acts in England paved the way for the repeal of the Act in India. The Bengal and Bombay Legislative Councils have passed local municipal Acts for the regulation of the municipal affairs of their presidency towns, and the Madras Council has passed an Act for the regulation of the presidency police.

Financial.—The actual revenue for the year ending March 31, 1887, was somewhat better than was expected, and after defraying the whole expenditure, plus the charge for the special defences in course of construction, the year closed with a surplus of 178,427*l*. For the year ending March 31, 1888, it was only practicable to aim at an equilibrium of revenue and expenditure, but before many months had passed it became evident that a heavy deficit would have to be faced, and the Government were constrained to take prompt measures to restore the equilibrium. It was shown that the railways were not fulfilling the expectations formed of them, and that the revenue from opium would not be realised; while, on the other hand, the loss by exchange would be heavier, and the expenditure on military operations in Burma had not been curtailed as early as had been anticipated. The Government availed themselves of their legislative right to

increase the Salt-tax from R. 2 to R. 2 8 annas in Continental India, and from 3 annas to R. 1 in Burma, and they obtained legislative sanction to impose an import duty of 6 pice (one halfpenny) per gallon on petroleum used for illuminating purposes. The Income tax was also extended to Burma, and the Excise duties in that province were enhanced. With the help of these revenues it was hoped that the deficit would have been avoided; but these changes were made too late to influence materially the receipts of the year, which closed with a deficit of 2,141,000*l*. The causes which especially contributed to this result are the military operations in Burma, a great fall in exchange, and a large increase in the interest on account of sterling debt. This last, however, is nominal, and consists in paying five quarters' interest within the year instead of four quarters', to facilitate the conversion of Four per Cent. Sterling Stock into Three-and-a-Half per Cents.

For the year ending March 31, 1889, the revenue is expected to be 80,010,500*l*., and the expenditure 80,708,500*l*., which will leave a deficit of 698,000*l*. A very material increase was shown in ordinary army expenditure, without reckoning the Burma outlay, which, though considerably smaller, was unavoidable. It is a matter in which for the time financial considerations must of necessity yield to the pressing requirements of the military position. The land revenue is the mainstay of Indian finance, and although the growth is steady it is slow. It has been less than 1 per cent. a year, and is, on the whole, a poor return for the money which Government has spent in the form of railways and canals in improving its estate. Were it not for the enormous outlay which Government is forced to make on reproductive work, and on works which are merely protective, the Indian revenue would show considerable surpluses. England acquired a continent in which commerce was hindered by want of roads and the cost of transport of goods on pack-bullocks, and was strangled by transit duties. As province after province was annexed, and the country was brought under control, the first duty which claimed the energies of Government was the protection of the country by military dispositions, and by police and civil and criminal courts. The next was the settlement of the revenue; and the last was the improvement of communications, and the measures for the improvement of the people by education and by hospitals. It is obvious that improvement is not possible without money, and money can only be provided by security and by good revenue arrangements. The East India Company failed to make improvements without money, and their administration was characterised by a long struggle with deficit, but the inquiries they made and the measures they took laid the foundation of all the progress which has since been made. Little by little they improved the administration of justice, codified the laws, and gave an impetus to the production

of a simple and rational system of law and procedure which will be one of the most enduring monuments of British rule in India. In matters of revenue they were at first dominated by the English system of landlords, and gave away a large part of Bengal and Madras to native gentlemen on condition of a fixed perpetual rent. The practical school of Indian Civilians clamoured against the perpetual settlement as unsuited to the conditions of a country totally undeveloped, unprovided with the elementary necessities of civilisation, and almost wholly unknown to the English themselves. Their counsels prevailed, and subsequent settlements were made temporarily to gain the knowledge necessary for a more permanent settlement. In this way the settlements which have been made follow the peculiarities of existing Indian systems, and agreements are made with individual petty farmers, with families, or with the collective inhabitants of a village. The object has not been to introduce new systems, but to improve the old, to simplify it, and to prune it of the intricate puzzles of customary rights and dues. A survey has been made of every field in India; and its capabilities, and the rights and duties of every holder, either as tenant or sub-tenant, are carefully recorded in the registers. An infinity of petty cesses and dues upon the farmers have been abolished, and every man knows the exact sum he has to pay to Government, and he has a guarantee that it will not be increased generally for thirty years. In the meantime he reaps the benefit of all improvements he may make, and he has the assurance that these improvements will not be included in the value of the land at the next revision. If he sinks a well, and grows irrigated crops, he is not charged for the improvement, but the assessment is still the same as if there were no well, and the only circumstances which alter the assessment at the end of the thirty years are the differences in the prices of produce, and the construction of railways or roads which afford facilities to the farmers which they did not possess before. The systems of land revenue have now attained considerable certainty and simplicity, and it is obvious that, as every lease of thirty years expires, a very little inspection is necessary to determine the improvements made by the State which should be taken into consideration in revising the rent, and a general rise in prices might allow of a certain part of the increased increment to be taken by Government, and paid by the individual without loss or hardship. These leases are now expiring in many parts of India, and the advantage to Government must necessarily be great. As long as the leases last, the profit of the railways, made at so much cost, is the direct profit on the traffic; but, as the new leases are made, the indirect profits will be realised in the form of increase of rents; and, although the growth of the land revenue has only been about 1 per cent. a year, it will probably increase more rapidly in the future, for in the last thirty years 15,000 miles of railway have been opened, which have greatly

affected the condition of the rural population. It should not be forgotten that the land revenue taken by Government is smaller than that which was exacted by native governments, for it was soon found that the burden of the old rates was intolerable, and the settlements made by the British Government were framed on the principle of a moderate assessment, which should be collected punctually. The moderation of Government has had its reward in extended cultivation, and in the collection of 28,000,000*l.* without trouble, and almost without fail. The instalments are fixed so that the farmers may pay their dues after the sale of their crops, and the dues themselves are fixed after the most anxious care that they should not press unduly upon the resources of the farmers. The position of the Indian farmer, with a fair rent, fixity of tenure, and perfect freedom, is not undesirable, and if this position is still precarious, it is not because there are bad laws and oppressive taxes, but because the poor are improvident, and they spend largely on social occasions, such as marriages, when they have not saved. Capital is scarce, and they borrow at high interest sums which they find it difficult to repay. There are many tracts, also, of uncertain rainfall, where a recurrence of two or three bad seasons works irreparable mischief. The uncertainty of the rainfall, the want of capital, and the improvidence of the people are the chief factors which disturb the agricultural classes, and which, in seasons of famine, cause a severe strain on the finances. The rainfall might in some measure be controlled by the growth and conservation of the forests, to which great attention is being paid; but capital is the slow growth of self-denial, and national improvidence can only be cured by slow and gradual social changes. The village school may in time work a change in social opinion, but, as far as Government may safely interfere to protect the people from their own improvident borrowing, it has been done by the experimental legislation which strives to secure that the creditor shall not make usurious bargains, and shall receive as fair a return upon his capital as is consistent with his risk. Meanwhile roads, railways, and canals are pushed in all directions, and commerce is not only freed from transit duties across the whole interior of the country, but is relieved of all import and export duties at its gates. India is now in a position to exert her natural advantages to the utmost, and with the advantages of a low exchange and cheap freights she has occupied a considerable position in the European markets, while the development of cotton and jute factories has already made her a formidable competitor in the markets of Asia and Africa.

The opium revenue, which is, in fact, paid by the Chinese, has always been a source of anxiety, dependent as it is on the season, the condition of China, and the political relations between the two countries. It has been known for many years that the Chinese have been cultivating and improving the manufacture

of opium and that Persian opium has entered into competition with the Indian product. Yet it was believed that the natural superiority of Indian opium would enable it to hold its own against all competition; but these hopes have been disappointed, and in February 1887 the Chinese put a duty of 110 taels on Bengal opium, which has seriously affected the price hitherto received for the drug. It has fallen from R. 1,324 to R. 1,059 a chest in six years, and although the number of chests disposed of is still maintained, the revenue has seriously suffered. For 1887-88 it was R. 8,517,000, and it is expected to be R. 8,454,000 in the current year. Next to the land revenue the salt tax is the most certain hope of the Indian financier, and resembles in the generality of its incidence the income tax in England. It is light, it is widely distributed, and responds with certainty to the demand of the Government. In India the income tax merely touches a small fraction of the population, and is assessed and collected with a good deal of friction and difficulty, while the salt tax acts noiselessly and efficiently, and is eminently adapted to the circumstances of the country. Before the era of railways the cost of transportation into the interior naturally affected the price, but with the extension of communications the price has fallen considerably and tends to uniformity. It is cheapest in the place of production, Sind, and highest in Assam and Bengal; but, with the help of the railways and the tendency to uniformity in price, it became possible some few years ago to make a radical change in the salt revenue by making the tax uniform throughout India, and by abolishing those immense cordons across the continent which prevented the cheap salt of the West from passing to the east and north. This policy could only be effected by increasing the duty in the West and all places where salt is produced, and naturally increased the danger of illicit manufacture; but with the gradual extinction of private salt-works, and making the manufacture a monopoly of Government, great improvements had been made, and it became possible to reduce the tax to R. 2 a maund. It was hoped that the great reduction would stimulate the consumption, but it scarcely affected it; which is a proof that the higher tax had not obliged any section of the people to curtail a necessary of life. The Government were most unwilling to be obliged to increase the tax to R. 2 8 annas, but in face of the necessities of the case there was no choice. The increased tax could not have much effect upon the revenue for the past year, but in the current year it is expected to yield 8,122,000*l.* Its average incidence is about 4*s.* 9*d.* per man. The stamp and excise revenues are steadily progressive, and bring in a revenue of nearly eight and a half millions sterling. The chief part of the revenue in stamps is derived from Court fees, and would at first sight appear to be a tax upon justice; but although there are many Courts which show a profit, there are many others which show a loss, and, taking India as a whole, the fees obtained are

just sufficient to cover the expense of the Courts. The Excise administration has been particularly successful in Madras and Bombay, and the object has been to abolish the system by which each petty contractor distilled his own spirits and sold it within the limits of his farm, for which he paid a price determined at an auction sale. There was little or no interference with the contractors, who generally connived at illicit distillation where they found it difficult to prevent it. The new system aims at providing a few central distilleries under close supervision, from which large contractors obtain their supplies and pay the duty on passing the gates. The shops are controlled and frequently inspected, to ensure that a pure liquor is sold and that the rules are observed. The result has been a very large increase in the revenue, which, however, would not have been possible unless the communication had been improved and the police better organised. The danger to the revenue comes from the Native States, in which the Government regulations do not have any force; but this danger is being overcome by Government obtaining long leases of the excise revenue in these States, in which the Government system of management is introduced. The great success of the administration in Madras and Bombay has led other administrations to follow their general principles of management. In Bengal, especially, with a population of 69 millions, the excise revenue is barely equal to the same revenue in Bombay with a population of 16½ millions; but special measures have been taken in Bengal to improve the system, and it is expected that there will be a considerable increase. It is obvious that a large and increasing excise, paid by the same population, merely means that the price has been increased or that more people drink the liquor. The price has not been increased, and it is correct that more people drink the excised liquor; but this results not because they were temperate before, but because of the increasing difficulty in obtaining untaxed liquor. They would no doubt prefer to drink a cheap untaxed liquor, but if they cannot get it they must come to the licensed shops. Drunkenness, therefore, is put under constraint, and so far from being on the increase it is on the decline, for the shops are few, and on an average are in the proportion of one to several hundred square miles. The income tax is expected to produce 1,452,000*l.* The actual figures for 1886-87 show that a fair success has been obtained from the operation of the tax, and that it produced 804,000*l.*, more than the licence tax. Half the revenue was obtained from Bombay and Bengal, and in these provinces the cities of Calcutta and Bombay contributed a little more than half of their total collections. The incidence of the tax on each person assessed was naturally highest in the large commercial towns, where it was 7*l.* per head, and for the rest of India it was 2*l.* 10*s.* Bombay appears to be the richest of the provinces, and the Central Provinces the poorest. It is singular that rural Bengal and Oudh,

which are popularly supposed to be the gardens of India, should be extremely poor. But the returns show that wealth is more generally distributed in the other provinces. Government servants paid the greater part of the tax on salaries. There were 774 companies, and each paid on an average 96*l.* Under professions and trades nearly 99,000 persons were assessed as money-lenders, who paid 80 per cent. of the total tax, and it would seem that their incomes are about 100*l.* a year. The highest rates of tax were paid by agents, general merchants, and lawyers, and 90 per cent. of the taxpayers were assessed in incomes of less than 200*l.* a year. These figures disclose the essential poverty of India. While there is a certain number of persons in the large commercial towns who gain considerable incomes, the rest of India contains a very small number of persons whose incomes are more than 50*l.* a year. Of these the principal are cloth merchants, money-lenders, and lawyers. The improvidence of the people has raised up a host of small money-lenders, who fatten upon them at usurious interest, while the large number of lawyers and their large gains betray the litigious and contentious spirit of the people.

The forest revenue is not large, and the occupation of the Forest department consists more in building up a most valuable property for the future than in realising a revenue in the present. Centuries of neglect have to be remedied by systematic preservation and replanting. Yet the net revenue is improving.

The receipts from railways might be expected to be a healthy feature in the Indian accounts, but, considering the magnitude of the expenditure and the large amount which has been spent on lines designed to protect the country from famine, the present burden of the railway charge is not light, and since the great fall in silver it has become severe. The progress of the railways is instructive; for the gross receipts have risen from 12 to 19 millions in ten years, but working and other expenses absorb 10 millions, and 8½ millions are paid as interest. There is a small balance in favour of the revenue, which unfortunately disappears before a heavy charge of 2¼ millions for exchange. The interest on Debt is partly paid in England and partly in India, and has been increased by the debt incurred in the purchase of railways. Advantage was taken of the cheapness of money and of the good credit of the Government to carry out a financial operation, by which 48 millions of Four per Cent. Stock was reduced to Three-and-a-Half per Cent. Stock, and the balance of 5 millions stock was paid off. Of the total charge for interest 3,753,000*l.* is on railway account, and 3,852,000*l.* on ordinary Debt account. The charges for administration grow, but very slowly, and the receipts from Court fees generally cover the cost of new courts. The Police charges have increased, as the Government has taken over such charges formerly paid by municipalities, and has transferred to these bodies medical and educational expenditure. The

large police force for Burma is also a charge which will in time be diminished. Political charges have been swollen by payments to Afghan refugees and in connection with Ayub Khan. The Post and the Telegraph pay their expenses, and contribute a small surplus to Government. Irrigation pays in a few works. The rest show a nominal deficit, and are in fact protective works which are used in bad years and discarded in good seasons. The Madras Government is about to spend for some years 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* on the restoration of the tanks, on which the land revenue of that province is largely dependent. The frontier roads in the Punjab and Biluchistan, and the roads in Upper Burma have exhausted the amount which the Government can spend on public works, and this expenditure will continue for the next three or four years. Military works usually absorb a million sterling, and the whole grant is a little over 2,000,000*l.* a year. These sums are in addition to provincial and local public works, the expenditure on which is fixed at a minimum of 1,600,000*l.* a year, but which is generally exceeded if the balances at the disposal of the minor Governments permit them to do so. In 1888-89 they propose to spend 3,488,000*l.* on roads, buildings, and other improvements. The army expenditure is the heaviest in India, and the necessity of increasing the troops by 30,000 men to protect the frontier efficiently has added still further to its weight. In 1887-88 the expenditure was 20½ millions, of which 1½ million was due to the operations in Burma; but those were obviously necessary, and the condition of Burma for the greater part of this year has been singularly quiet. The augmentation of the army and the better pay given accounts for the rest of the increase. The issue of new arms will also be a heavy charge in the future. The amount provided in the Budget for army expenditure in 1888-89 is 19½ millions, but it will probably be exceeded, owing to the Sikkim expedition and the expedition against the Hasaris of the Black Mountain. Over a million sterling will be spent in special defence works, which require to be pushed on with vigour.

Although the Budget declares a deficit, it is because it is not considered desirable to have supplementary extraordinary Budgets, but to show in a straightforward manner that the current expenditure exceeds the current revenue. It can be shown on an analysis of the figures that the ordinary revenue exceeds the ordinary expenditure and leaves a considerable surplus of 2,476,000*l.* For the present, however, the whole of this surplus and something more is appropriated to meet the special demands for Upper Burma, for frontier roads, and for special defences. These special charges amount to 3,721,000*l.*; but already the special demands for Burma have been reduced, and the frontier roads and special defences are about half finished, and the normal income will be equal to the normal outlay. But there are two dark clouds on the horizon—exchange and opium, both of which

look menacing, and both are beyond the control of Indian statesmen. Outside the accounts are the sums borrowed for railways and irrigation in the hope that the investment will be productive, and in the year 1888-89 it was expected that 4,045,000*l.* would be spent on these objects. The largest items are the Mandalay Railway and the railway on the north-west frontier.

CHINA.

Trade between China and foreign countries had never before assumed the proportion it had attained in 1887, the net imports being valued at 25,500,000*l.* and the exports at 21,500,000*l.* Of silk and tea, the two chief exports of China, the former, as in 1886, amounted to 4,400,000*l.*, but the fall in tea was serious. The figures for 1886 had been unprecedentedly small, but the exports of 1887 showed a further falling off of 5 per cent., whilst the reduction in value was at least 12 per cent. on a diminished export. In the present year this downward tendency continued unchecked, the shipments of tea falling from 120,000,000 lbs. in 1887 to 105,000,000 lbs. in 1888, whilst those from India had risen from 98,000,000 lbs. to 113,000,000 lbs. On the other hand, certain products, such as straw-braid, had an extraordinary development, the exports having risen from 150,000*l.* in value in 1877 to 900,000*l.* in 1887. The most important event, however, in the trade of 1887 was the introduction of the system of collecting the import duty and *likin* on opium simultaneously, and of admitting opium to bond. An enormous increase of revenue was the result, primarily due to the native junk trade between Hongkong and Macao, and the continent of China having been placed under the control of the foreign Customs. Two new customs stations were established outside Hongkong and Macao, in pursuance of arrangements with the British and Portuguese Governments. The foreign tonnage entered and cleared at Chinese ports during 1887 was the greatest on record, amounting to 22,199,661 tons, of which, in round numbers, two-thirds were British, one-fourth Chinese, and one-sixteenth German. The Chinese having found Bombay yarn more serviceable than Manchester yarn, it rapidly grew in favour, and during the year formed about 30 per cent. of the total import trade, amounting to 3,000,000*l.* The extraordinary demand for Bombay yarn both in China and Japan may be gathered from the number of bales having risen from 23,047 during the first six months of 1878 to 146,715 during the same period in 1888. In Shanghai, however, great discontent prevailed during the year amongst Europeans, in consequence of a monopoly of bonding goods having been granted to the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, a native undertaking, wholly controlled and worked by and for Chinese officials, of whom Li Hung Chang was the principal. This monopoly

carried with it a large part of the storing of goods out of bond, and in a port where the trade concerned and the property affected were about seven-tenths British. The first result of driving wharfage and storage into the hands of this one company was to depreciate the value of other wharf properties; but a more important principle was also involved—whether it should be in the power of Chinese officials to hamper the operations of trade in the Treaty ports. Failing to obtain redress through the Diplomatic Corps in Peking, the European traders applied to the Chambers of Commerce in London and to the British Government against the acts of the Chinese authorities. The Canton Chamber of Commerce also found it necessary to protest to the Consuls of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States against the action of certain Chinese, who claimed a right to demand from foreign merchants statements of ownership of goods in course of shipment by, or discharging from, the river steamers plying between Canton and Hongkong, such goods having paid export or import duty in accordance with the tariff. Another noteworthy change, resulting from the rapidly increasing trade between China and Germany, was the establishment of a German-Chinese Bank by a syndicate of the principal German banking firms. German exporters were thus able to settle their accounts through the German Bank, and to avoid the heavy charges hitherto imposed by the British and French bankers. The maintenance, however, of the obnoxious and injurious *likin*, or inland transit tax, throughout the country continued to be an absolute barrier to trade, except where goods of foreign origin were carried between two treaty ports. Levied all over the country, on roads, rivers, and canals, at barriers or stations often in close proximity, arbitrary and uncertain in its incidence, its collection involved not only loss of money to the merchant, but an almost intolerable loss of time. At many places serious abuses connected with this tax have been at various times reported by the foreign consuls in China, and appeals for interference have been repeatedly made at Peking; but the conflict of interest between the Imperial and the provincial authorities has up to the present stood in the way of any definite redress. Although the Canton Chamber of Commerce, in a report drawn up for the information of the Chinese authorities, states that the serious depreciation in the export of some Chinese teas was due to the competition of Indian teas, and urged the improvement in manufacture and production no less than the abolition of the transit and export duties as the only remedies, yet the Peking Government showed itself unwilling or unable to take measures to restore confidence in Chinese teas. In the eyes, therefore, of many it seemed that the extinction of the China tea trade was only a matter of time.

That the Chinese were now willing to take advantage of the resources of European invention may be gathered from the first

annual report of the first railway in China, issued towards the close of the year. This railway, running from Tongsan to Yungchong, in North China, a distance of about 27 miles, owed its existence to the Kaiping coal-mines, from which a considerable portion of its revenue was derived. The gross receipts were 13,000*l.*, and the net profits 4,500*l.*, giving a dividend of 6 per cent. on the paid-up capital. The line during the year was extended to Tientsin, the commercial capital of North China, and great results were anticipated from the business of that industrial centre. Moreover, during the summer, a complete train was sent from France to Li Hung Chang, consisting of six carriages, of which three were for the Emperor and his chief Ministers, two for the guards, and one for luggage. It was intended to run on the short railway near Peking, which had been specially constructed for the amusement of the young Emperor.

During the spring the Foreign Board at Peking strongly urged that mining operations in the gold-fields of the Amour region should be undertaken without delay under the control of the Government. Li Hung Chang, who was consulted in the matter, drew up sixteen suggestions for working the Manchurian gold-mines, one being the establishment of a joint-stock company, and he was willing to advance, by way of loan, a considerable part of the capital. These gold-fields are the same from which the Russian, Chinese, and Korean "gold marauders" were expelled by Chinese troops in 1886. Li Hung Chang's proposals were accepted, according to which the mines were to be worked with the aid and under the control of the Chinese Government, though nominally by a joint-stock company. Mr. Archibald Little's attempt to ascend the Yangtze River from Ichang to Ching-king in a steamer specially constructed to cope with the rapids, and arranged for January, was again postponed at the request of the Chinese Government. The riverain population feared with some reason that their junk trade would be injured by the introduction of steamers, whilst the local authorities were well aware that the increased trade would lead to the establishment of local custom-houses, and that thus a portion of the revenue would be diverted to the Central Government. In the hopes of overcoming these jealousies the Peking Government asked for delay, and her Majesty's Minister (Sir J. Walsham) thought it politic to acquiesce. As the Yangtze flows through the very centre of the Chinese Empire, draining six large and populous provinces on its way to the sea, trade will develop rapidly directly Ching-king becomes an open port. This city, however, is 500 miles further up stream than Ichang, the present limit for European trading, and it was from this district that the local population were anxious to exclude Mr. Little's steamer. Ching-king is the capital of the province of Sze-chuen, with a population estimated at seventy millions, and from this point it was anticipated that trade would spread west-

ward and southward, embracing the great province of Yunnan on its way, and thus the Yangtze would offer a rival route to the Red River, of which France holds the key in Tonquin.

As early as February the Yámen caused the authorities at Ichang to issue a proclamation stating that the steamer would start on the journey to Ching-king, in accordance with the Imperial sanction, and declaring that native interests would not suffer thereby, and that any attempt at interference would be severely punished. Up to August, however, the start had not been made, although the steamer was in readiness at Ichang. In the meanwhile the hostility of the riverain population had sensibly decreased, and at length, in November, the Chinese authorities gave their consent, and the steamer started on her important mission. A Treaty with the United States Government, regulating the conditions of Chinese immigration, was signed at Washington early in the year. It was to be binding for twenty years, and provided that no Chinese labourer should enter the United States unless he had a family in that country or property to the value of 1,000 dols. Existing settlers, or such as might subsequently emigrate thither under the prescribed conditions, were to be entitled to the most-favoured-nation treatment, saving only the right to be naturalised. The United States Government, moreover, agreed to pay before March 1, 1889, \$276,619 75c. towards alleviating the sufferings and losses of those Chinese who had been "the victims of injury in their persons and property at the hands of wicked and lawless men." It was with some surprise, therefore, that the Washington Cabinet learnt that, after discussion by the Chinese Ministry, the Treaty was rejected at Pekin. Local as well as Imperial interests were so closely mixed up with this question that the Government gladly availed itself of an opportunity for withholding its ratification. For example, in Canton and its neighbourhood, whence an enormous stream of emigration traffic was constantly flowing, the official residence of the American Consul was attacked by the mob, and popular feeling was so aroused that the Viceroy of Canton and Li Hung Chang alike recognised the danger of resisting the general sentiment. The rejection of the Treaty by the Chinese Government was, however, justified on the grounds of prudence and common-sense. It involved not only an ignominious surrender of the rights of the poorest and most helpless class of their people, but an agreement which would have been an indignity to them as a great nation.

Although the year recorded no catastrophe so appalling as the overflowing of the Yellow River, it did not pass without trouble and disaster. In January a terrible earthquake in South-West China continued at intervals for four days, in the course of which 5,000 persons lost their lives. In the Wannam district of Yunnan the capital was reduced to a mass of ruins, scarcely a

house escaping. In the city of Lam-On an enormous chasm opened in the earth and water of a red colour was ejected. At Lo Chan, further north, a large tract of land was swallowed up, and the surface changed into a lake.

A strange light was thrown upon Chinese habits of mind and action by what took place in the districts submerged in the course of the previous year, and now practically depopulated. The people of Honan province were so desirous that the Yellow River should continue to flow in its new channel, instead of returning to its former bed, that they seriously impeded the efforts made to stop the gaps in the embankment. This hostility showed itself from the very first, and at an early stage of the repairs 2,000 bamboo rafts, laden with stones to build a breakwater, were wrecked, and three mandarins with 4,000 coolies drowned. Operations were indeed continued, but it became obvious in April that all hope of repairing the gaps before the summer floods would have to be abandoned, and that large tracts of country would again be inundated. In due course the summer freshet came and swept away, as was expected, the whole of the new embankment. The work of nine months disappeared in a few hours, and of the 8,000 feet of river-wall not a trace remained, whilst from 800 to 1,000 labourers who were on the bank were drowned, and the waters poured unchecked into the Honan province. The Emperor's anger was aroused by this disaster, after his repeated injunctions that no efforts should be spared to insure success. Two millions sterling had been expended, nothing effective had been done, and the river dykes remained as they had been left by the inundation of 1887. All the high officials connected with the works were summarily degraded and punished, the two principal officers being sent to Manchuria to work upon the military roads. As speedily as possible the works were resumed, and thousands of coolies were set to work, but at the close of the year the river was still pouring through a gap 400 feet wide, at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, in a stream 100 feet deep.

But the misfortunes of the empire did not end here. Towards the end of the year famine was falling upon the vast provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Chihli, due in part to the bursting of the dykes of the Yellow River, but also to the extraordinary local floods of the wet season, and to the failure of the rice crop. A district of Shantung, covering 6,000 square miles, had been reduced in October to a barren morass; the towns had been swept away, and the soil, where any remained, was too saturated to grow anything, whilst the people were living without shelter on the higher lands, with nothing to eat except a tasteless grass. The provinces thus devastated contained forty millions of inhabitants, the majority of whom were subjected to hardships impossible to estimate or describe. The Government was called upon to feed 1,117,000 refugees, and an influential relief com-

mittee was established at Shanghai; but the loss of life, when the year closed, was estimated at already upwards of a million human beings.

After prolonged efforts, the Chinese Government succeeded in bringing about a complete change in the relations between the Roman Catholic missions in China and the French Government. After the war of 1857 and the Treaty of Tientsin Napoleon III. took upon himself the protection of all Roman Catholic missionaries in China, this protection extending gradually to native converts and to all members of Roman Catholic congregations, though it was never recognised in any treaty or agreement. Italian, German, and Spanish subjects, instead of resorting to their own consuls, had to apply to the French missionaries, not only for their passports, but also for support when making demands upon or complaints against the Chinese officials. The extraordinary part played by these missionaries as political agents during the recent war between France and China opened the eyes of the Chinese Government to the danger of allowing such a state of things to continue. Negotiations with the Pope having fallen through, the Governments of Italy and Germany were invited to resume their natural rights over their own subjects residing as missionaries in China, and to treat them like merchants or any other citizens. Before the close of the year the authority of the French consuls over the Roman Catholic missionaries of Italy and Germany ceased absolutely, although they continued for the present to act on behalf of those of Belgium, Spain, and Portugal. The new French Cathedral in Peking, which has taken the place of the Pei-tang Cathedral, removed two years before from the gardens of the Imperial Palace, was completed externally, and was consecrated before the close of the year. Although of smaller dimensions than the granite cathedral at Canton, the building was an imposing one. The height had been fixed by a convention between the Chinese Government and the Lazarist Mission, and it was further stipulated that it should have no tower. Notwithstanding these solemn limitations it was obvious that religious toleration, which had been proclaimed throughout the empire in the previous year, was being generally accepted and practised.

Other signs were not wanting that the wall of Chinese exclusiveness was gradually crumbling away under the pressure of modern life and its requirements. A Mission of Inquiry was despatched to London to collect information on naval and military subjects, and to ascertain the latest improvements in offensive and defensive warfare in the West. After remaining for some weeks in London, the Mission, which was composed of ten members, proceeded to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. The Chinese Government further decided to establish a national Mint, from which their own coins were to be issued, to replace the South American and other dollars hitherto forming

the medium of international commerce. Messrs. Ralph Heaton and Sons, of Birmingham, were consequently commissioned to provide the machinery for erection in Canton, and also to furnish the requisite dies. The new currency, of which the standard was silver, consisted of dollars, half-dollars, and twenty- and ten-cent pieces, the smaller coins, cash or casts, being of copper-zinc.

Indo-China (Tonquin, &c.).—Although the extension of French influence has been visibly slight, it has met with no serious blow during the year. There was one sharp engagement in April, when Colonel Bose, whilst operating towards Doney Bang, carried the post of Muong, losing 9 killed and 16 wounded. Satisfied with this success, he confined himself to occupying the neighbouring position of Phu-yen-chan. More important was the achievement of the French Consul at Luang-Prabang, in Siam, who succeeded in penetrating through the Laos States into Tonquin, thereby establishing the existence of a practical route by which the journey can be performed in less than thirty days. The mercantile community considered this discovery would more than counterbalance the English and Siamese railways, which would probably affect the districts in the neighbourhood of the river Meikong. Early in April the King of Cambodia arrived at Saigon, and was received with much ceremony by M. Constans, Governor-General of French Indo-China, who organised great *fêtes* in his Majesty's honour. A little later M. Constans was recalled by the French Government, in consequence of certain statements made in the Chamber with regard to affairs in Indo-China. Thus another change of system or of administrators was forced upon the province, which seemed as far removed as ever from the chances offered by a stable Government. That the country remained in a weak and unsettled condition was evident from various acts of piracy which took place from time to time, and especially in the suburbs of Hanoi (July 4). Six hundred pirates, disguised as Tonquin riflemen, broke into the huyen of Than Tri and carried by storm a post held by the Militia. At least 300 of them were armed with good rifles, and they were led by three mounted officers in French uniforms. The whole attack was carried out without a word of warning, and in less than half an hour the post-house was burnt down. When the mischief was complete, the authorities bestirred them to guard against its recurrence, and with this view the Tonquinese Militia, to be known in future as the Civil Native Guard of Tonquin, were reorganised, and employed as police. The Resident in each province was to have an assistant, and, in order to root out piracy, which had become very prevalent, the villages supposed to be acting in concert with the pirates were to be punished with heavy fines. The amounts thus raised were to be divided equally between rewards to villages distinguished by their zeal and loyalty, and the construction, maintenance, and improvement of the posts of the Native Guard. It was also

decided to construct a regular network of roads in Tonquin, and to place the lands reclaimed at the disposal of the residents in the Delta.

The application of the French general tariff (July 1887) to the French colonies in Indo-China heavily handicapped all British manufactures, and trade between Saigon and Singapore was seriously affected. The Saigon merchants viewed the change with little satisfaction, and the Chamber of Commerce forwarded an address to the Minister for the Colonies plainly setting forth the disadvantages to the colony of the new tariff. "It is to be feared," the address ran, "that the natives, overburdened by taxes, will not produce more than the necessities of life, and that this commercial policy, if persisted in, will bring about the ruin of the colony." In a letter from the same body to the Governor-General the chairman complained that this tariff had greatly increased imposts, had diminished trade, produced discontent among the natives, and caused many failures among the merchants. The monopoly granted by the late M. Paul Bert to a wharf and warehouse company at Haiphong for twenty years also excited much discontent in Tonquin. This company possessed the sole right of issuing warrants for cargo in store and of bonding, and it further claimed that every vessel and junk should call at its wharf, if only for customs' examination. Saigon and Haiphong, the centres whence these protests proceeded, are the only two French commercial ports in the East.

The new Governor-General of French Indo-China, M. Richaud, in opening the Colonial Council at Saigon, estimated the receipts for the coming year at \$7,415,000. He expressed his opinion that the troops should not be further reduced, the present force being 21,852 men in Cochin-China, besides 4,459 in Annam, of whom 10,206 were Europeans. M. Blanchy, the President of the Council, in reply, took a gloomy view of the state of the colony, complaining of the want of stability in its institutions, and contended that the Home Government should take over the heavy deficit, and give Cochin-China control of its own finances. Although no hope was held out that such a course would be adopted in the near future, the French Government showed a firm intention of improving the position of their colonists and dependents with this view. During a visit to the King of Annam at Hue the Governor-General obtained from him two important decrees. By these the districts comprising the towns of Haiphong, Hanoi, and Tourane, as well as a large tract of country round them, were conceded to the French, and it was also provided that French property should be subject to the laws of the Republic throughout Tonquin and in the free ports. French subjects, moreover, would be permitted to acquire property in any part of Annam, subject to the laws of that country.

Just as the year was closing, the death of Nguyen-hun-do, Viceroy of Tonquin, was announced. He had long been a staunch

supporter of the French, and as brother-in-law to the King of Annam was able to bring much private influence to bear upon him in support of an enlightened policy. Both as President of the Secret Council at Hué and as Administrator at Hanoi he had given many practical proofs of his ability and of his loyalty to France. Ham-Nghi, the ex-King of Annam, who, with his Minister Thuyet, had fled to the mountains after the war with France, was captured during the year. Thuyet's son, who was in attendance upon him, endeavoured to kill his sovereign in order to spare him the shame of being made prisoner, but in this he was prevented and was himself shot on the spot. The ex-King was informed by his French captors that he would be treated not as an enemy, but as the brother of King Dong Khan; and he was allowed, as a mark of courtesy, to retain his sword.

Formosa.—Although the situation in Formosa gave signs of returning confidence, the natives continued most unwilling to submit to the Chinese authority. In January, General Li, the Governor of the island and in command of the troops, attacked several villages, and the natives offered such a stubborn resistance that he was obliged to use cannon to dislodge them. They then fled to their impenetrable forests, whence they continued to harass the troops. The latter thereupon were provided with scythes, and began to cut down the standing crops. The natives, seeing famine before them, submitted, and the Chinese, having supplied them with food, placed garrisons in the positions they had evacuated. In other ways also the Governor made great efforts to introduce improvements into the island. He had defended Formosa against Admiral Courbet in the recent war with France, and, at the close of the war, he was made its Governor, the island having been detached from the province of Fokhien and made an independent province. A cable with the mainland was completed, and the construction of a railway between Keelung and Bang-koh was commenced. Roads were made where none had before existed; the electric light was adapted to at least one main thoroughfare, as well as to the Governor's yamen. A school was founded in which English is taught, the Keelung coal mines were placed under an English engineer, saw-mills were established in various districts, and commodious steamers were purchased to run between the island and the ports on the mainland. Towards the end of the year, however, another rising against the Governor took place, but it was promptly suppressed, and 3,000 Chinese troops were sent to burn all the insurgent villages.

Hong Kong.—This prosperous colony was able, at the close of the year, to show an increasing revenue and a substantial surplus, the receipts for the year having been \$2,582,723, against an expenditure of \$2,023,002, of which \$744,820 was for defence and special works. For some years past the finances of the colony have been in a flourishing state, and many important

public works have been completed. The shipping in 1887 numbered 27,599, with a tonnage of 6,401,837, inclusive of native junks. Immigration and emigration of Chinese also show a large increase, and the population of the colony was estimated at 212,951, with a steady increase year by year. The incidents of greatest importance were two serious outbreaks at the gaol. The first, which took place in June, resulted in the complete escape of a number of prisoners, but the second, in September, was not successful, though it led to a desperate conflict; one warder and four or five convicts were killed, but through the assistance of a passing steam launch the rest of the convicts, who were escaping in a junk, were pursued and retaken.

Straits Settlements.—At the opening of the Legislative Council at Singapore on October 4, the Governor, Sir Cecil Smith, stated that the revenue for the forthcoming year was estimated at \$4,389,339, and the expenditure at \$3,977,825, the main sources of revenue being the opium and spirit farms. He recommended the surplus revenue being employed in opening communications on the mainland by roads and railways, so that the products of the rich and little-developed States of the Malay Peninsula might be brought more easily and cheaply to Singapore. The trade of the colony was in a flourishing condition. The defences were still in an incomplete state, chiefly owing to the heavy guns for the forts not having stood the test required of them. In the protected native States, too, there was abundant evidence of increasing prosperity; whilst of the State of Pahang, the last to seek British protection, the Governor entertained the highest hopes, since it was the most favoured by nature in its mineral and agricultural resources of all the States in the Malay Peninsula. By the recent treaty between Great Britain and the "independent State of Pahang," the Sultan (no longer to be styled Rajah) of the latter will at any time receive a British officer to reside at the capital and act as Agent for the Straits Government, to which he made over the guidance and control of his foreign relations, and undertook to make no grant or concession to the subjects of any but an Oriental Power, Great Britain in return promising to protect the Sultan and his territory from foreign attack.

JAPAN.

When Count Inouyé retired from the Cabinet in September, 1887, the portfolio of Foreign Affairs was temporarily assumed by the Minister-President of State, but the post was not definitely filled until February 1888, when it was accepted by Count Okuma, who had been Minister of Finance from 1873 to 1881. He had then directed the financial affairs of the country with marked ability and success through a period of unexampled difficulty. Since 1881 he had been living in retirement, and, as

he had previously been a determined opponent of the Ministry, his return to office was regarded as a fusion between the Government and the Kaishinto portion of the Opposition, and the consequent removal of many formidable obstacles from the path of the Ministry. This strengthening of the Government at a critical period of the nation's history was greeted by all well-wishers of Japan with unmixed satisfaction. During the summer the Ministry was further strengthened by the return to office of Count Inouyé, who accepted the post of Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. This inspired new and increased confidence in the future prospects of Japan, for there had lately prevailed in Europe an impression that the progressive policy of the Government had begun to give place to a reactionary movement. During the interval between these two appointments Count Kuroda had become Minister-President of State on the resignation of Count Ito, who resigned in order that he might assume the post of President of the newly-created Sumitsu-In, the Privy Council of Japan. Since the reorganization in 1885 the structure of the Government was composed of the Emperor, the Minister-President of State, the Cabinet, and the Senate, together with a Court Council, which, however, had no political functions. The Privy Council was an addition only in name, involving no radical change. It consisted of a president, vice-president, and twelve members, all chosen from the ranks of public men distinguished for their experience or signal service to the State. Besides these, the ten Cabinet Ministers had *ex-officio* seats in the Council, with the right of voting. Not only was this Council "the Emperor's highest resort of counsel," but it advised upon questions referring to the interpretation or amendment of the Constitution, to the budgets and other financial matters, to drafts for creating or abolishing the laws of various kinds, to treaty relations with foreign Powers, as well as to questions bearing on administrative organisation. The Government had, moreover, other heavy work in hand. Multifarious changes and reforms were taking place with a rapidity unknown elsewhere, amongst which the elaboration of a new code of laws presented peculiarly heavy responsibilities. Added to this, the Ministry had under discussion the gravest and most ambitious political problem with which Japanese statesmen had yet had to grapple, the framing of the Constitution, under which Japan was to enjoy a considerable measure of popular representation.

Meanwhile, a step towards divesting the State of its autocratic powers was made by an Imperial decree, for the Treasury practically renounced its note-issuing functions, and transferred them to the recently-established Bank of Japan, which thus became the only source of note-issue in the country. The Bank was required to have a reserve of specie and bullion equal to the total amount of its note-issue. Over and above this, it was authorised to issue notes to the extent of \$70,000,000 secured by Government

bonds, Exchequer bills, or similar paper. Twenty-seven millions of this were to be issued gradually from the beginning of 1889, in return for the old notes of the national banks, by which means the whole of this currency would be eventually withdrawn. Similarly the remaining Government paper currency was to be converted within the ensuing ten years. This part of the scheme rested upon the assumption that \$70,000,000 represented the minimum amount of paper currency required by the country for its daily purposes, and, the sum remaining in permanent circulation, no need for its immediate conversion would arise. In cases of emergency, however, the Bank might, with the approval of the Minister of Finance, if the state of the money market rendered it urgent, make further issues of notes, on the security of Government bonds and Exchequer bills, but, on the notes so issued, the Government would be entitled to a tax of 6 per cent.

The organization of the Japanese Army was another great reform taken in hand, and carried out with due regard to national traditions. The old Samurai and the retainers of the great Daimios, classes imbued with the military spirit, furnished excellent material for a standing army. This nucleus the Administration found it was not difficult to expand into a national army recruited from the peasantry, and by the close of the year the Mikado possessed a disciplined army of 150,000 men organized upon the German model, to be increased every year. The cavalry mustered only 500 sabres, but the artillery had 120 guns. Moreover, the commissariat and transport services, including a telegraph staff, were so far pushed forward that 25,000 men could be thrown into Corea or on to the coast of China at a few days' notice.

Among public works, the most important was the establishment of naval stations at Kure and in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki. A system of coast defence was drawn up by the authorities, and subscriptions to the amount of \$2,000,000 made by the public. To this the Government agreed to add the balance of the Shimonosaki indemnity. At Yokohama the first modern waterworks in the empire, designed and carried out by an English engineer officer, have been completed, and others were in progress in various parts of the country. The growth of industrial and other business enterprises has been even more extraordinary than the initiation of public works, for in the three cities of Tokio, Osaka, and Kioto alone, no fewer than 111 large companies, industrial or commercial, were formed during the year 1887, with an aggregate capital of \$21,500,000. Among these, the growth of cotton manufactories is the most significant, there being no fewer than 22 spinning-mills at work, representing 76,000 spindles, and a yearly output of 1,320,000 lbs., whilst 8 large new factories had been started, with 117,000 spindles. The banks, the railways, and the commercial companies alike added to their stock or issued new shares to the extent of more

than \$71,000,000. The revenue for the financial year was estimated at 13,322,812*l.*, and the expenditure at nearly the same amount, whilst the National Debt was 63,550,898*l.*

Great improvements were promised in Tokio: increased facilities for trade, better sanitation, and greater protection from fire. It was proposed to raise the necessary funds by an increase of the land and trade-taxes, and by an *octroi* on rice-beer, and by the transfer of the rents of Crown lands within the city to the local authorities. The main object of this legislation was to secure better protection against fire, for it was estimated that 200,000*l.* worth of property was lost yearly in conflagrations in Tokio alone, 3,000 houses having been burnt in the course of the year.

The country continues to develop rapidly. The foreign trade rose in value from \$51,000,000 in 1877 to \$95,000,000 in 1887, the resumption of specie payments in January 1886 giving it a steady impetus. The number of foreign vessels visiting Japanese ports during the same period increased from 200 (tonnage 244,000) to 948 (tonnage 1,269,429), German tonnage having increased at Nagasaki fourteen-fold between 1880 and 1887, whereas British tonnage only doubled. In the interior also the construction of railways showed a marked extension, upwards of 500 miles being now in full working, of which the most recent cost but 3,600*l.* a mile, as against 10,000*l.* for the earlier lines. The new railways have been constructed with Japanese capital, for, so long as the existing treaties remain in force, the authorities determined not to have recourse to foreign financiers. Of the 521 miles of railway already finished, 239 have been made by the Government, and 282 by the Japanese Railway Company. The former borrowed 2,000,000*l.* sterling from abroad in 1868, with which the works were started, but this was paid off by means of an 8 per cent. railway loan of \$20,000,000, which was eagerly subscribed in the country. The Company's lines are paying a dividend of 10½ per cent., with every prospect of larger profits, and the working expenses are about 45 per cent. of the receipts. Within the present year no fewer than 11 railway companies have sprung into existence, with a nominal capital of 32,000,000*l.*, recalling in some degree the days of the railway mania in England 40 years ago.

Rapidly as railway construction has progressed, it has been greatly hindered by the physical difficulties of the country. For instance, on one line of 205 miles 16,000 feet of tunneling was necessary, besides the bridging of 11 rivers, in one of which the piers had to be sunk 80 feet, and in another the velocity in flood-time was 27 feet per second. Moreover, a range of mountains had to be crossed at a height of 1,468 feet. Part of one line ascended to a height of 3,144 feet, where during five months of the year work is impossible because of the snow, whilst in the summer an epidemic of cholera will in another district bring the works to a temporary standstill.

Side by side with these evidences of progress and prosperity Japan had during the year to bear her full share of catastrophes, on a scale unknown in Western Europe.

In the northern half of the main island of Japan stood the volcano, Sho-Bandai-san, one of a group of four conical mountains, 5,800 feet in height, and nearly 11 centuries had passed since this peak was in eruption. But suddenly (July 15), without appreciable warning, the mountain-top was blown into the air, and wiped out of the map of Japan. An area of 80 square miles was buried to a mean depth of at least 15 feet, and 600 people met with a sudden and terrible death. The long roll of disaster included the destruction of horses and cattle, the damming-up of rivers, and the laying waste of large tracts of rice-land and mulberry-groves. Those persons who escaped stated that the eruption had been accompanied by repeated earthquake shocks, so violent that the ground undulated like the waves of the sea. But beyond an earthquake so slight that many residents failed to notice it there had been no warning of the catastrophe. The first shock was of short duration, but after a brief interval there came a second and prolonged shock of fearful intensity, and, whilst the ground was heaving and the houses rocking, a dense black column was shot up from the mountain cone to a height of 4,000 feet. During the next minute there were fifteen or twenty repetitions of this phenomenon, all of them accompanied by terrific noise. In the last discharge the earth and ashes were thrown up vertically, zigzag flashes of lightning were seen to shoot forth from the ascending column, and the lighter particles, consisting of mingled steam and dust, rose to an altitude estimated at 12,000 or 15,000 feet above the volcano, whence, spreading out into a vast cloud, it shrouded the earth beneath in midnight darkness. Six weeks later (Aug. 30-31), the south-eastern coasts of Japan were visited by a terrible typhoon, which caused enormous damage to life and property. During the height of the storm 1,000 junks and schooners on the two rivers flowing through Osaka dragged their anchors, and 856 vessels were lost off the coast.

Turning aside from the material condition of the country to the intellectual progress of the people, it should be noted that early in the year (Feb. 3) a meeting was held in Tokio to celebrate the completion of the translation of the Bible into Japanese. Uniformity of style in the translation of both the Old and New Testaments was especially aimed at, the native assistants in both cases having been the same. The work was originally taken in hand in 1872 by a committee of Yokohama missionaries, the expense of translating and publishing the Old Testament being borne by the British and Foreign and the Scottish National Bible Societies, and of the New Testament by the American Bible Society. Throughout the year, moreover, a discussion has been carried on by several eminent publicists respecting the advisability

of the country embracing the Christian religion. Some recommended its adoption on the ground of its being the creed of the most highly civilised nations. Others thought it might bring about the improvement of music, or would promote a union of sentiment and feeling, leading to harmonious co-operation, or might furnish a medium of freer intercourse between men and women. On the other side it was urged that, the Japanese having no taste whatever for dogmatic teaching, it was impossible they would ever become a religious people; that the youth of Japan, being freed from the thralldom of creeds and left to act according to the dictates of reason, were so far in advance of Europeans that they should go abroad and preach the religion of reason to foreign countries.

The Commission of artists and students sent to Europe in the summer of 1886 to study Western art returned to Japan, and, after visiting the galleries and art schools of Europe and America, reported that Japan had nothing to gain by adopting Western methods. They considered that Japanese art was *per se* better than European, and that, instead of Japan looking to Europe for models and methods, Europe would infallibly have to go to Japan. This foreign tour, however, was a small part of the work of the Commission. The more serious and important part of their labours was in Japan, where some steps were necessary in order to preserve existing Japanese national art-treasures, which were being sold by the priests to dealers for the European market. The tour of the Commission (which was reconstituted as a permanent institution) through the home provinces around Kioto lasted four months. Three hundred temples were visited and their contents carefully classified, measured, photographed, and described. In the city of Kioto itself a collection of paintings by early Chinese and Japanese artists was found in a temple where they had been collected by the abbot in the tenth century, the existing priests being wholly ignorant of their value.

In connection with the formal adoption of European dress by the ladies of the Japanese Court, a number of American ladies, headed by Mrs. Cleveland and Mrs. Garfield, addressed a letter to the ladies of Japan, urging them not to adopt European dress, because of its unsuitability and its injury to health, and appealing to them as mothers of the future sons and daughters of Japan not to endanger the health of the nation by wearing the heavy skirts and dangerously close-fitting dress bodies of foreign ladies. The American ladies' remonstrance, however, met with little recognition in the official world, and the steady inroad of European costume was unchecked by national or artistic feeling among the natives.

COREA.

The 'Hermit' kingdom has been making persistent efforts to establish its independence. Governed by a sovereign of its own, who exercises powers of life and death over his people, he is nevertheless a vassal of the Emperor of China. This relation has lasted for two centuries and a half. Corea pays an annual tribute to China, and a Chinese Resident is installed in its capital. The tie has of late been considerably relaxed, for a short time back the Corean Government was allowed to conclude treaties in its own name with Western Powers, and during the year it further obtained leave from China to send a representative to Washington and another to Europe. The former, after some delay, was received at Washington, but under conditions which determined the Chinese Viceroy, on behalf of the Chinese Government, to send a peremptory despatch to the King of Corea complaining that his representative had presented letters of credence to the President of the United States without the intervention of the Chinese Minister. The result of this was that the Corean Minister was disavowed by his own Government as having exceeded his instructions, and the lesson thus administered by the suzerain Power was not thrown away, for the other envoy, who was to have proceeded to Europe, never succeeded in getting beyond Hong Kong.

The ports of Fusan and Yuensan, now recently opened to foreign trade, showed a decided advance in prosperity, Fusan being practically a Japanese settlement of 2,000 persons, and having a good import and export trade. In August a report, traced to a few Chinese, accused the American missionaries of purchasing Corean babies and boiling them down to produce photographic chemicals. The authorities, warned in time, were able to protect the scattered missionaries, but in Seoul nine Corean officials, who were said to have been concerned in the sale of the children, were seized by the people and decapitated in the street. The foreign Legations telegraphed for aid to the men-of-war at Chemulpo, forty miles away, and during the night three bodies of thirty men each, from the French, American, and Russian gunboats, arrived in Seoul for the protection of their countrymen. A large force of Japanese marines also arrived the next day. Later in the year the Government attempted, through an American citizen, to raise a loan in the United States, but the terms demanded were pronounced impossible, and the scheme fell through.

During the autumn the Grand Duke Alexander Michaelovitch visited the country, and was received with great cordiality by the King, who was thus for the first time brought into contact with a member of one of the royal families of Europe.

Later on, considerable excitement was created in political and official circles in the Far East by the circulation of a

pamphlet on the relations between Corea and China. The author, Mr. Denny, an American, had been invited by Li Hung Chang to accept the post of Foreign Adviser to the King of Corea when Herr von Mollendorff left the country in 1885. In this pamphlet Mr. Denny discussed the claim of China to the suzerainty of Corea, her treatment of her so-called vassal, and the charge that the King was weak and unfit to govern the country. The pamphlet owed its importance to the position of the writer in the Corean Government, which gave it the character of a manifesto. Its violent hostility towards China was less noteworthy than the declaration of Corean policy thus clearly enunciated. Mr. Denny asserted that in his capacity of Foreign Adviser to the Corean Government he had met with every conceivable kind of opposition from China. The policy pursued by that country he denounced as unwarrantable and unjust, and he accused the Viceroy of failing to redeem his promises of support. Having found all private remonstrances futile, Mr. Denny at length determined to denounce publicly the dangerous policy which China was pursuing, and to present to the world the Corean side of the question.

CHAPTER VI.

AFRICA.

EGYPT—SOUTH AFRICA—EAST AFRICA—WEST AFRICA— CENTRAL AFRICA.

I. EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

IN Egypt the year, though not uneventful, has been tranquil as compared with some of its immediate predecessors. A complete change of Ministry has been its most conspicuous feature. Towards the close of last year it had become apparent that complete cordiality no longer existed between Nubar Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, and Sir Evelyn Baring. The unsatisfactory organisation of the police, who, centralised in Cairo, were to a large extent independent of the control of the mudirs, resulting as it did in diminishing the responsibility of the mudirs and their capacity for maintaining order and repressing crime, was felt to call for thorough reform. But, while Nubar Pasha laid stress on the necessity of increasing the authority of the mudirs, the British representative, more alive to the danger of committing the control of the police to the native governors, advocated a more efficient supervision of the mudirs themselves. The difference of opinion extended to other points and to larger questions. The confidence which had previously existed between Sir E. Baring and the Premier was destroyed. Nubar believed that in many respects the English administrators had failed to appreciate the real needs of the country. He deprecated their

rough-and-ready fashion of extirpating abuses. He feared that in their impatience for reform they did not always realise the conditions which they had to face. Possibly he found that the attempt to govern a country independently, in accordance with the advice of foreign advisers who would not permit their advice to be overlooked, was too difficult a problem to solve, and that self-government tempered by foreign interference was only likely to end in the destruction of self-respect. At any rate, all through the spring it was evident that the Premier's position was becoming critical, and at length the Khedive, apparently alarmed by some of Nubar's administrative and financial projects, aware of his strained relations with the British representative, and possibly influenced by the suggestions of Ghazi Mukhtar, the Ottoman envoy, suddenly dismissed his Prime Minister, and summoned Riaz Pasha to form a Government in Nubar's place. At first it was thought that this step, which was taken without consultation with Sir E. Baring, and was regarded by some as a sign of the reviving influence of Mukhtar Pasha, might prove unfavourable to English interests, and the nominations for the new Cabinet rather tended to increase the suspicion. But any alarm which was entertained soon disappeared. The new Premier acted with moderation and discretion. All classes united in praise of his honesty and good intentions. By the Mussulman population the appointment was generally well received. The list of Ministers first put forward was, at the suggestion of the English officials, modified in one or two of its least admirable points. Omar Loutfi Pasha, whose notorious abuse of authority under Ismail and admitted incompetence as Governor of Alexandria during the massacres would have made his proposed appointment to the War Office a grave mistake, was induced to refuse the appointment. Sir Colin Moncrieff effectually protested against the selection of a reactionary and inefficient head for the department of Public Works. Riaz himself accepted the two most important portfolios—those of Finance and of the Interior, together with the Presidency of the Council. Mustapha Fehmi Pasha was made Minister of War, and Fakri Pasha Minister of Justice. Zeki Pasha was sent to the department of Public Works, and Ali Moubarek Pasha became Minister of Public Instruction.

As to most of these appointments little was to be said. All the new Ministers were undistinguished, and some not free from objection. But on the whole the changes have only served to show that a change in Pashas makes little or no appreciable difference in Egyptian administration. For only one department—that of Public Instruction—can it be said that the change has proved distinctly detrimental. From the first the relations between the new Minister for Education and his able and scholarly secretary, Yacoub Pasha Artin, were full of tension. The Secretary was known to cherish large schemes for the

development of his department, and had already begun to arrange in London for the State education of young Egyptians in this country. But the new Minister of Public Instruction had no sympathy with these designs, and when the sudden death of Takwor Pasha Agopian created a vacancy in the Railway Board, at the same time as it deprived Egypt of a valuable public servant, Ali Moubarek secured the promotion of Artin Pasha to the vacant post. For Artin himself the change was a promotion, but it is to be feared that the cause of Egyptian education has not profited by the event. In other departments, however, there have been steady signs of progress. The railway administration, although it continues under the system of triple control, in spite of the strong recommendations of the Commission of railway experts whom we ourselves appointed to inquire into it last year, has discovered a means of judiciously increasing its revenues without having at present imposed unfair or excessive burdens. The new member of the Board, Artin Pasha, seems likely to work well with his English and French colleagues, although at present his experience of railway management has not been large, and technical knowledge is not strongly represented among those responsible for the system. The Post Office keeps up the reputation of its administrators. The Customs Department, apart from fiscal improvements, shows, thanks to Mr. Alfred Caillard, signs of steady progress in its management and methods. The administration of justice still admits of large reform, but the international tribunals do their work fairly well, and have been strengthened by the appointment of Mr. Lionel Sandars as English judge of first instance. Another recent appointment also, that of Mr. Bond, to a judgeship in the native courts may be regarded as a move in the direction of improvement. The new Premier retains the control of the Ministry of the Interior, and has already won good opinions there. The mudirs are encouraged to report freely on the condition of their provinces. The department of Public Security has been reorganised, and the vexed question of the management of the police has been settled for the present. Increased publicity and the influence of the press are beginning to have some effect on Egyptian administration. The department of Public Works has been severely tried by the fluctuations in the level of the Nile. At the beginning of the year the river was unusually high, and during the autumn it fell so rapidly and continuously that the waters reached a level lower than any recorded during the last 100 years. It was inevitable that this occurrence should involve great loss to the country. A low Nile means inability to fill the basins of Upper Egypt, and consequently a diminution in the cultivable area, and a lessened supply of wheat for the following year. The crops, the maize crop especially, suffered severely; but the vigour and efficiency of the Public Works Department did much to diminish this misfortune, and a plan has been adopted

which is calculated, by a large outlay upon masonry and earth-works, and by the cutting of fresh canals, to provide against the recurrence of such mishaps.

Another difficulty of some importance has been solved during the year, mainly owing to the good offices of Sir William Marriott. Ismail Pasha, the ex-Khedive, had advanced claims against the Egyptian Government amounting to some five millions sterling. Those claims, though without any solid basis, had never been withdrawn, and from every point of view it was desirable to come to a settlement. The ex-Khedive had claims for arrears of his civil list, claims to palaces at Constantinople and Cairo, and other claims for standing crops. But happily palaces and lands were just the things which the Egyptian Government was anxious to get rid of, so that some basis of compromise was arranged. Sir W. Marriott had the good fortune to win Ismail's confidence, and to persuade him not to press for more than he could reasonably expect. Sir Edgar Vincent, on behalf of the Egyptian Government, conducted the negotiation with equal moderation and tact. Sir Evelyn Baring used all his diplomacy to smooth the difficulties away. As the result, towards the end of January last, an arrangement apparently equally satisfactory to both parties was concluded. The ex-Khedive receives his palaces, a handsome compensation for his crops, and a grant of Domains lands to the value of some 1,200,000*l*. For this Ismail surrenders all claim to his civil list, and the Egyptian Government has the satisfaction of ridding itself of some unprofitable possessions, and of feeling that it has healed a family breach. There may be those who maintain that no compromise was required, but it would be ungrateful to refuse credit to a settlement which seems to have pleased everybody concerned.

Apart, however, from other internal questions, the question of finance continues to figure as the crowning difficulty of Egyptian administration. The forecast of this year's Budget, published towards the close of 1887, estimated for a surplus of some 24,000*l*. On the whole, the favourable estimate formed has been fairly verified. The indirect taxes have produced something less than the amount anticipated, and the revenues from exemptions from the conscription and from the increased charges on tobacco have also disappointed the expectations formed. On the other hand, this loss has been to a great extent compensated by an excess in the receipts of the Railway Department, and by the revenue from the land-tax, the cotton crop, and the customs. Moreover, the Domains and Daira administrations have shown unexpected signs of improvement. The Daira has this year paid its coupons out of its own revenues, and has even paid some 40,000*l*. into the Exchequer on account of its taxes. Any prospect of solvency in this branch of Egyptian finance is a new departure which cannot be overlooked. The Budget for next year has to

face the heavy loss entailed by the vagaries of the Nile, but even in spite of that calamity the financial authorities hopefully calculate on a surplus. The two most unsatisfactory features in Egyptian finance are still the pensions and the expenditure in connection with the Soudan. But the latter is accepted as inevitable, and a hope of diminishing and at some future time of finally removing the former charge is justified by the projects of commutation and conversion which are now finding favour with the Government.

The publication of the closed accounts for the year 1887 has afforded an opportunity of considering generally the recent financial progress of the country. Taking for example the revenue raised during the years 1885, 1886, and 1887, the first point which strikes the attention is the stability during those years of Egyptian finance. The revenue has never fallen below 9,574,000*l.*, nor risen above 9,688,000*l.* And on the side of expenditure the stability is equally marked. Its highest point is 9,585,000*l.*, its lowest point is 9,208,000*l.* And, looking at the matter in more detail, the same regularity is noticeable. Both as regards direct and indirect taxation the receipts for the different years vary wonderfully little; but where there is variation it is on the right side. The increased receipts from the land-tax point to an increased area of cultivation. The reduction in the income from professional taxes is due to the abolition of small, vexatious imposts. The increase of revenue from urban properties is owing to the taxation of Europeans. The increase in the octroi receipts may be a sign of the slowly reviving prosperity of the country. On the other hand, while the tendency of revenue from taxation is to increase, the receipts for 1887 from what may be called the remunerative administrations compare badly with those for 1885. The Post Office is an exception to this, for in Egypt as in England that department plumes itself, not unjustly, on its capacity for gain. But the revenue from the Khedivial Steamship Company, from the Mint, and, above all, from the railways, is less satisfactory. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the divided control of the Railway Department does not tend in the direction of efficiency, and, although during the present year this department has surpassed the expectations formed of it, it is probable that more might be looked for, were it subjected to the control of one responsible head. During most of this period, it must be remembered, Egypt has had to contend with two very formidable obstacles, the fall in the price of her agricultural produce and the alarming increase in her pension charge, and has had only three methods to rely on to help her through her difficulties. Of one of these methods, that of borrowing money, she has availed herself with moderation. To another, that of increase in taxation, are due the increase of the tobacco duties and the taxation of Europeans previously exempt. And for the last, an improved system of administration, she may fairly claim to deserve some

credit. On the whole, the result is not unsatisfactory. The Budget of 1884 showed a deficit under normal conditions. The Budget of 1889 estimates for a surplus in the face of an exceptional disaster. At the end of four years the financial adviser of Egypt is able to show that a reserve fund of half a million in cash and bonds remains in the hands of the Commissioners of the Debt; that no deduction has been made from the coupon; that Egypt can now borrow at 5 per cent.; that her stock bearing this interest is above par; that the fellahs are practically out of debt; that paid free labour has replaced the *corvée*; and that the taxes are punctually paid.

The progress of diplomatic negotiations has done little to affect the condition of affairs. The British position in Egypt remains undefined and apparently not understood by the British any more than it is by anyone else. In the Soudan the hostile movements of the dervishes, representing the fighting force of the Mahdi's successor, occasioned both at Wady Halfa and at Suakim, through all the earlier months of the year, a good deal of annoyance and trouble to the British and Egyptian troops. As usual, rumour has been rife in that land of rumours, now of a white man with a delivering army, again of a white chief captured and defeated, and again of some victory achieved, or, more rarely, some reverse experienced by the Khalifa's forces in Wadai and Darfour. At last, later in the year, the desultory attacks of the dervishes on Suakim developed into larger operations. At the end of September a new Egyptian battalion was sent to Suakim. In November, General Grenfell, who had been waiting at Alexandria pending the decision of the Council of Ministers as to an increase in the Egyptian army, left for Suakim to take the command. The dervishes had brought up guns, and were besieging the town in force. The authorities at home, alarmed by the serious condition of affairs, and not unnaturally nervous where military operations in the Soudan were concerned, yielded to the representations made to them, and sent out a considerable British force to General Grenfell's support. On December 21 a battle was fought before Suakim, which resulted in the complete rout of the dervishes, and which displayed to great advantage the courage and efficiency of the black Egyptian troops. The year thus closed with a victory which may for the present secure the tranquillity of that district, and which is likely to have a beneficial effect in restoring vigour and confidence to the Egyptian army.

II. SOUTH AFRICA.

Cape Colony.—A Conference, composed of three delegates each from Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State, held at Cape Town (Jan. 30 to Feb. 18) under the presidency of Sir Gordon Sprigg, indicated the growth of the idea of a South African Federation. Its object was to establish a system of free

trade between the various colonies and states of South Africa, and to impose a uniform tariff on imports from other countries. At the outset the delegates of the Orange Free State protested that no railway should cross their border unless they received a share of the customs duties, levied at the seaports of Cape Colony and Natal, upon goods destined for consumption in the Orange Free State; and they argued that it was unfair that trade, which was attracted by the demands of their own citizens, should contribute exclusively to the revenues of the two colonies which happened to own the sea-board. Owing to the development of the goldfields in the Transvaal, and of the diamond fields in the Free State, a vast quantity of goods passed through Cape Colony and Natal on its way to the two Republics, and the latter, therefore, had it in their power to set up custom-houses upon their frontier and compel all goods entering from Cape Colony, Bechuanaland, Natal, and Zululand to pay a second duty. This it was felt might give a serious check to the mining industries, and the delegates, therefore, decided to veto the extension of the Cape and Natal railway systems into their territories, unless concessions were made in the matter of customs dues. President Brand, profiting by the anxiety of the British colonies to open up railway communication with the Transvaal before the completion of the Delagoa Railway should set up a competitive route, had already imposed as a condition of the Cape line from Port Elizabeth, and the Natal line from Ladysmith, entering the Free State, that the latter should receive its share of the import dues. The result of the discussion on this point, therefore, was an agreement that at the Cape and Natal ports of entry a tariff averaging 12 per cent. *ad valorem* (and still higher with regard to certain commodities, such as tea, tobacco, wine, &c.) should be collected upon all dutiable goods, which would then have the freedom of the countries and colonies forming the Customs Union. The Orange Free State, and each inland state or colony which should join the Union, would be allowed three-fourths of the duties collected upon goods for consumption therein, whilst the other fourth would be retained by the collecting Government to cover the expenses of transit. This arrangement was suggested as a compromise between the higher tariff of Cape Colony and the lower one of Natal. The Report of the Conference substantially embodied the principles set forth in Sir G. Sprigg's opening address. The delegates agreed to submit the resolutions to their respective Governments as a basis upon which a Union, to last for three years from Jan. 1889, was practicable, and to invite other civilised Governments to join it if two-thirds of the parties thereto consented to their admission. The Cape Town press unanimously approved of the Report, and there seemed to be a desire on all sides to terminate existing difficulties and to make mutual sacrifices in order to bring about a common understanding, if not an actual Customs Union. The

Chamber of Commerce likewise endorsed the proposals of the Conference, and Sir John Brand and Sir Hercules Robinson exchanged congratulations thereon, whilst Sir Gordon Sprigg told a deputation of corn farmers that the Government intended to support the proposals without reserve, and, if necessary, to appeal to the country on them. He also informed them that, if Natal declined to join, the Cape Government and the Free State would enter into a separate compact on terms more advantageous to themselves. In opening Parliament (May 25) Sir H. Robinson congratulated the country on its unprecedented prosperity, its peaceful state, the buoyancy of its revenue, its enormous mineral wealth, and the general confidence resulting from its improved relations with its neighbours. He also commended the proposals of the recent Conference. A month later, Sir Gordon Sprigg introduced his Budget, which showed a surplus of 190,000*l.* for the financial year, the estimated revenue for the next year being 3,451,000*l.* and the expenditure 3,110,000*l.* An inland postage rate of one penny was to be established, and the ocean postage rate was to be reduced to fourpence. Mr. Merriman's motion against the Government on the subject of taxation was negatived without a division, and the House of Assembly declined to entertain a proposal for the taxation of diamonds or colonial spirits. Sir G. Sprigg brought forward in the following week the resolutions of the Conference providing for a South African Customs Union, and these, after a full debate, were agreed to. The proposals for railway extension were not so easily settled. The House of Assembly approved of lines being laid to the Orange and Vaal Rivers only, but the Premier threatened to abandon the Bill unless the junction lines were also sanctioned. Long and animated debates followed; numerous amendments were proposed and rejected, but a month later the Bill finally passed, providing for the extension of the Colonial Railway from Kimberley to the Vaal River, and from Colesberg to the Orange River. Parliament next unanimously adopted a resolution, moved by the Premier and seconded by Sir T. Scanlen, declaring that the separation of the offices of Governor and of High Commissioner was fraught with danger to the future peace and welfare of South Africa. But the political sky which seemed so bright was suddenly clouded. Just before the session closed the Legislative Council, disregarding public opinion, rejected by 9 votes to 8 the Customs Union Tariff Bill, thus dealing a serious blow to the Ministry and its supporters. The Premier, however, refused to accept the implied censure, and at once announced that a special session would be called a week later to reconsider the rejected Bill. Parliament accordingly met again (Aug. 23), and the House of Assembly promptly passed the Customs Union Tariff Bill a second time through all its stages. The Legislative Council wisely declined to prolong the struggle, and the Bill was passed unanimously,

in a single day, through all its stages in the Legislative Council, its previous rejection by the latter being attributed to "misadventure."

The Transvaal had conspicuously held aloof from the Customs and Railway Conference at Cape Town, President Krüger hoping by means of the Delagoa Bay Railway to render his country independent of the British colonies. Only one section, however, of the railway between the sea and the Lebombo mountains was as yet complete, and the more difficult, costly, and lengthy section between the Lebombo and Pretoria was not even begun. It was, therefore, the obvious policy of the Cape Government and its allies to await the natural course of events, which would force the Transvaal authorities to abandon a policy of self-isolation.

Great indignation was expressed by several banking and commercial firms both in England and in Cape Town at the action of the Colonial Government in passing an Act which granted to the "De Beers Consolidated Mines Water Supply Company" rights and powers similar to those already accorded to the "Kimberley Waterworks Company." The latter, having obtained an Act in 1880 authorising them to construct waterworks in Kimberley and its district, had carried out their project at a cost of 400,000*l.*, and since the end of 1882 had provided the district with adequate water supply. They, therefore, now addressed a strong petition to the Secretary of State, urging him to withhold the Royal Assent to the new Act until an investigation should have been made into the circumstances under which the De Beers Act had been passed. No compensation for the vested interest of the Kimberley Waterworks Company had been so much as suggested, and the injustice appeared so flagrant that the *Cape Times* stated that the circumstances attending the passage of the new Bill through the House of Assembly constituted "as grave a scandal as any within the range of our Parliamentary history."

The defence works of Table Bay have been pushed rapidly forward, the unskilled labour being provided as previously agreed by the Colonial Government, whilst the works at Simon's Bay, which were undertaken by the Imperial Government, were to be completed within the year. The diamond trade continued to expand, the stones exported in 1887 having exceeded by 463,869 carats weight and 737,174*l.* in value those of the previous year and reaching the enormous total of 3,598,930 carats, valued at 4,242,470*l.* Similarly, gold exports showed a steady increase of 25,798 oz., valued at 79,936*l.*, in 1887, as against a value of 17,321*l.* in 1885, whilst in October (1888) the export of gold through Cape Colony and Natal amounted in value to more than 93,000*l.*, the largest yield for one month since the discovery of the South African goldfields.

Basutoland.—The progress of this province during the year

was highly satisfactory, for, although there were some inter-tribal disputes, there was no actual fighting. The drink traffic, which until recently was the curse of the country, has been entirely suppressed, and an effectual check given to smuggling and other border irregularities. The harvest was abundant, trade improving, the revenue increasing, and there was little serious crime. The chiefs cordially supported the British officials in the measures adopted for the good government of the country and the maintenance of order on the Basuto and Free State border. The police force was admitted to be both efficient and economical; and, as only four years have elapsed since direct Imperial rule was resumed over the territory, when its condition was deplorable, great credit is due to Sir Marshall Clarke for the present results.

Bechuanaland.—Early in the year a batch of emigrants left England for Methuen, a new colony in Bechuanaland, situated between Vryberg and the Molopo River, and occupying about 600,000 acres, but before the end of the year the colonisation scheme had to be abandoned, in face of the discouragement placed by the Imperial Government in the way of settlers desirous to acquire land and settlement in the Protectorate, although land was sold to *bonâ fide* purchasers at a quit rent and a moderate upset price, subject to the mineral rights of the Crown. Surveys for a railway were made during the year on behalf of the Bechuanaland Exploring Company, and the Imperial Government hinted at assisting the company to construct and work the line. When the engineers charged with the survey reached Vryberg (Nov. 3) they received an enthusiastic reception from the inhabitants, and Sir Charles Metcalfe stated in reply that he regarded the present section as the beginning of the great trunk line of Central Africa. Meanwhile Sir H. Robinson concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Lobengula, chief of Matabeleland, which was accepted by Mashuna, Maka, and Malaka, whereby Lobengula bound himself to refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power, and from selling, alienating, or ceding any portion of his territories, without the previous consent of the High Commissioner. There was reasonable ground for supposing that this country might prove rich in gold, especially in the Matabele and Mashona districts. One explorer had found gold in 124 places out of 127, the principal auriferous rivers being the Amazoe, Gouramapoutsie, and Umlobordju, whilst nearly every little creek or old dry water-course north-east of Hanyane showed traces of gold. Towards the close of the year Lobengula issued a notice that all the mining rights in Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and adjoining territories had been disposed of, and warning concession-seekers and speculators that their presence in those districts was objectionable. As soon as this notice appeared, the Portuguese consul issued another stating that concessions of land and mining rights in Mashonaland were null and void, his Government claiming that and the adjacent territories.

The announcement in an electioneering speech by the Cape Premier during September that the Imperial Government was prepared to cede Bechuanaland to Cape Colony free of expense, and that the Colonial Government was considering the matter, formed the basis for rumours that such a step was actually in contemplation. Protests were received forthwith from all quarters, and the proposal, if it were ever seriously entertained, was silently abandoned. Nothing, in fact, had occurred since the Imperial Government assumed the responsibility of administering this colony four years before to justify the surrender of its responsibility. Moreover, the Cape Government, controlled by the Afrikaner party, was no better able now than then to repress sternly Dutch marauders or to maintain the legitimate rights of the natives. The chief Montsioa and his councillors visited the Civil Commissioner at Mafeking in order to protest against the proposed cession, and maintained that, although they had given their country to the Queen, they would never consent to be under the Cape Government, and this decision was endorsed by a Pitso of 1,500 of the Baralong tribe. The settlers, too, who had taken up farms in that colony were mostly English, and were steadily increasing in numbers and prosperity. It was perceived that a decided change for the worse would result if the country were handed over to a Government which was under the influence of those whose cry is "Africa for the Afrikaner," whilst at the same time Great Britain would see pass into other hands the command of the northerly trade route to the Zambesi. In Bechuanaland as in other parts of South Africa the Imperial Government exerted itself to check the extension of the liquor traffic. Khama, the chief of the Bamangwato, begged for support in his efforts to stop it. Zambila, Queen of the Amatongas (or, more properly, Mapootas), prohibited the natives from selling spirits, and she has set them a good example by becoming a total abstainer herself, with the result that all the southern part of Amatongaland has a sober population. In the northern part, unfortunately, the natives have been so debauched by white traders that their moral and physical deterioration threatens to culminate in their total ruin. Spirits are imported into Swaziland and the Transvaal through Delagoa Bay, where the liquor traffic is wholly in the hands of Portuguese subjects. In July a collision took place between a party of Boers under a Mr. Grobler and some of Khama's men. In the preceding month Mr. Grobler, by orders of the Transvaal Government, threw a pontoon over the Crocodile River. Crossing the stream by this with three waggons and seven men, he went up to Lobengula, King of the Matabele, to present himself as Consul from the South African Republic. Finding the King would not accept a self-imposed consul, he returned to his waggons, from which he had only been absent 16 days. Meanwhile Khama, hearing of Mr. Grobler's journey, sent a force of 150 men to stop him and turn him back

to Shoshong for violating his territory and traversing a forbidden route, but express orders were given not to harm him. Khama's men met the returning party (July 8) at a spot well within the British Protectorate, and a small body went forward to request him to return to Shoshong. In reply, Mr. Grobler ordered his men to seize, disarm, and beat the natives, and when they fled back he followed them upon horseback. The mounted men used their revolvers. As soon, however, as the main body of Khama's force came up a palaver was held and arms were laid aside. Mr. Grobler demanded 200 head of cattle for having been stopped, and, as an answer, Khama's commander ordered his men to seize and bind Mr. Grobler. This was a signal for a general skirmish, the natives being at first driven back, but not until they had wounded Mr. Grobler in the ankle. The latter ultimately succeeded in gaining the pontoon unmolested, and passed over into the Transvaal, where he died sixteen days later. Khama, fearing an attack in force by the Boers, sought the assistance of the British authorities, and Sir Sydney Shippard, H.M. Administrator of Bechuanaland, was sent with a force of border police to inquire into the circumstances. This court of inquiry sat daily, the Transvaal Government being represented by General Joubert, who tried in vain to shake the evidence of the native chief. He contended that the route taken by Mr. Grobler belonged to Lobengula, and that Khama had no right to stop it, as it was the only road northwards from the Transvaal. The inquiry was conducted throughout in the best spirit, and the Boers expressed their satisfaction at the impartial way in which it had been carried out. The immediate outcome of the affray was that Sir Hercules Robinson was instructed from England to notify to the Transvaal Government that the Matabele, Mashona, and Makalaka territories, and the northern part of Khama's territory as far as the Zambesi, were solely within the sphere of British influence. This announcement sufficed to forestall any organised movement northward on the part of the Boers, which was anticipated in consequence of the decision of the court of inquiry. This important step on the part of the Imperial Government was interpreted in the colony as foreshadowing the ultimate claim of Great Britain to the whole of inland South Africa, lying between the Zambesi on the north, British Bechuanaland and the Transvaal on the south, and German Damaraland on the west.

Natal.—Although a certain section of the colonists protested against the Customs Union and Railway Extension Conference, there was a strong feeling in favour of some sort of Union, and a preponderating opinion was expressed that out of the Conference proposals a satisfactory settlement should be arrived at. When the Governor, Sir A. Havelock, opened (March 18) the special session of the Legislature, he expressed warm approval of the proposals, stating that, although their acceptance would

involve somewhat higher duties, yet when the scheme was thoroughly understood, the extra burden would be outweighed by the social, political, and commercial benefits it would confer. He referred to the large surplus of the previous, and the still larger surplus of the present, year as justifying the adoption of measures for completing the railway system to the Free State and the Transvaal. He further announced that negotiations were in progress for a Union between the New Republic and the Transvaal, subject to the approval of the two Volksraads, adding that the Royal Assent would be given conditionally to such a Union. A week later the Council passed the second reading of the Railway Extension Bill, the Government intending to proceed with the extension of the railway to Coldstream and Van Reenen's Pass, independently of the result of the Conference proposal, and a Bill was also passed for raising a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for that purpose. The Council having been prorogued (March 23), the consideration of the Conference proposals was postponed until the ordinary session in July. Strong resolutions were, however, first carried adverse to the Union of the New Republic and Swaziland with the Transvaal, and urging the Union of Zululand with Natal. Although the colony gave no proof of actual prosperity, its condition was throughout the year that of healthy vitality and progressive development compared with what it had been a few years previously. The great hindrance to Durban becoming an important place has hitherto been the shifting bar which frequently blocks the entrance to its extensive harbour. Engineers, however, have at length hit on a plan of dredging, which, if allowed to be carried out as proposed, will cause the bar to disappear in less than two years. The increase in the trade and revenue of this colony has been remarkable, the revenue for 1887 (816,680*l.*) being 200,000*l.* above that for 1886, and nine times greater than that for 1868. The increase for 1887 was partly due to the rapid development of the goldfields in South Africa, which revived trade with the interior, but the chief source of revenue lay in the increased receipts from railways and customs, while the expenditure showed a decrease. The public debt at the close of 1887 was 4,035,126*l.*, the population was 477,100, and the mileage of railways 217½. The introduction of Indians under indenture to employers of coolie labour continued, and was attended with excellent results.

Zululand.—This country has been in a disturbed state throughout the year. The annexation of the previous year had never been made a reality, and, though the Queen's flag had been hoisted in the colony for many months, the establishment necessary to maintain peace had not been provided, and the natives did not believe England would remain there. In January Sir A. Havelock and Mr. Osborne succeeded in preventing a threatened attack of Dinizulu on Usibepu, but the chronic feud

between these rival chiefs was not healed. In April the police were resisted when entering Undabuko's kraal to arrest four men, and were forcibly ejected. Dinizulu himself was then away in the New Republic, endeavouring to enlist support, but the Boer Government gave him no encouragement. In May he made a raid on the cattle of a loyal chief, gathering together 2,000 men, and giving out that he would "eat up" Usibepu. The Governor called upon him to disperse his men and desist from violence, but he defied the Governor, who thereupon (June 2) issued warrants for the arrest of Dinizulu and other ring-leaders on a charge of cattle-stealing. This duty was entrusted to 100 Zulu police, supported by a troop of the Inniskilling Dragoons and about 100 mounted infantry. On their approaching the stronghold in Ceza bush, to which Dinizulu and his followers had retired, they were at once fired upon and attacked by the Zulus in force. The British troops, acting with great coolness, could do no more than cover the retreat of the rest of the expedition. The news of this repulse was greatly magnified, and all over Zululand there were signs of insurrection. Tshingana occupied the Hlopekulu Mountain; Mr. Pretorius, the Resident Magistrate, was beleaguered in his residency; and the powerful chief Somkeli, with several thousand followers, retired to their fastnesses among the reed beds of the St. Lucia lakes. Usibepu was called upon by the Governor to provide a levy of armed followers, to which he responded loyally, but he was attacked (June 28) by Dinizulu, and routed with great loss. He and his men took refuge in the police station of Ivuna, whence they were rescued by a fresh force of police, but the Ivuna station had to be abandoned. Mission stations, stores, and traders' waggons were looted, and several European storekeepers attacked and some killed. In fact, the Civil Administration of Zululand had entirely broken down, and the country was for the moment in the hands of the insurgents. General Smyth, in command of the forces in South Africa, then started with his staff from Cape Town, reaching Durban on June 26, and Ekowe two days later, and forthwith concentrated all available troops in Zululand. His plan was first to crush out all insurrection and re-establish order in the north-east and south, and then to deal with Dinizulu himself in the north-west. Meanwhile a force of Zulu police, 200 mounted Basutos, and some regular troops attacked Tshingana in the Hlopekulu Mountain (July 2), and after six hours' fighting captured the stronghold, but the chief himself escaped with his followers, leaving 1,000 head of cattle behind him. General Smyth next despatched a flying column, under Major M'Kean (July 7), to relieve Mr. Pretorius; this was composed of 400 Regulars, 2 guns, 200 Basutos and police, and a levy of 2,000 natives under John Dunn. The enemy attacked their rearguard on the second day and killed four men, but the post was relieved without further fighting. A

strong fort was at once constructed, and a company of infantry left to garrison it. The column then turned towards the coast district, and, the enemy retiring to their hiding-places in the reed-beds, the district at once became quiet. Measures were further taken to hold the pacified country by means of a chain of fortified posts, and another flying column was despatched (July 23) against Somkeli and Betyana. Within a week these two chiefs surrendered, together with minor chiefs, and promised that certain murderers should be given up. General Smyth then moved forward (Aug. 1) to within twenty miles of the Ceza bush on the north-west frontier, where Dinizulu, Undabuko, and 1,500 men had established themselves. Some delay now took place, due to the friction between the General in command and the Governor of the Colony, the latter being desirous that the revolt should be quelled by the police, whilst the General, warned by the lessons taught by South African warfare, was anxious to stamp it out at once and by sharper measures.

The consequences of this delay might have been serious, but happily, early in August, Dinizulu, Undabuko, and 1,000 men with all their cattle succeeded in escaping from the Ceza bush, and crossed the border into the Transvaal. By the end of the month the revolt was practically over, and General Smyth returned to Cape Town (Sept. 8), leaving 1,500 soldiers in Zululand. About the same time Dinizulu surrendered to the authorities of the Transvaal on the assurance that he should not be handed over to the British Government, and Undabuko fled to Amatongaland, but a week later surrendered at Mona camp. In November a fresh complication arose. Dinizulu eluded the Transvaal authorities and entered Natal, giving himself up to the Governor at Bishopstowe, whence he was transferred (Nov. 22) to Ekowe, where a special Commission was sitting to try the other rebel Zulu chiefs for high treason and rebellion. Somkeli was sentenced with four other chiefs to five years' hard labour, but this sentence was suspended until her Majesty's pleasure had been determined, and the Court was then (Dec. 5) adjourned by Judge Wragge, on the ground that he, being a Natal judge, could not be absent from the colony for a longer period. Tshingana was also apprehended in Zululand (Nov. 15), and thus all the ringleaders of the revolt were in the hands of the authorities. Order having been so far restored in Zululand, the Imperial Government once more undertook the task of reorganising the affairs of that colony, and the general opinion seemed to be that the future peace of the country could only be secured by putting an end once for all to Dinizulu's pretensions. By his lawless conduct he had forfeited his right to power, and there appeared no reason for again giving him an opportunity of disturbing the country, especially as the rising met with small support from the native population. The attitude throughout these operations of the Boer authorities was all that could be desired; the

President of the South African Republic issued a proclamation enjoining neutrality, which General Joubert (the special Transvaal delegate for taking over the New Republic) supplemented by a notice that all Boers at the time with Dinizulu must remain with him, as they would not be permitted to return to the New Republic.

Orange Free State.—The death (July 14) of the President, Sir John Brand, was a heavy loss both to his own country and to South Africa at large. For a quarter of a century he had acted as an effective mediator between the two great parties into which the white population of South Africa is divided. Of Dutch birth, he had at the same time a warm friendship for England, and was a member of the English bar; but until his election in 1863 to the presidency of the Orange Free State, he was known only as a Cape colonist of unchallenged loyalty. The order of knighthood which he accepted from Queen Victoria was a recognition of the friendly services which he had always been ready to render to Great Britain. Shortly before his death he refused the overtures of President Krüger for the confederation of the two Republics to establish a hostile tariff to Great Britain, while he warmly welcomed the tariff and railway proposals of the Cape Town Conference. Mr. F. W. Reitz, Chief Justice of the Free State, was chosen President by the Volksraad in September, and his antecedents were on the whole a guarantee that the friendly relations hitherto maintained with Great Britain and her colonies would continue.

Transvaal, or South African Republic.—This country, rich in mineral resources, has prospered amazingly, and its once empty exchequer has been filled by the influx of European immigrants. Gold continues to be found in many parts of the state, silver is worked at a profit, and there is a very extensive coalfield, as yet hardly touched. The Republic still needs for its proper development population and railways. The Government so far has shown little interest in proposals for railway extension, except in the case of the line from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria and Johannesburg. The Boers' opposition to railroads in their country has arisen from the fact that with many of them the carrying trade is the chief and most remunerative occupation, and this would be lost by the opening of railways. It is in the goldfields that the progress of the Transvaal has mainly centred. The town of Johannesburg, which only a year and a half ago consisted of a few tents pitched on an open grassy flat, has increased to a well-arranged town of more than 6,000 inhabitants, showing as rapid growth as any in the history of British colonisation. Much of its success has been due to the foresight of the Government in placing at the head of affairs not an unsympathetic Boer, but an Austrian gentleman, who was on good terms with the English settlers, and is the most popular man in the district. A gold law, encouraging traders to bring capital and enterprise into

the country, has worked so satisfactorily that the mining community, of whom the large majority are British subjects, are quite content to remain peaceful denizens of the South African Republic. A strong and bitter feeling still remained against the British Government for its desertion in 1881 of those loyal men who had incurred heavy losses through their loyalty to the British cause and received no compensation. Johannesburg has been provided with an excellent mail service, the Government allowing a substantial subsidy of 16,000*l.* a year for the conveyance of the post four times a week each way between Pretoria and Kimberley, the service between the latter town and Johannesburg being carried on by means of well-horsed American coaches, of which the teams of ten horses are changed every hour and a half. Pending the completion of the Delagoa Bay Railway, President Krüger, who early in the year had been re-elected President by an overwhelming majority, not only refused to allow an alien railway to enter Transvaal territory, but held it a grievance that rails should be laid in the direction of his boundary. The Government, however, granted a concession to a Dutch-German Syndicate for a railway from the Portuguese border to Pretoria, one of the privileges of the concession being the right to convey goods free of customs duty. The President likewise granted a concession to a privileged bank, the effect of which it was feared would cause the closing of all other banking establishments in the country, to the injury of their proprietors and the loss of healthy competition. Rumours of the intended transfer of Delagoa Bay by Portugal to some other foreign Power having been persistently repeated, the Portuguese Minister in Lisbon stated (March 2) that Portugal would never renounce the possession of Delagoa Bay nor her rights over that colony, and that, although the shares in the Delagoa Bay Railway might change hands, it did not follow that the control of the railway would pass with them; the company was Portuguese, and would always have to abide by the conditions of its original concession. On a subsequent occasion Sir Hercules Robinson informed President Krüger that the British Government had no intention of buying or acquiring the Portuguese Delagoa Bay Railway nor the controlling power of the company to which it belonged, and in return President Krüger stated that the Government of the Transvaal had no intention of levying duties on imports sent by colonial routes other than those imposed on the Delagoa route.

III. EAST AFRICA.

Zanzibar.—Seyyid Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, having died (March 26), was succeeded by his younger brother, Seyyid Khalifah, who assumed the reins of Government with the full consent and approbation of the people. The first year of his reign has

been full of difficulty and danger. Early in June the Italian Consul suddenly broke off diplomatic relations, lowered his flag, and sent for a man-of-war, because the Sultan had refused to concede to the Italian Government a certain strip of the East African coast the town and bay of Kismayu, with adjoining territory, including the river Juba. This had been demanded, partly in fulfilment of an alleged promise by the late Sultan, and partly as reparation for the omission of some diplomatic formality on the part of the present Sultan, declared at the time by the latter to have been unintentional, and for which ample apology was made. The Sultan naturally declined to regard these two questions together, and refused to discuss the one until the other was dropped. The action of the Consul was generally condemned at Zanzibar, but it was hoped the arrival of the Italian Envoy, General Cecchi (July 14), would smooth away all difficulties. This expectation, however, was not realised, for the Envoy persisted in demanding the concession of Kismayu, his aim, evidently, being to secure for Italy a new route, *via* the Juba River, to Phoa and South Abyssinia. After months of negotiation amicable relations were restored, and the Italian flag was rehoisted (Nov. 19) under three successive royal salutes, the two Governments resuming the exact situation of six months before, and no territory having been ceded to Italy. Before the Italian difficulty was settled, another had presented itself. The German East African Company formally took over (Aug. 16) from the Sultan the administration of the coast line, hoisting their flag in conjunction with the Sultan's, at fourteen ports, under a royal salute. This transfer was unfortunately not effected without considerable friction. At Bagamoyo the Germans ordered the Governor to lower the Sultan's flag, and on his refusal fifty armed men were landed from a German man-of-war, who hauled down the Sultan's flag and hoisted their own, and then, after some delay, rehoisted the Sultan's by the side of their own. At Pangani, too, in connection with the raising of the Company's flag, 100 men were landed from another man-of-war, who disarmed the Sultan's troops, and frightened them into the jungle. Although it had been laid down in the Company's charter that their operations should be carried out under the Sultan's flag, the action of the Germans had for some time past been rough and high-handed, showing an utter want of tact in their dealings with the natives, and betraying their ignorance of the Arab nature. The result was to inspire great distrust among the coast population, and this was intensified when they saw the German insults to their sovereign's flag. The situation rapidly became serious; the chief director of the Company was fired upon (Sept. 6) and forcibly prevented from landing at Tanga, near Pangani, and on the following day some German sailors, after landing from a gunboat, were unexpectedly received with a heavy fire from a mixed force of Arabs and natives. The

gunboat then shelled the town, landed an armed force, and drove the Arabs into the bush, killing twenty of them. The Sultan despatched troops under General Mathews, who for fifteen years had been the trusted friend of the coast natives, to restore order at Pangani, and steps were taken to protect British interests in that place, for the insurgents would allow no Europeans to land. Order was temporarily restored, but the condition of affairs was precarious and trade was paralysed. The Sultan thereupon re-assumed the administration of Tanga and Pangani until the anti-German feeling should have subsided, but he had hardly done this when a conflict took place at Bagamoyo between the coast tribes and the German Company's *employés*. The German Admiral thought it necessary to land forthwith an armed force, and in the skirmish which ensued 150 natives were killed. At Ketwa, about the same time, some German officials and their servants were murdered, after killing several of their assailants. The tribesmen then seized the town and rehoisted the Sultan's flag. Great fears were at first entertained as to the probable fate of the British missionaries at Magila, the insurgents at Pangani refusing to allow a relief party to pass through their lines; but they were ready to guarantee the safety of the missionaries, in recognition of their numerous good deeds. This and other circumstances made it clear that the rising was not directed against Christianity or civilisation, but solely against the new German Company, which, after one month's existence, was practically driven from all points except Bagamoyo and Darhalaam, which were protected by their men-of-war. The Sultan's authority meanwhile was in abeyance, trade was temporarily ruined, commercial failures were inevitable, and the tribes were descending on the coast in immense numbers. The Sultan himself was an enormous loser through the stoppage of the customs dues, whilst the German Company lost nothing, the trade in its concession ports being entirely carried on by British-Indian subjects. In the midst of this excitement and confusion Mr. Mackenzie and the staff of the British East African Company arrived at Zanzibar and were received in special audience by the Sultan. The latter at once signed a concession guaranteeing to the British Company all privileges granted to the German, or which might be granted to any future company. The territory they acquired had an area of about 50,000 square miles, lying wholly within the region which, by the Anglo-German agreement of 1886, was reserved for the exercise of British influence. It comprises a coast line ten miles broad and 150 miles long, including the valuable harbour of Mombasa, and stretching inward in the shape of an irregular wedge which has its apex on the eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza. Its northern boundary is the river Tana, from the coast for some distance inwards, though it ultimately quits that river and turns considerably northwards before reaching the Victoria Nyanza. Its southern

boundary is the line of demarcation already agreed upon by Great Britain and Germany. The Company was required by its charter to discourage, and, so far as may be practicable with existing treaties, to abolish, any system of slave trade or domestic servitude within its territories. The first issue of capital, 250,000*l.*, was privately subscribed by thirty-five persons, who formed the founders of this great undertaking, and whose character and reputation aroused the hope that it would be pursued with energy, discretion, and humanity. Mr. Mackenzie was welcomed at Mombasa (Oct. 20) by the natives in public durbar, and succeeded in conciliating all parties. He was accompanied by General Mathews, who had been placed by the Sultan at the service of the Company for six months, and whose local experience and influence made his co-operation invaluable.

In the meanwhile the decision of the German Government regarding the position of the German Company was being anxiously awaited in Zanzibar. Along the coast constant skirmishing took place at Bagamoyo, and Whindi, a village to the north of that place, was bombarded (Oct. 31) for six hours and destroyed with all the boats and dhows in the harbour. Simboja, with 500 men, joined Bushiri, the insurgent ringleader at Pangani. At this critical juncture the Sultan was taken seriously ill, and was unable to attend to State business, whilst the German Company continued to urge a claim against him of 170,000 rupees for defraying the expenses of the coast administration, which they themselves failed to conduct.

Although the slave trade had nothing to do with the outbreak on the German Company's territory, it was arranged between the British and German Governments, with the sanction of the Sultan, that a naval blockade should be established against the slavers and ships carrying contraband of war. After various delays, due chiefly to the Sultan's illness, the British and German Admirals published, in the Sultan's name, a proclamation announcing (Dec. 2) a blockade of the entire coast-line. The German fleet was to act south of Wanga to Lindi, and the British fleet north of Wanga to the Island of Lamu, and one of the first results of a searching official inquiry ordered by the British Consul was that 1,400 runaway slaves were discovered in refuge at three English mission stations adjoining Mombasa, and set at liberty. As it was notorious that a very active slave trade was being carried on under the French flag, which British gunboats were wholly unable to check because they had no right of search, the British and German Governments jointly addressed that of France on the matter, and the latter, though unwilling to depart from traditional policy, consented, under the circumstances of the proposed blockade, to recognise the right of the blockading vessels to search all ships, under whatever flag. France, moreover, decided to send a vessel of her own to take part in the blockade. A ghastly revival of the manners of former

times was witnessed at Zanzibar. The Sultan suddenly gave orders (Dec. 18) for the execution of four natives charged with murder, but still untried, and the sentence was carried out in the public street under circumstances of great brutality. No capital punishment having taken place in Zanzibar for twenty-five years, public feeling was greatly excited by this display of arbitrary authority. It was announced that the spectacle would be repeated for seven days, the Sultan having ordered the execution of twenty-four men and a woman, who were life prisoners in the fort under sentences pronounced in his predecessor's time. The British Consul-General thereupon interfered, and in the name of his Government protested in the strongest terms against such barbarous proceedings. The Sultan listened with attention to this remonstrance, and the prisoners were respited. About the same time news was received of a terrible disaster to the Masai tribe. The Arusha tribe had enticed the Masai warriors to Ugogo on a cow-lifting expedition, and when the latter were well away the Arushas fell upon their settlements and massacred all the old men and women and children, drove off the younger women, with 14,000 head of cattle, and burnt the villages. On their return, the Masai warriors spent three days in lamentation, and then their chief priest started them upon a war which threatened to last a long time, and would probably lay waste the fertile district lying to the west of Kilima-Njaro.

As the year closed the situation of affairs on the East Coast was still growing worse. The British Indians had deserted their houses at Bagamoyo, and at Zanzibar the native population was greatly alarmed at an expected incursion of the Wasuri and Muscat Arabs, noted plunderers and slave-dealers. Bushiri, with 2,500 men, the majority of whom were armed with breech-loaders, and two guns, forcibly occupied (Dec. 6) the town of Bagamoyo, and intrenched himself within 500 yards of the fortified stronghold of the German Company's officials. By degrees he completely surrounded the fort, cutting off all means of retreat to the sea, and successfully preventing the landing of boats. The men-of-war then proceeded to bombard the town, which they laid in ruins, but little loss was inflicted on the natives. Meanwhile, disturbances were of constant occurrence in the streets of Zanzibar itself, where large numbers of unemployed Germans were congregated, and the attitude of the natives towards all Europeans was becoming distinctly hostile.

Madagascar.—French influence, exercised in a friendly spirit, began to make itself felt among the Hovas, and the Governments of the two countries showed for the first time a willingness to work together. "General" Willoughby, the British officer who had commanded the Hova forces in the recent war with France, had been imprisoned at the close of the previous year on charges connected with his mission to Europe. After a consideration of his case he was released from prison (Feb. 7), but was deprived

of the concessions previously granted to him by the Hova Government, and in May was forcibly expelled from the country. The difficulty of obtaining native labour induced the French authorities to impress the freed slaves of Mozambique to serve in the French gold mines of Madagascar. Until lately the import of slaves from Mozambique had been stopped by the Hova Government and the slaves liberated, but there was too much reason to believe that both in Mozambique and in the South Indian Ocean the French ships were carrying on a traffic in slaves. Nevertheless, the Queen of Madagascar accepted (Nov. 20) from the French Resident the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and in acknowledging the honour said that it was a pledge of the good relations existing between her country and France.

IV. WEST AFRICA.

Sierra Leone, &c.—The little war with the Yonnies which began in the autumn of 1887 was brought to a close in February. The circumstances were briefly these: the Mendis and the Lokkoks, two tribes residing on the frontier of British Quiah, made a foray on their neighbours. Several of the attacked tribes retaliated, and invited the aid of the Yonnies, living at a little distance, who thereupon descended upon Sennehoo and other towns and sacked them. Sir Francis de Winton, whose experience on the Congo rendered him well qualified for dealing with the natives, was promptly despatched, and Rohari, the principal Yinnie town, was speedily captured, in spite of a stubborn resistance, and several chiefs taken prisoners. The most satisfactory result of the expedition was the acceptance by the Yinnie tribe of a supreme chief.

A new king was elected and enthroned at Coomassie during the summer, and peace prevailed in Ashantee. Some important changes have been effected in the newly established British Protectorate over the Calabar oil rivers. Hitherto the chiefs of the various rivers had exacted from European traders a certain tribute, known as "coomey," for permission to trade in their respective districts. This has been abolished, and the trade on all these rivers was thrown open without payment. As a set-off to this, an export duty on all produce was imposed, of which one-half was to be divided among the chiefs, and the other half to be used for maintaining a police force in the country. The Portuguese formally annexed the port of Ambrizette and hoisted the national flag, whilst the Germans occupied Addelar, on the north-east of Salagha, near the Dahomian territory, an expedition having been despatched to that district by the German Governor of Togo. Early in the year Captain Dalrymple, who had been sent up to the Krepi country to settle some tribal dispute, was treacherously killed together with two of his men. A force to avenge their death was then despatched, consisting of 175

Houssas, who were reinforced on the way by friendly natives, until the expedition at last numbered 1,000 men. The enemy was discovered in force near the town of Taviewe, and, after a severe engagement, was defeated with a loss of 500 men, the British force losing ten Houssas and fifty other natives. Two principal chiefs and the mother of the late King were taken prisoners and brought down to the coast. They were tried for the murder of Captain Dalrymple, but acquitted on a point of jurisdiction. King Ja-Ja was removed in May from Accra to St. Vincent (W. Indies), where the old Government House was prepared for his reception, and it was decided that in other respects he should enjoy his freedom. This banishment was in consequence of its having been proved that he had incited armed resistance to H.M. Consul, and had broken the conditions of the Protectorate Treaty. The trial had taken place at Accra, before the Rear-Admiral, and lasted three days, the King himself being so well satisfied with the impartiality of the trial that later on he applied to have his son educated in England. The first section of the Royal Trans-African Railway from San Paul de Loanda to Ambaca was inaugurated (Oct. 30) towards the close of the year.

The Congo.—It has been ascertained by the explorer Van Gele that the Ouelle and the Oubangi form one and the same river, flowing between the fourth and fifth degrees of Northern latitude, and are therefore the same tributary of the Congo. During the summer Walter Deane, the brave Englishman who, as chief of the Stanley Falls station, defended it last year against an overwhelming force of Arabs, and succeeded in effecting a retreat, was killed during an elephant hunt near Lukolola. About the same time the forces of the Congo State again took possession of the Stanley Falls station. The State has been divided for administrative purposes into eleven provinces, and the introduction and sale of firearms in the territories of the State has been forbidden in the interests of public order and security, except under special licence.

Niger Company.—This Company is successfully developing the resources of its territories, notwithstanding the general depression of trade during the last three years. The exports for this year were heavier than in any other year, and the liabilities of the Company have been reduced in three years from 184,000*l.* to 26,000*l.* No transit dues or tolls are levied, and both ships and goods are free to pass up the river to any place outside the Company's territories. The only duties levied are territorial duties, such as are raised in every civilised country, for goods imported into or exported from the Company's territories. Notwithstanding this, considerable irritation was aroused in German commercial and colonial circles against the Company for what was regarded as their high-handed dealing, arising probably out of the dominant position of the Company on the river, and the disappointed expectations of the foreign traders.

V. CENTRAL AFRICA.

Mr. Stanley and Emin Pasha.—Up to the close of the year nothing beyond rumours was known regarding Mr. H. M. Stanley. It was said he had been fighting battles with the natives, was severely wounded, and even killed. Then traders, arriving at Zanzibar from the west of the Albert Nyanza, stated they had met with his expedition in that region straggling over a line of thirty miles. Then came news from the West Coast that he was at the back of the Oil Rivers and the Niger, carrying the British flag and annexing wide territories. Late in the year a Roman Catholic missionary, writing in April from Uganda, stated that messengers had just arrived from Emin Pasha at Wadelai, with the intelligence that no sign of Mr. Stanley's approach had reached him. In the middle of December telegrams from Egypt startled everybody with the apparently trustworthy facts that a great battle had been fought at Lado, to the north of Wadelai, and that Emin Pasha and a "white traveller," concluded to be Mr. Stanley, had been captured by the forces of the Mahdi. This information was received by the British General in Egypt from Osman Digma, who was then closely investing Suakim, but the British Government and experts attached no credence to the report. A week later there reached England by the double route of Zanzibar and St. Thomé the more welcome news of Mr. Stanley's safety. The telegram from Zanzibar stated that a letter had been received there, dated Stanley Falls, Aug. 29, to the effect that on the preceding day a letter had been received from Mr. Stanley. He was then at Bonalya, on the Aruwimi, and had left Emin Pasha and Signor Casati on May 29 in perfect health with plenty of food. Mr. Stanley, who had returned for his rear-guard and loads, arrived at Bonalya on Aug. 17, and intended leaving ten days later, presumably to rejoin Emin Pasha. All the white men of the party were in good health, and wanted nothing. It was clear, therefore, that the original object of the expedition had not failed, and that Mr. Stanley had succeeded in reaching Emin Pasha at Wadelai early in 1888, and had returned to the neighbourhood of the Congo. Major Barttelot, whom Mr. Stanley had left in charge of his rear-guard when he started for the interior, on hearing persistent rumours of Mr. Stanley's danger from hostile tribes and scarcity of food, organized an expedition for his relief. He quitted Yambunga (May 10), his caravan being composed of 640 carriers, recruited by Tippoo Tib, and 100 soldiers, and he intended to follow Mr. Stanley's route step by step. He had made some progress into the interior when (July 19) he was killed by one of his carriers as he was endeavouring to put a stop to a beating of drums in the early morning. This was followed by a general break-up of the camp, the carriers dispersing and making off with their loads of beads and stuffs. Mr. Jameson, the next in command, endeavoured to

restore order among the few natives who had not deserted, and arrived (Aug. 1) at Stanley Falls to make fresh arrangements with Tippoo Tib, and make known the details of the disaster, leaving Mr. Bonny (probably the only white man now remaining) in charge of the remains of the caravan. Mr. Jameson himself died of fever at Bangala (Aug. 17), a station half-way down the river Congo, between Stanley Falls and Stanley Pool.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA.

UNITED STATES—CANADA—MEXICO—CENTRAL AMERICA—WEST
INDIES—BRAZIL—CHILI AND PERU.

I. UNITED STATES.

THE state of parties in the United States Congress at the beginning of the year 1888 (the first session of the fiftieth Congress) was as follows:—In the Senate: Republicans, 39; Democrats, 37; John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, being President *pro tempore*. In the House of Representatives: Democrats, 168; Republicans, 151; Independents, 4; Fusionists, 2; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, being Speaker. The Cabinet of President Cleveland remained unchanged, and included Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Charles S. Fairchild, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; W. C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; W. C. Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; W. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Secretary of the Interior; Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, Postmaster-General; and Augustus G. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General.

During the very long session of Congress, which lasted until Oct. 20, no legislation of great importance was enacted. The Mills Tariff Bill, which took up much of the time of the Lower House till July 21, was passed by a vote of 162 to 149; three Republicans voting for it, and four Democrats against it. It then went to the Senate, where the remainder of the session was spent in preparing a substitute for it. The Mills Bill placed all raw materials used in manufactures on the free list, and reduced the duties on many articles of importation. The Finance Committee of the Senate reported a Republican Tariff Bill as a substitute, which reduced the duties by \$73,000,000, chiefly upon sugar, tobacco, and alcohol used in the arts; but no Tariff Bill succeeded in passing both Houses and becoming law.

The British American Extradition Treaty was reported favourably by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in February. In the catalogue of extraditable offences, the description included "malicious injuries to property by the use of ex-

plosives." The acceptance of the Treaty was opposed by a vigorous minority, and finally all action was postponed till the next session of Congress by a vote of 23 to 21. The argument was used that it was not worth while to show eagerness to oblige Great Britain by giving up dynamitards, while it was so difficult to arrive at a fair interpretation of the treaty of 1818 respecting the Fisheries dispute. The true reason of the postponement was to be found in the near approach of another Presidential contest, with results more or less dependent on the Irish vote.

An International Copyright Bill was introduced into the Senate in March by Mr. Chace, of Rhode Island, which had the approval of representative American authors, printers, and publishers. It provided that foreign authors might take copyrights in the United States and in their own countries on condition that the publications be simultaneous, that copies be deposited with the Librarian of Congress, and that the book published in America be printed from type set up in the United States. The Bill prohibited the importation of foreign editions of works thus copyrighted, except two copies not for trade purposes. The Senate passed this Bill in May, but it failed in the House of Representatives under the pretext that there was not time enough left in the session to consider it.

An Act of Congress, approved June 13, created a Department of Labour, and provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour, whose duty would be to ascertain and report the effect of the customs laws upon the currency and on the agricultural industry, and to report on the general condition of the leading industries of the country with regard to production; also to report concerning the effect of "trusts" and other combinations of capital on production and prices.

A committee was appointed by the House of Representatives in July to investigate the causes and methods of the excessive artificial and injurious immigration into the United States, with the effect of such immigration upon the general health and prosperity of the nation. The committee was instructed to report at the next session of Congress a Bill to correct and control the evils arising from the present methods of immigration into the United States.

The Government was advised of an organised movement to bring German convicts as immigrants to the United States, and measures were taken to prevent the landing of such persons.

A Treaty, absolutely prohibiting any Chinese labourer in future from entering the United States, had been signed at Washington by Secretary Bayard and the Chinese Minister in March, but the Chinese Government refused to ratify the Treaty. However, the House of Representatives in August passed a Chinese Prohibition Bill, recently adopted by the Senate, by the provisions of which all Chinamen were to be in future excluded.

The formation of monopolies, called "trusts," by corporations

engaged in manufacturing, mining, or dealing in the necessities of life, for the purpose of controlling or curtailing their production or supply, thereby increasing their price to the people of the country, came up as a subject of debate in the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Manufactures was instructed to investigate all these combinations, and to inquire into their methods of doing business, their effect upon prices, upon internal and foreign commerce, and upon the revenues of the country.

A Bill authorising the employment of the Treasury surplus in buying bonds passed both Houses and became law. It stated that—"Section 2 of the Act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of Government for the year ending June 30, 1882, which is as follows: 'That the Secretary of the Treasury may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as he may consider proper, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds, provided that the bonds so purchased or redeemed shall constitute no part of the Sinking Fund, but shall be cancelled,' was intended to be a permanent provision of the law, and the same is hereby declared to have been a sincere enactment, and to be now in full force and effect, and provided that whenever the circulation, or any part thereof, of any National Bank not in liquidation shall be surrendered by the deposit of United States notes in the Treasury, or otherwise, and the same or an equivalent amount is not taken by other National Banks within thirty days thereafter, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorised and directed to purchase, at the market price thereof, an equivalent amount of silver bullion, in excess of the minimum of \$2,000,000 worth per month, for coinage purposes, which shall be coined and used as provided in the Act passed Feb. 28, 1878, entitled 'An Act to authorise the coinage of the standard silver dollar, and restore its legal character.'"

The entire United States Public Debt, including principal and accrued interest, amounted at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, to \$1,717,784,793. The assets in the Treasury were \$714,033,484. The revenues for the fiscal year included—Customs, \$219,091,173 63c.; Inland Revenue, \$124,296,871 98c.; Miscellaneous, \$35,878,029 15c.; total, \$379,266,074 76c. Compared with the previous year the revenue increased by \$7,862,797 10c.

The ordinary expenditure of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, was \$259,653,958 67c., leaving a surplus of \$119,612,116 09c.

The Pension Appropriation Bill for the year beginning July provided for the largest pension list that had ever come upon the Government—viz. \$80,280,000.

Although Congress remained in session far into the autumn, there was very little accomplished except the passage of the Appropriation Bills.

The Canadian Fisheries Commission signed a Treaty, Feb. 15,

which was sent to the President, and by him transmitted to the Senate for ratification. The Treaty was approved by President Cleveland, and in his Message to the Senate he said that he trusted it would be found to contain a just and honourable, and therefore a satisfactory, solution of the difficulties which had clouded the relations of the United States with its neighbour on the northern border. By the provisions of this Treaty, Great Britain and the United States were to appoint a mixed Commission to delimit in the manner specified in the Treaty the waters of Canada and Newfoundland, as to which the United States, by the Treaty of 1818, renounced all liberty to take, cure, or dry fish. Each nation was to appoint two Commissioners. The three marine miles mentioned in the Convention of 1818 were to be measured seaward from the low-water mark; but in every bay, creek, or harbour, not otherwise specially provided for, such miles were to be measured seaward from a straight line drawn across such waters in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width did not exceed ten miles. The fishermen of the United States were to be allowed free navigation of the Strait of Canso. American fishermen entering Canadian or Newfoundland ports under stress of weather or other casualty might unload, reload, tranship or sell, subject to the laws, all fish on board their vessels when necessary, and might replenish their outfits, provisions, or supplies which had been damaged or lost. Fishing vessels of Canada and Newfoundland were to have on the Atlantic coast of the United States all privileges thus given to United States fishermen.

The President also transmitted with his Message to the Senate a written arrangement in the nature of a *modus vivendi*, tendered at the conclusion of the Treaty by the British plenipotentiaries, with the object of preventing during the next fishing season the old irritation, which might impede the ratification of the Treaty. This document proposed that, pending the ratification, the privilege of entering the bays and harbours on the Atlantic coasts of Canada and Newfoundland should be granted to the United States fishermen by annual licences, at a fee of a dollar and a half per ton, to purchase bait, ice, seines, lines, all supplies and outfits, to tranship the catch and to ship crews in case of necessity.

Much dissatisfaction with the Treaty was expressed at once in Canada, and the Treaty was there generally regarded as an American victory. In the United States Senate it was early denounced by New England Senators, and, after causing much discussion from time to time in secret session, it was finally rejected by the Republican majority on Aug. 21. The vote was a strictly party one, the Democrats, who numbered twenty-seven, voting for ratification, while the Republicans, thirty in number, voted nay. The President, Aug. 23, sent to Congress a vigorous Message, in which he said:—"I fully believe the Treaty

just rejected by the Senate was well suited to the exigency. Its provisions were adequate for our security in the future from vexatious incidents, and for the promotion of friendly neighbourhood and intimacy, without sacrificing in the least our national pride or dignity. I am quite conscious that neither my opinion of the value of the rejected Treaty nor the motives which prompted its negotiation are of importance in the light of the judgment of the Senate thereupon. But it is of importance to note that this Treaty has been rejected without any apparent disposition on the part of the Senate to alter or amend its provisions, and with the evident intention, not wanting expression, that no negotiation should at present be concluded touching the matter at issue. I recommend immediate legislative action, conferring upon the Executive power to suspend by proclamation the operation of all laws and regulations permitting the transit of goods, wares, and merchandise in bond across or over the territory of the United States to or from Canada. There need be no hesitation in suspending these laws, arising from the supposition that their continuation is secured by treaty obligations; for it seems quite plain that Article 29 of the Treaty of 1871, which was the only article incorporating such laws, terminated on July 1, 1885." President Cleveland also said in this Message that he was not disposed to abandon the rights of the people, and therefore turned to the plan of retaliation as the remaining way of treating the situation, and he invoked the aid of Congress in such a further grant of power as to render effective a policy of retaliation which, if entered upon, should be thorough and vigorous. He called attention to the law of March 3, 1887, providing for retaliation for inhospitable acts towards American ships in Canadian waters, which should be properly enforced, and further recommended immediate legislative action for conferring upon the Executive the power to suspend by proclamation the operations of all laws permitting the transit of goods in bond across the States to or from Canada. Referring to the navigation of lakes and canals, the President said, that while American public works were free to Canadians, every lock and canal in the Dominion exacted tolls from Americans, and he recommended legislation which would empower and enforce an exact reciprocity of treatment.

Much surprise was caused by this unexpected Message of President Cleveland. It was at first regarded by the Republicans with dismay, as tending to increase the popularity of the President. A Retaliation Bill passed the House of Representatives, Sept. 9, by a vote of 174 to 4, granting the President full power to protect the interests of American against Canadian fishermen. In the Senate the Bill was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Sherman, Chairman of this Committee, introduced a resolution, Sept. 17, directing the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to examine and report upon the relations of the United States with Great Britain and

Canada. He opposed the Retaliation Bill, and declared that the question could not be settled satisfactorily and permanently except by means of political and commercial union with Canada. The National Debt of Canada he regarded as no impediment, but the union could only be secured by the free and hearty assent of both peoples, and the use of force would defeat the object in view.

A great strike among the labourers in the Schuylkill anthracite region of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway ended, Feb. 17, by the men agreeing to resume work immediately at \$2 50c. per ton, which was the basis of the old rate of wages in force before Sept. 1, 1887. In the West a most important strike in February of the *employés* of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad deprived 10,000 men of employment. The strike extended to other railroads centring in Chicago, and for several weeks traffic over these important roads was completely paralysed.

A storm of unusual severity swept along the Atlantic coast, beginning March 11, and lasting for three days, which had all the characteristics of a Western blizzard. The cold was intense, and the violence of the gale was such as to break down all telegraph wires between the chief cities along the Eastern sea-board. The railways were obstructed by enormous snowdrifts and by countless telegraph poles blown down upon the lines. Business was completely stopped. Telegraphic communication between Boston and New York was opened *via* London, the Commercial Cable Company's despatches twice crossing the ocean. More than 200 persons perished from cold and exposure. Food supplies and fuel greatly advanced in price. The fiercest effects of the terrific gale were felt in and around New York City.

The election of President of the United States threw into the background every other political event of the year. The Democratic Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President met at St. Louis, June 5, when the Convention was organised. Mr. Daniel Dougherty, of Philadelphia, a well-known orator, presented the name of Grover Cleveland, of New York, as a candidate, amid scenes of great enthusiasm, the delegates standing on the seats and waving flags and banners. After the roll-call of States for nominations was completed, Mr. Cleveland was nominated by acclamation as the Democratic candidate for President, and the Convention adjourned till the following day. The Platform Committee earnestly discussed the tariff "plank" on the 6th, and on the following day came to an agreement, by 25 votes to 19, to adopt Senator Gorman's proposal endorsing the ambiguous sentiments of the Democratic platform of 1884, instead of favouring extreme measures of revenue reform as advised by Henry Watterson and other delegates. The platform was unanimously adopted by the Convention. At the roll-call of States for the nomination of a candidate

for Vice-President nearly all the votes were cast for the veteran Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio, and his nomination for the candidature was made unanimous, amid much cheering and excitement, and the waving of red bandanna handkerchiefs, such as the old gentleman usually carried. The Democratic platform set forth the doctrine advanced by President Cleveland in several of his annual Messages, that the tariff is a tax, as follows:—"Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage by excessive tax law, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favouritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

"It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, 'trusts' and combinations are permitted to exist which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition.

"Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralising surplus in the National Treasury. The money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than 125 millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than 60 millions annually.

"Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriation expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in the public expenses, and to abolish unnecessary taxation."

President Cleveland, in his letter of Sept. 9, formally accepting the nomination for re-election, endorsed the pledges of the National Democratic platform and declared that he had entered upon no crusade of free trade; that he had a jealous regard for the interests of American labour, and a sincere desire to relieve the country from the injustice and danger of a condition which threatened the entire people. "The Democratic party," said he, "proposes to reduce taxation by freeing from duty the important raw materials used in home manufactures, and thus to stimulate our domestic industrial enterprises. It intends to do this with due regard to the interests of working men;" but he was of opinion that the labourer could be better protected by additional and more direct legislation to restrict the immigration of unintelligent labour which is crowding out American working men. He expressed the unutterable hatred of the Democratic party for

"trusts," and counted upon checking their baleful operations through revenue reform. In conclusion he said that no thoughtful man could fail to see in the continuance of the present burdens of the people and the abstraction by the Government of the currency of the country inevitable distress and disaster.

The Republican Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President met June 19, at Chicago. Before the choice of candidates was made, the platform was arranged, of which the following were some of the most important "planks:"—

"We are uncompromisingly in favour of the American system of protection, and protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe. We will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills Bill as destructive to the general business, labour, and farming interests of the country. We heartily endorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

"The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and a burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such a revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check the imports of such articles as are produced by our people, and the production of which gives employment to our labour, and by the release from import duties of those articles of foreign production, except luxuries, the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favour the entire repeal of internal taxes, rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the Whisky Ring and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

"We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labour, and of Chinese labour alien to our civilisation and our Constitution. We demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favour such immediate legislation as will exclude such labour from our shores.

"The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all the pending treaties effected by the Republican Administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency an extension of foreign

influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbours. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organisation for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, South America, and the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

“We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the Fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the Treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress towards our fisheries as unfriendly, conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defence against the foreign enemy.”

Many of the delegates were enthusiastic partisans of Mr. Blaine. New York delegates supported Mr. C. M. Depew, and those from Ohio Mr. John Sherman, of that State. Other prominent candidates were Messrs. Gresham, Allison, Alger, and Harrison. Several ballotings took place without any result. It was ascertained by careful canvass that 200 of the delegates firmly believed that Mr. Blaine could not be elected, if nominated, although his friends persisted in urging his nomination even in spite of his repeated requests that they should abstain from voting for him. At the seventh ballot Harrison had 278 votes, Sherman 231, Alger 120, Gresham 91, Allison 76, McKinley 16, and Blaine 15. At the eighth ballot, Harrison had 544 votes, Sherman 118, Alger 100, Gresham 59, Blaine 5, and McKinley 4. General Harrison having received the majority of votes, his nomination was made unanimous. Mr. Levi P. Morton, a wealthy banker of New York City, was chosen the next day as the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency. General Harrison's letter accepting the nomination of his party was published Sept. 11. He congratulated the country that the issue on the Tariff question had been so clearly defined, and said that the Republican party held that a protective tariff was constitutional, wholesome, and necessary, and that one of the worthy objects of tariff legislation was to preserve the American market for American producers, and to maintain the American scale of wages by adequate discriminating duties upon foreign competing products.

The Presidential contest was less bitter than in some former campaigns. The Tariff question was the main point at issue, and the advocates of protection and free trade laid their arguments before the people without much personal abuse of the opposing candidates.

An incident occurred just before the election which caused much excitement, although its effect on the final result was probably much exaggerated. The British Minister at Washington, Lord Sackville, received a letter (Sept. 12) from Pomona, California, purporting to be from a British naturalized citizen, asking advice as to the proper choice for him to make in casting his vote for President. Lord Sackville replied as follows, marking the letter "private:"—

"Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., and beg to say that I fully appreciate the difficulty in which you find yourself in casting your vote. You are probably aware that any political party which openly favoured the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of this fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and is still as desirous of settling all questions with Canada, which have been unfortunately reopened since the retraction of the Treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate, and by the President's Message to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation, as regards the Presidential election, thus created.

"It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in the matter of retaliation should he be elected; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his Message.

"I enclose an article from the *New York Times* of Aug. 22, and remain, yours faithfully, L. S. SACKVILLE-WEST."

The following was the newspaper article enclosed:—

"There is this further consideration in favour of supporting the Administration on this issue—it will leave the question still open for the friendly means of a settlement of some kind, while support of the Senate's position would close all the avenues of future negotiation, and bring upon the country the disastrous consequences of retaliation, hostility, and possible war. It would put an end to all prospect of improving the commercial relations of the United States and Canada. This is one of the questions which the people should keep in mind in casting their votes next November."

The letter addressed to Lord Sackville proved to be fictitious, and was prepared in conjunction with the Republican committee in New York as a trap for the British Minister, and it was sent from Southern California to allay any suspicion by the recipient as to its genuineness. The President was greatly annoyed, especially by the effect attempted by the Republican press by the publication of this letter throughout the country, and finally deemed the matter of sufficient importance to send Lord Sackville his passports, stating that his continuance in the official

position of her Majesty's Minister at Washington was no longer acceptable, but detrimental to good relations between the two Governments. This heroic treatment of the British Minister caused many people in the United States to censure the President, but it is doubtful whether many votes were changed for this reason.

The election for President was held on Tuesday, Nov. 6, throughout the country. In New York the Republicans succeeded in carrying that "pivotal" state through the defection of large numbers of Irish voters, through the quarrels of the Democratic rings in New York City, and above all through the antipathy of the working classes to President Cleveland's doctrine of a reduction of the tariff on imported goods. The Southern States voted unanimously for President Cleveland; Indiana, with 15 votes in the Electoral College, was carried by General Harrison by a plurality of 2,348, and New York by a plurality of 14,373 votes. The only Northern States that failed to be carried by the Republicans were Connecticut and New Jersey. Of the 401 votes of the Electoral College, Harrison received 233, and Cleveland 168. The total vote was 10,960,650. Mr. Cleveland, though failing of election, had a plurality of the popular vote amounting to 95,025. The Prohibition vote exceeded somewhat that of 1884, but the Union labour vote was considerably diminished. The support of outside parties and candidates was insignificant. The result was inevitable from the position taken by the President on the Tariff question. General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, elected President of the United States for four years from March 4, 1889, the grandson of a former President (General William Henry Harrison, who died in 1840, after being one month in office), was born in Ohio, Aug. 20, 1833, and was educated for the legal profession. He removed to Indianapolis in 1854, and became a reporter for the Indiana Supreme Court. At the opening of the Civil War he entered the Union army as a second lieutenant, and was mustered out at the close of the war in 1865 as a brigadier-general. He was elected as United States Senator from Indiana in 1880, and served six years.

The Senate in July confirmed the nomination of Mr. Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois, as Chief Justice of the United States, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg was celebrated in July by 20,000 survivors, and many Confederate soldiers took part in the celebration. Many of the veterans camped out in tents, and a cordial feeling prevailed among the old soldiers who met there years ago as combatants. Monuments to mark the positions of various regiments on the battle-field were dedicated, and addresses were delivered by prominent public men.

The Anarchists made further attempts at disturbance in

Chicago, where they have been for some time in considerable force, and on July 17 twelve dynamite bombs were found there, with the proofs of a conspiracy for the destruction of many public buildings.

Florida was visited in September with a severe epidemic of yellow fever, which raged with uncommon virulence for several weeks. At Jacksonville there were many stricken with the disease, and many deaths occurred. Large contributions were made in the Northern States for the sufferers. The well-known English astronomer, Mr. R. A. Proctor, was one of the victims.

In the State of New York electricity was adopted as a substitute for the gallows in the execution of criminals condemned to death.

Some progress was made in the construction of the new navy, and several cruisers and gunboats were launched, including a dynamite cruiser which threatened to make ironclads of little use in defensive warfare.

The state of parties in Congress at the opening of the second session of the fiftieth Congress, Dec. 3, was as follows:—In the Senate the Republican majority remained unchanged. In the House of Representatives, Democrats, 165; Republicans, 152; Independents, 3; Fusionists, 2; with three seats vacant.

President Cleveland, in his last annual Message to Congress, dilated upon the dangers which threatened the Republic through the communism of wealth and capital, and through injustice and extravagance; he invoked the earnest attention of Congress to the settlement of the Fisheries dispute, reviewed the Sackville incident, and the relations of the United States with China and Japan. He also referred to the financial condition of the Government, the improvement of the navy, the treatment of the Indians, and the state of the pensions and pension laws, with allusion to other minor matters of interest.

The country enjoyed fair prosperity during the year. The supply of grain and breadstuffs again fell short of that of previous years. The uncertainty attendant on the all-absorbing election of a new President served to depress trade in many directions, and business was not remarkably active.

The obituary of the year included General Philip H. Sheridan, and Major-General Quincy A. Gillmore, of the United States Army; Roscoe Conkling, Morrison R. Waite, and Benjamin H. Brewster, prominent in public life; and William W. Corcoran, a distinguished philanthropist.

II. CANADA.

During the year there were questions arising of interest and importance to the people of Canada respecting their commercial relations with the United States. Although the subject was discussed very thoroughly both in Canada and the United States,

there was developed no strong desire in the Dominion for annexation to the United States. On the contrary, a feeling of resentment, brought about by the rejection of the Fisheries Treaty and the retaliatory action of President Cleveland, was more or less manifest.

In April a long debate in the Dominion House of Commons, which had lasted for three weeks, and in which seventy-one members had taken part, was ended by the defeat of Sir Richard Cartwright's motion for unrestricted trade reciprocity between Canada and the United States. The motion was rejected by 124 to 67 votes, being a majority of 57 votes in favour of the Ministerial amendment, which read as follows :

"Canada in future, as in the past, is desirous of cultivating and extending trade relations with the United States in so far as they may not conflict with the policy of fostering the various interests and industries of the Dominion which was adopted in 1879, and has since received in so marked a manner the sanction and approval of the Canadian people."

The publication in Canada of the full text of the Fisheries Treaty in February did not arouse any enthusiasm ; it was generally considered that the "Canadian fishermen would receive little equivalent for the concessions made, except the barren privilege of fishing in American bays," as the *Toronto Mail* expressed it. The Canadian House of Commons, however, passed a Bill ratifying the Treaty, and until the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate decided to report adversely upon it, it seemed probable that a settlement of the dispute had been finally arranged. When the Treaty was at last rejected by the United States Senate, and President Cleveland's retaliatory Message was issued, there were many ready to recommend the adoption of complete non-intercourse with the United States, although danger to the friendly relations of the two countries was recognised by the more calm-minded of the Canadian people as the result of the methods pursued by the two great political parties in the United States during their Presidential struggle.

A large meeting was held at Hagersville, Ontario, Aug. 29, and addresses were made by Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works, and Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice. Sir Hector Langevin reviewed the Fisheries dispute, and said that the United States had frustrated the efforts of Canada to maintain her just rights, while President Cleveland had followed with threats to punish Canada. It was not Canada's fault that there was no treaty.

The President wanted to stop Canadian goods from coming over American railways in bond, because American fishermen were not permitted to bond their fish over the Canadian railways ; but that right, with others, was given up by the Americans long ago in consideration of the Labrador fishing

advantages. Those advantages she had and would not give up, while the right to bond was demanded without any concession whatever. Canada had made many concessions, but the United States could not expect to have all the concessions made on Canada's side. He respected the dignity of the United States, and he was sure that they all did so ; but Canada had its honour and dignity to maintain as a nation and part of the British Empire, and no true Canadian was disposed to lower Canada's position.

Referring to reciprocity, he said it was a sugar-coated proposition for commercial union. In discussing President Cleveland's Message, he said they should be cool, collected, and calm. If their neighbours got excited they should consider the time at which their neighbours' excitement arose, and they should not resent too much any hard names and hard words that might be spoken against Canada. Canada was a great country, territorially as large as, or larger than the United States. They had different institutions, some of which, at least, were better in his opinion than those in the United States. Canada held her Ministers responsible to the people, which was not the case in the United States. Was it not much better to have a Ministry directly responsible to the people, so that when wrongdoing or mismanagement occurred the people could turn the Ministers out of office ?

Sir John Thompson in his speech said :—"The means of retaliation proposed was the withdrawal of the privileges to bond goods through the United States to Canada. This privilege was secured to them by Article 29 of the Washington Treaty, and two years' notice was required by the terms of that Treaty before any article could be suspended. Notice of that kind had not been given, and yet President Cleveland, regardless of the sacred obligations of the Treaty, proposed to end this Treaty without notice and at a single stroke of the pen. If our carrying trade was going to be so much injured, did not that show what great folly it would be to have closer commercial arrangements with the United States ? If they made the proposed arrangements, the next time they get into the whirl of American politics every vital interest of theirs would be sacrificed to win the votes of a few wards in the city of New York."

The Canadian Premier, Sir John Macdonald, delivered a speech at Ottawa, Oct. 19, in which he referred to the relations between the United States and Canada as follows :—

"We can afford to look calmly at the measures threatened against us, because we have right and justice on our side. Our course has been plain, and will be plain. The Washington Treaty was an honest, fair, and reasonable settlement of all irritating questions, and was the outcome of an honest attempt at negotiations on both sides to remove for ever all cause for ill-feeling between the two countries.

"We believe that when the Presidential election fever in

America subsides, and the people of the United States have regained their characteristic calm and coolness, they will look with more favourable eyes upon the Treaty and will have another arrangement based upon the same lines.

"If not, the responsibility rests on the shoulders of the American Government, and the consequence will be that we must retire and rest on the law as it now stands, relying on the Treaty of 1818. If any difference exists as to the construction of that Treaty, we must find some tribunal, by arbitration or otherwise, to determine its true and legal meaning."

Lord Stanley of Preston, the new Governor-General, took the oaths of office in the Dominion Senate Chamber at Ottawa on June 11, and in September he paid a visit to Toronto, where he was cordially received. In his reply to an address of the Toronto Board of Trade, he referred to remarks of President Cleveland on the Fishery question, and complimented the Canadians on their dignified and firm attitude.

Indiscriminate pauper emigration furnished the subject of an adverse report of the House of Commons Committee on Colonisation at Ottawa, and it was recommended that the greatest care should be used in bringing into the country immigrants likely to become burdens to the State or sources of disease.

Some troubles occurred in Manitoba again with regard to a crossing desired by the Red River Railway over a line belonging to the Canadian Pacific Road. The dispute was finally settled by the Canadian Pacific allowing the road to cross at a point satisfactory to both parties.

At the Labour Congress, held at Toronto in September, resolutions were adopted asking the Dominion Parliament to pass a Bill prohibiting the importation of foreign labour under contract; urging the Provincial Legislature to remove all personal taxes; demanding the abolition of the contract system in connection with national, provincial, and municipal works; protesting against the practice of bonusing manufacturing industries; pledging the hearty support of organised labour to any practical legislation tending to reduce the consumption of intoxicating liquors; expressing the opinion that all railway-telegraphs on Federal lines should be controlled by Government; and urging a radical change in the patent laws.

III. MEXICO.

Early in the year it was announced that Messrs. Bleichroder, of Berlin, had undertaken to issue the new loan of 10,500,000*l.*, sanctioned by Congress to pay off a number of existing liabilities and to consolidate the floating Debt. Difficulties, however, arose, and a 6 per cent. loan was subsequently issued at 78½, to the extent of 3,700,000*l.*, by Messrs. Anthony Gibbs, of London, in connection with Messrs. Bleichroder and the Amsterdam firm of

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Messrs. Lippmann. The securities specially set aside for the service of the loan consisted of 20 per cent. of the import and export duties collected daily by the National Bank of Mexico, and the total nett proceeds of all the direct taxes on land, houses, and industries collected in the Federal district (Mexico city and suburbs).

The political horizon, in spite of a few passing clouds, was bright and hopeful. Early in the year Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State at Washington, required the Mexican Government to apologise and to pay an indemnity to Mr. Cutting, a newspaper editor, who had been imprisoned at El Paso in 1886. This the Mexican Government refused to do, and at one time it seemed as if the relations between the two republics were likely to become strained. By means, however, of firmness, combined with a conciliatory tone, the danger passed away. Later in the year, however (Sept. 23), a number of Mexicans crossed the frontier and entered Rio Grande City, Texas, demanding the surrender of a Customs officer who had killed a Mexican in some personal quarrel. The request was refused, and a general fight ensued, which resulted in the mob obtaining the possession of the town. The Governor of Texas was consequently obliged to call out the United States troops, and some days elapsed before order was restored, 1,000 armed Mexicans of the lowest class having joined in the raid.

Towards the end of June, heavy rains followed by disastrous freshets caused great loss of life and destruction of property in Leon, Silao, and Lagos. At Silao alone 500 houses were destroyed, and in the surrounding districts hundreds of people were washed away and drowned. The adobé houses were speedily undermined by the water, which rose suddenly in the middle of the night, and soon collapsed upon their sleeping inmates. In the two towns of Silao and Leon 1,000 houses were destroyed, and the loss of life was variously stated at from 700 to 1,500.

The Mexican Electoral Colleges met (July 9) and cast all their votes in favour of the re-election of President Diaz, and also selected the members of a new Congress, with a majority supporting his administration. It was only in the province of Vera Cruz that any serious opposition was threatened to Señor Diaz, whose loyalty and integrity towards his countrymen and foreign creditors were universally recognised. The peaceful era of Mexican policy which he had inaugurated had been followed by a general material improvement, and financiers of all countries were anxious to take advantage of the natural wealth and capabilities of the country.

Early in September it was announced that a syndicate of New York and European bankers had obtained the control of the Mortgage Bank of Mexico, which was to be reconstructed with a capital of \$3,500,000. The bank, which was empowered to issue certificates on deposits of gold and silver, had in view

to unite the silver production of Mexico with that of the United States, and thus make New York instead of London the silver market of the world.

In the month of December President Diaz was duly installed in office for a renewed period of four years.

IV. CENTRAL AMERICA.

Panama Canal.—The actual progress of this undertaking, as well as the work still remaining to be done, was, as ever, the subject of widely divergent statements. There was, however, early in the year, a continuous waterway open from the sea at Colon to a point near Bojio station, on the Panama Railway, about 15 English miles, with a depth sufficient to float a 1,000-ton vessel. The stone barrier of Mindi Hill had been pierced, and the Canal was opened to navigation between Gatun and Colon (Feb. 22), and subsequently the works were pushed forward vigorously at many points. This hopeful commencement of the year, however, was unable to avert the crisis which for so long had threatened the finances of the Company. In order to raise further capital for the undertaking, M. de Lesseps proposed to resort to the speculative expedient of a lottery loan. The French Government, however, after some hesitation, refused (Jan.) to give its support to the scheme, although by this decision a serious blow was given to the authority of M. de Lesseps, and to the hopes of his fellow-countrymen, who had already subscribed 16 millions sterling towards the undertaking. The Ministry took its stand upon the theory that the scheme had never been one in which the State had taken part. Moreover, M. Rousseau, the engineer sent by M. de Freycinet to examine the progress of the Canal, had reported the undertaking to be impracticable unless the existing plans were substantially modified. The Government, therefore, in view of the bewildering conflict of testimony among engineers as to the facts, declined to initiate a Bill in accordance with M. de Lesseps' views. A change of Government in France, however, was speedily followed by a change of policy towards the Panama Canal, and M. Floquet, reversing the decision of M. Tirard, obtained sanction from the Chamber for the issue of a lottery loan to furnish the funds necessary for continuing the Canal. Just as the subscription list was closing, a report of M. de Lesseps' death was spread by a cabal of hostile speculators, and the loan, instead of being covered four or five times over, was very partially subscribed for. M. de Lesseps was not dead, and with his wonted energy set to work to repair the blow, but a shock had been given to public confidence in the Company which was never wholly restored. Nevertheless, at the annual meeting of the shareholders (June 19), M. de Lesseps stated that in two years' time the largest ships would cross the Isthmus by means of locks, and that later on there would be a level canal, as at Suez. This

assurance he repeated in October, declaring that the Canal would be opened in July 1890. In spite of these confident predictions, and the energy displayed by M. de Lesseps and his colleagues, the amount subscribed fell far short of the requirements of the undertaking, and at the close of the year barely one-third of the requisite sum had been promised. In this emergency the French Government proposed to help the Company by suspending temporarily the payment of interest, and thus protecting the Company from bankruptcy during a limited period, during which it might be seen whether M. de Lesseps would succeed in raising fresh capital. This Bill, however, was thrown out by the Chamber of Deputies, and, following on the failure of the lottery loan, brought about a crisis in the affairs of the Company. M. de Lesseps and his son resigned their posts in the Company, which was placed in liquidation, and it was proposed that a new Company should be formed to complete the Canal.

Nicaragua.—No progress has been made with the rival ship canal scheme through the lakes, but two associations, each asserting exclusive rights to carry out this important work, have kept their plans before the public. The "American, Atlantic, and Pacific Ship Canal Company" based its claims upon a concession granted by the Nicaragua Government in 1849 to Commodore Vanderbilt and his associates; whilst the "Nicaragua Canal Association" held a Government concession, also of some years' standing, to another group of United States financiers. The latter further claimed to have obtained a national charter from Congress at Washington, and declared its financial arrangements to be nearly ready for carrying out the undertaking. The Government of Nicaragua, moreover, officially announced that the Vanderbilt concession had long since been cancelled, owing to its proprietors having failed to comply with certain important conditions of the contract, and declared that the only concession which could now be recognised as being in force was that held by the Nicaragua Canal Association.

V. WEST INDIES.

Cuba.—This island throughout the year has been in a very disturbed state. In the earlier months brigandage had increased to such an extent that the Governor-General declared four provinces to be in a state of siege. Murders were of such frequent recurrence in the streets of Havannah that business was partially paralysed. The explanation given of this state of affairs was the increasing favour shown by both native and Spanish parties in the island to a secession from Spain and to a protectorate by the United States. In spite of all anticipation, the production of sugar was found not to have diminished since the emancipation of the slaves, and experience proved that white

labour could compete successfully with black, Spaniards becoming easily acclimatised and fit for field labour. During the first week in September a terrific cyclone burst upon the island, involving the loss of 1,000 lives. In Havannah itself the arsenal, and nearly all the public buildings, theatres, and halls were seriously damaged. Immense trees were uprooted, the street lamps were destroyed, and the city was left in darkness, whilst shipping in the harbour suffered more than on any previous occasion. The water front and the quays of many warehouses were completely wrecked, and their contents destroyed, whilst the northern portion of the city was inundated. The total loss was estimated at not less than \$1,000,000.

Hayti has also been the scene of political excitement throughout the year, and on more than one occasion appeal was made to the naval authorities of the United States on the station to co-operate in the maintenance of law and order. By their aid two ringleaders of the revolutionary movement were arrested and summarily banished, President Salomon openly thanking the United States officer for his intervention. The unwisdom of this policy was not long in declaring itself. The revolutionary party became the national, and began to vent its animosity by acts of incendiarism in many places, especially at Port-au-Prince, where a large portion of the town was destroyed, including the Chamber of Deputies and other public buildings. The whole of this flourishing place was in danger of destruction, but at last the fire was suppressed by the aid of French sailors. The movement, however, continued to gain strength, and President Salomon, after a brief struggle, resigned his post and fled to France, and was succeeded by General Légitime. The south side of the island was still in favour of the older system of government, of which General Légitime was the representative, whilst the north side supported the revolutionary rising under General Télémaque. An engagement between the two forces took place in September, in which the latter was killed with 300 of his men when attacking the Palais National. After a brief suspension of arms the rebellion again broke out in November, the northern ports were blockaded, and Jacmel was occupied by the Government troops. Meanwhile the relations with the United States had undergone a sudden change. The s.s. *Haytian Republic*, chartered by private persons, and carrying arms and ammunition from New York to the national party in South Hayti, called at Cape Haytien (Oct. 20), and embarked 250 troops for St. Marc. On attempting to leave she was seized by the Haytian war-ship *Dessalmes*, and taken to Port-au-Prince, where the troops were landed and made prisoners amid general rejoicings. The United States Government demanded the release of the ship. To this the Haytian Government demurred; but the orders from Washington were peremptory, and it being evident that they would be enforced, the steamer was at length surrendered. Cape Haytien

was bombarded (Dec. 7) by the Government gunboats; and a few days later a serious conflict took place at Jacmel between the partisans of General Légitime and those of General Hypolite, the newly-chosen President of North Hayti, and before the end of the month the latter had severely defeated (Dec. 21) the forces of General Légitime.

Trinidad and Tobago.—In pursuance of an Act of 1887, an Order in Council was issued (Nov. 17), declaring that from and after Jan. 1, 1889, the Colony of Trinidad and its dependencies and the Colony of Tobago should be united into and constituted one colony, under the name of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago. The condition of the latter island improved at the mere prospect of this union, for the year (1887), which opened with the gloomiest prospects ever experienced, terminated, according to the report of the officer administering the government, with the most marked improvement in all directions. Trinidad also gave evidence of progress and prosperity. Although the heavy duties on live stock were entirely abolished, and those on machinery greatly modified, the actual revenue for 1887 considerably exceeded the estimates, and was higher by 31,213*l.* than the expenditure.

West Indies.—The following figures are for the year 1887, and are taken from the Governors' Official Reports, published during 1888:—

	Revenue. £	Expenditure. £
Antigua	44,032	44,615
Bahamas	45,869	43,955
Barbados	163,489	154,611
Bermuda	27,401	28,731
British Guiana	463,871	489,215
Dominica	15,702	16,774
Grenada	46,743	44,804
Jamaica	503,399	516,028
Montserrat	5,804	5,719
St. Kitts	36,318	36,610
St. Lucia	39,967	43,598
St. Vincent	23,661	29,720
Tobago	9,387	6,995
Trinidad	456,167	424,954
Turks and Caicos Islands	8,350	6,378
Virgin Islands	1,745	2,088

VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

Brazil.—The most noteworthy event of the year in the history of this vast empire has been the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. A Bill for this purpose was introduced by the Alfredo Government, and voted by the Chamber of Deputies early in May, and in the following week it also passed the Senate. The Emperor and his family returned in August from Europe, where he had been for many months on account of his health—his daughter having acted as Regent during his absence. In the early part of the year his illness had been so serious that his life was despaired of, but an almost unhopd-for turn in his malady

enabled him to shake off the worst symptoms, and in August he was sufficiently restored to be able to appreciate the hearty and enthusiastic reception with which his subjects welcomed his resumption of State duties.

Argentine Republic.—Politically there were few occurrences of importance or interest, the energies of the best part of the population, wholly immigrant, having been turned towards the development of the vast resources of the country. The attractions offered by the soil and the climate have maintained a steady flow of Italian immigrants, many of whom, being also small land-owners in their own country, return each year to gather in their crops in Piedmont and Liguria, and then go back to their holdings on the Plate. This activity on the part of thrifty cultivators has given an additional stimulus to the land and mortgage companies which have been launched in rapid succession, and it has also in a great measure enabled the Argentine Government to come with dangerous frequency to the European money markets for loans ostensibly intended for the development of the country. During the year there was no lack of readiness on the part of English, French, and German financiers to assist the Argentine Government, and investors in all these countries confirmed this confidence, although warnings were from time to time uttered by those who watched the exorbitant premium—over 50 per cent.—to which the gold exchange had risen. The new law on banks of issue would have an important influence on banking operations. Its general effect was to permit any institution having a paid-up capital of not less than \$250,000 to issue legal currency notes with the guarantee of the Republic. But such issue was not to exceed 90 per cent. of the paid-up capital, and national bonds of equal nominal value were to be deposited with a Government Department of Instruction. The immediate effect of the law has been the projection of several new banks of issue, all expressing their readiness to fulfil the required conditions. Señor Sarmiento, who was President from 1868 to 1874, died late in the year at Asuncion. The Republic owed a debt of gratitude for the impetus he gave to its national and material existence. He closed the foolish war with Paraguay, put down numerous insurrections, and under his rule railways and telegraphs were constructed, immigration was promoted, and foreign commerce encouraged and extended. At the same time schools were multiplied, a national college was established in every province, and many important institutions were introduced.

VII. PERU, CHILI, URUGUAY, PARAGUAY, BOLIVIA, VENEZUELA,
ECUADOR, COLOMBIA.

Peru.—The hardships arising from a forced paper currency in this country culminated at length in street rioting, all classes of traders having taken alarm and declined to receive notes in payment for goods. It was found necessary at length to call out

the military to maintain order and security, the populace threatening to deal summarily with those who refused the depreciated currency. A mass meeting was also held, at which the President of the Republic (General Caceres) addressed the people, assuring them that the Government were attempting to remove the causes of alarm and re-establish public confidence. As a step in this direction, the Government brought in a Bill for settling upon fair terms the claims of the foreign bondholders. After a lengthy debate the Chamber, by 50 votes to 38, refused to ratify the contract, and the Ministry at once tendered their resignation. This the President refused to accept, and the Ministers were retained.

The National Library, which had been looted when the Chilian army occupied Lima, succeeded during the year in recovering some of its valuable treasures, and the sympathy of foreign governments and institutions secured for it numerous presentations of books. In 1881 the Library contained nearly 60,000 volumes, many of them of priceless value; but of all these when the Chilians quitted the city the director found only about 800 volumes scattered throughout the building. The soldiers had used the shelves to make stalls for their horses, and many of the books had been shipped to Chili to enrich the libraries of that country, whilst many more were wantonly destroyed. In spite of appeals the Chilian Government refused to restore the books within its reach. Nevertheless, the Library was reopened, after eight months' labour, with nearly 28,000 volumes, all presented or recovered, and at the beginning of the year the number had been increased to 33,000 volumes.

Chili.—The newly-elected Congress on being convoked (June 1) learned from the President's speech that the financial year just completed had been one of exceptional prosperity, notwithstanding that in public works and other expenditure the estimates had been exceeded by a considerable sum. The Government, moreover, reduced its contingent liabilities by peremptorily deciding that, by the Treaty of Peace in 1884, Chili was not responsible for the debts of Peru. This formal announcement was due to the pertinacity with which several creditors of the latter country had solicited the diplomatic protection of their respective Governments to obtain payment from Chili. Special attention was paid during the year to the coast defences, the guns in existing forts and arsenals being adapted for use on the Moncrieff system. Chili's area, which before the war with Peru was about 256,000 square miles, including Araucania, now amounts to 293,000 square miles, she having annexed part of the Bolivian littoral, taken Tarapaca from Peru, and arranged with the Argentine Republic for the division of Patagonia. Cholera raged with more than usual violence during the earlier months of the year, and it was estimated that in Valparaiso alone nearly 5,000 persons perished during the first quarter. The same city

was visited by a terrible disaster in August, through the bursting of a large reservoir, which flooded the principal streets, wrecked numerous houses, and destroyed many lives.

Uruguay.—This country has steadily advanced in trade and commerce, and, notwithstanding political difficulties, its credit has improved since the successor to President Santos was constitutionally elected. An Act was passed in January banishing ex-President Santos, and in March the Chamber of Deputies rejected by a large majority his petition for a repeal of the law which banished him. This vote was regarded as an important Ministerial success, and a recognition of the new Government. Immigration assumed increased importance, developing the land and riches of the country, and forcing forward the construction of fresh railways in all directions. The development of trade and the strict collection of taxes produced such an increase in the revenue that the Government was enabled to raise the salaries in the Civil Service 15 per cent. and to cover previous deficits. The Government, with the assistance of the National Bank, moreover paid off at par the whole internal Debt of the Republic, consisting of about \$13,000,000 in bonds, bearing 8 per cent. interest and 4 per cent. sinking fund. The floating Debt at the beginning of the year amounted to \$1,100,000, and the Finance Minister in his Budget for 1888 estimated the revenue at \$15,000,000 and the expenditure at \$13,800,000, thereby showing a surplus of \$1,200,000. The Government also contracted in Europe a loan of \$20,000,000, with which, before the close of the year, the 8 per cent. Consolidated Debt was to be redeemed, and the remainder was to be employed in carrying out reproductive public works. If the published accounts are to be trusted, there was no deficit on the gross revenue of the country, in spite of the total abolition of the export duties, which in previous years had yielded over \$1,000,000.

Paraguay.—This year pointed to the beginning of an era in development, the value of land having suddenly risen in an extraordinary degree. Emigration showed symptoms of steady increase, whilst the internal as well as the export trade of the country showed very remarkable progress. The external Debt, moreover, was reduced from 850,000*l.* to 814,900*l.* during the year.

Bolivia, on the other hand, made but little progress during the year. Señor Arce, ex-Vice-President and Minister in Paris, was elected President, but upon his arrival to take office a rebellion broke out, headed by General Camacho, the rival candidate. Order was, however, restored with little effort by the Government forces, and Señor Arce addressed himself to the administration of the State. The relations with Paraguay, which were strained by reason of a boundary dispute in the Gran Chaco, did not make the President's task lighter.

Venezuela.—Early in the year Dr. Paul was elected President,

in succession to General Blanco, who took up his residence in Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary. General Crespo, an ex-President and a defeated candidate at the last election, attempted to raise a revolution in June, but this was promptly suppressed by the Government. Diplomatic relations with England have not been renewed, nor has any progress been made during the year for the settlement of the disputed boundary question. On the other hand, the negotiations began in May 1888, arising out of outrages to British subjects, were terminated. For more than four years the British Foreign Office had urged the Venezuelan Government to bring to justice the authors of these acts of violence, but without result, the Venezuelan Government accepting entire responsibility. At length, in January of this year, the authorities agreed to the payment of 10,000*l.* as compensation, and offered full, although tardy, apology for their action.

Ecuador.—General Flores, Minister in Paris, was elected President early in the year, promising before he left Europe to urge forward a settlement with the foreign creditors of his country. On his arrival he found this policy so strongly opposed that the proposal was withdrawn, and Congress was adjourned until 1890.

Colombia.—In July Dr. Nunez retired from the presidency, which he had held for thirteen years, and was succeeded by Dr. Holguin, who for some years had represented his country in Europe. The revenue of the year 1888–9 was estimated to fall short by \$5,000,000 of the estimated expenditure, so that the hopes of the creditors for any settlement of the external Debt were far from realisation.

CHAPTER VIII.

AUSTRALASIA AND POLYNESIA.

THIS year marked at once the anniversaries of the visits of Dampier, the buccaneer, in 1688, and of Captain Arthur Phillip, the settler, in 1788. The latter saw in Port Jackson the finest harbour in existence, and wrote home that a thousand sail of the line might ride there in perfect security. He determined to found his settlement on its shores, and the splendid result of this essay in colonisation might seem to be the growth of ten centuries rather than of one. From the modest beginning at Sydney Cove, Australasia is now recognised as a continent with an area of three million square miles, a public income of twenty millions, and a rapidly increasing and prosperous population. The adoption of the scheme of a Federal Council was another important step in the history of the country, though the harmony of the three days' sitting on the eve of the Centenary was somewhat

marred by the abstention of New South Wales. This colony, however, whilst declining to send delegates to the meeting, admitted the principle of the scheme of naval defence for Australasia, which it was the main object of federation to promote. The question of the appointment of Colonial Governors at one time threatened to give rise to serious misunderstanding. On the death of Sir Anthony Musgrave, Governor of Queensland, Sir Henry Blake, Governor of Newfoundland, was selected by the Secretary for the Colonies for the vacant post, but this choice failed to meet the views of the Queensland Ministry. Prior to the vacancy occurring they had tried to obtain a promise that the name of any new Governor should be communicated to them before the appointment was definitely made, but to this the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Knutsford) declined for obvious reasons to accede. As soon, however, as Sir Henry Blake's appointment was made known, the Queensland Ministry telegraphed their protest. Their reasons were irrespective of Sir Henry Blake's services in the Bahamas and in Newfoundland under very trying circumstances. The Secretary of State telegraphed to the Acting-Governor (Sir Arthur Palmer), that he could take no action on the telegram, but that the Ministry should acquaint the Acting-Governor with their specific reasons for objecting to the appointment of a gentleman of high character, and who had administered the government of other colonies with great discretion and success. The real but unavowed opposition to Sir H. Blake's appointment arose from his earlier career in Ireland, where as an officer of the constabulary and a magistrate he had made himself unpopular with the Irish Nationalists, whose cause found much sympathy in Queensland. The matter was warmly discussed both in New South Wales and Victoria, but without arriving at a unanimous conclusion. In the former colony Sir Henry Parkes induced the Assembly to declare itself in favour of the principle that the Colonial Governments should be informed of any intended choice before it was actually made. In Victoria, on the contrary, Mr. Gillies maintained that the less a colony insisted upon having a share in the nomination of a Governor, the better for its interests. Sir Bryan O'Loughlen thereupon challenged that doctrine by bringing forward a motion similar to that of Sir H. Parkes, but it was summarily rejected by 59 to 3. In England the difficulty with regard to Queensland was arranged by the transfer of Sir H. Blake to another post, and the appointment of Sir Henry Norman, Governor of Jamaica, in his place.

In all the Australian colonies the Chinese immigration question began to assume larger and more serious proportions, two circumstances having brought the matter prominently forward. The Government Resident at Port Darwin, in South Australia, notified to the Government at Adelaide that large vessels flying the Chinese flag and freighted with Chinese labour to work the

ruby mines were approaching his district by way of North Australia; and about the same time a despatch was received from the Secretary of State enclosing the protest from the Chinese Ambassador in London against the exceptional treatment to which the Chinese were subjected in the British colonies. Meetings were held in every direction, and resolutions poured in upon the various Governments, praying them to take some decisive action against the further extensive immigration of Chinamen. New South Wales took the lead in the anti-Chinese agitation, and Sir H. Parkes telegraphed (May 15) to the Secretary of State that his Government were resolved in any case to prevent the landing of Chinese unprovided with naturalisation papers. The next evening, in an impassioned speech, he introduced his Chinese Restriction Bill; the Standing Orders were suspended without a word of dissent, and the Bill was hurried through all stages and read a third time at 7 o'clock the next morning amid loud cheers.

The Bill itself had all the symptoms of haste and panic, and gave no warning to those affected by it. It was retrospective, and indemnified the Government for past acts. The naturalisation of Chinese was not to be allowed in future, and those who had been already naturalised were ordered to leave the colony at their own cost. Fresh arrivals were to be in the proportion of one to every 300, instead of 100, tons' burden of the vessel bringing them. The poll-tax was to be raised from 10*l.* to 100*l.*, and the penalty for evasion from 10*l.* to 50*l.* There were many other restrictions, and in fact the Bill fell little short of prohibition. Public opinion in Sydney disapproved of this hasty legislation, and the Legislative Council refused to suspend its Standing Orders in order to pass the Bill, and postponed the second reading. The press, moreover, condemned Sir H. Parkes for what appeared to be his defiance of the Imperial Government; and the Supreme Court also struck a blow at this policy of hasty exclusion, by granting writs of *habeas corpus* for the release of Chinamen detained in Sydney Harbour, holding their detention to be illegal, and that it was not competent for the Governor to exclude foreigners from the Queen's dominions. In June a general Australasian Conference was held at Sydney, which lasted three days, and resulted in the adoption of a draft Bill and joint representation to the Secretary of State, urging the Imperial Government to enter into negotiations with China for a treaty for restricting Chinese immigration in Australian colonies. In the meantime the colonies were to seek from their respective Legislatures a uniform measure, proposing to abolish the poll-tax altogether as unnecessary, and to limit the number of Chinese immigrants in the proportion of one to every 500 tons. At length the Governor of New South Wales (Lord Carington) gave the Royal Assent (July 11) to the Chinese Restriction Bill, the Assembly having agreed in the previous week to the amendments

of the Council relating to residence, registration, licences, and mining. Notwithstanding this legislation the Australian working men contrived to boycott the Chinese not only on shore but at sea; refusing to allow the captains of vessels to employ Chinese stokers, coal-whippers, and the like. At the close of the year negotiations with a view to the settlement of a treaty with the Chinese Government were still in progress. Another inter-colonial question which had for a long time been the source of much ill-will and misunderstanding found a satisfactory solution. The French troops were at last withdrawn from the New Hebrides (Feb. 15), and removed to Nouméa, in fulfilment of the Convention of Nov. 16, 1887, between Great Britain and France, which required the evacuation of the islands within four months. A declaration was further signed between the two mother countries, defining the functions and powers of the joint Anglo-French Naval Commission which was in future to govern the New Hebrides. The Commission was to consist of five naval officers belonging to the British and French stations in the Pacific (two of each nationality and a President), and the President was to be in alternate months the commanding officer of the British and French naval forces. The Commission was to carry out its duties in conformity with regulations attached to the Declaration.

New South Wales.—The Centenary fêtes in New South Wales were inaugurated, on the anniversary of the first landing in the colony of Governor Phillip (Jan. 24), by Lady Carington unveiling a statue of Queen Victoria in the presence of the Governors of the neighbouring colonies, including those of New Zealand, Western Australia, and Fiji. The festivities extended over an entire week, included the dedication of the Centennial Park, the opening of the Agricultural Society's Exhibition, a State Banquet, and an International Regatta. The anniversary of Captain Phillip's Proclamation at Sydney Cove of the founding of the new colony (Jan. 26) was further marked by a general illumination.

The excitement aroused on the Chinese immigration question, already referred to, rapidly subsided, and by the middle of the year the vessels which had been detained for conveying Chinese had left the port, having disembarked those who had been released by order of the Supreme Court. The long Parliamentary session, which should have closed before the end of the previous year, was protracted for more than six months. At length the Government, finding itself powerless to check dilatory discussion, recognised the uselessness of further prolonging the session. The Land Bill, the great Bill of the session, had been abandoned after strenuous efforts to pass it into law, and the Government had been further defeated upon its two measures for direct taxation. One of these aimed at imposing a tax of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound on the value of all land, apart from its improvements, with an exemption of properties below the value of 500*l.* This measure

was passed by the Assembly, but at the last moment it was rejected by the Council. The other was a Bill for taxing joint-stock companies, on the ground that their profits could be easily assessed, and without inquisitorial process. Before introducing the Appropriation Bill, Mr. Burns made a revised financial statement, admitting that his early estimates for the previous year had not been realised, although he still anticipated a substantial surplus. The condition of the country was unquestionably improving, and the stimulus given to mining enterprise had led to a good deal of outlay, although merchants complained that business at present yielded but little profit.

After an unusually short recess of only three months, Parliament was again summoned (Oct. 23), the Governor (Lord Carington) explaining that its services were requisite to enable provision to be made for the public service and to permit of the financial business being dealt with before the end of the year. A vote of censure, founded upon the Budget provisions, was promptly brought forward by Mr. Dibbs, but after a brief debate was negatived by 42 to 18.

A Bill for extending the provisions of the Divorce Act passed in the previous session was passed by both Houses of the Legislature, but, on the ground that experience had not shown how the new law worked, the Crown exercised its prerogative and withheld its assent to the measure.

The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquor made a more satisfactory report than had been anticipated. The amount of imported spirits consumed per head had fallen from 1·61 gallons in 1877 to 1·19 in 1886, whilst of spirits distilled within the colony the reduction was still greater. In beer there was an increase, which was entirely owing to the larger consumption of bottled beer, but even then the amount was not half so much per head as that of the United Kingdom. Of the quality of the liquor consumed the report spoke unfavourably, chiefly from the fusel oil it contained, and against which adulteration the laws of the colony gave no remedy. New and stringent legislation was, therefore, recommended in this sense. Instead of the existing plan of sending a drunken man who was noisy or troublesome to prison for seven or fourteen days, the report favoured a minimum sentence of some months at an asylum, where he could be constrained to practise temperance for a period long enough, if not to cure him, at least to secure him against the certainty of a relapse. Sunday closing was the established law, which it was not proposed to relax. Local option had been tried and failed, but, evil having come from the multiplication of private bars, it was recommended that the limit of one liquor licence to every eighty electors should be tried.

A serious strike took place at the end of August among the colliers of Newcastle, and, although about one-third of the men

were willing to resume work on the terms offered, the unionists objected, and intimidation grew so violent that the police were powerless to maintain order and the military had ultimately to be called out. The agreement made in the previous year between masters and men for the settlement of disputes had worked so unsatisfactorily that the former gave notice of withdrawal, and, subsequent endeavours to come to terms having fallen through, the Newcastle miners decided to go on strike. Although Sydney was not wholly dependent on the Newcastle mines for coal, since there were extensive coal-fields to the south and west, great inconvenience was caused to trade, for the other mines were unable to supply the sudden demand, nor could they at once extend their production, although they were able to avert famine prices. The miners appealed to the public for support, declaring that they were unable to make 2*l.* a week, whereas it was known that many of them had been earning 12*s.* and 14*s.* a day. The strike dragged on through October, all attempts at a settlement failing on account of a hopeless difference as to the first point to be discussed—viz. the standard height of the seam. By the middle of November, however, an agreement was signed between the masters and the men, and the latter resumed work on terms satisfactory to both parties, though not equally so to the consumers. The rabbit problem remained throughout the year unsolved, and the pest has reached such formidable dimensions that, if no remedy be forthcoming, the country is threatened with the destruction of all food for sheep and cattle. One great landowner, after spending 40,000*l.* in trying to extirpate the rabbits on his property, gave up farming in despair. In this colony alone the cost of extermination in 1887 amounted to 250,000*l.*, and it was estimated that in this year it would not be far short of half a million. Costly wire netting was found to be no longer rabbit-proof, for the rabbits have learned to leap it. The reward of 25,000*l.* for an effectual remedy has not yet been awarded, although by February there had been 300 applications. M. Pasteur's proposal to introduce chicken-cholera as a means of extermination has been tried with complete success on a private estate in France, and was advocated by many as more humane than the present cruel and ineffectual remedies of steel traps and arsenic; fowls attacked by it lose strength rapidly, stagger, curl themselves up, and drop into a deep sleep in which they die a painless death. It has no ill effect upon human beings, horses, cattle, sheep, or dogs. An alternative proposal was that rabbits should be caught in nets, and the does killed and the bucks released; these would then, it was argued, worry the does so that they could not breed, and would devour the young rabbits. An island was selected where the various methods of extirpation should be thoroughly tried, and M. Pasteur early in the year sent three delegates with a supply of "microbes du choléra des poules," with which he hoped

to win the prize for the benefit of the Pasteur Institution in Paris.

Victoria.—The Premier and Treasurer (Mr. D. Gillies), in his Budget statement (July 24), was able to announce that the actual revenue of the preceding financial year had been 8,236,000*l.*, or 639,000*l.* in excess of the estimate, against an expenditure of 7,398,000*l.*, thus showing a surplus of 838,000*l.* On no former occasion in Victoria nor in any other Australian colony had the Finance Minister had so large a sum at his disposal, and many interests urged their claims to share in the benefits of such prosperous times. Mr. Gillies, after some deliberation, decided to increase the endowments of local bodies by 140,000*l.*, and, further, to grant bonuses up to 250,000*l.*, extending over several years, for the encouragement of agriculture, and especially of dairy farming; 10,000*l.* a year was further to be allotted to scientific instruction in farming, and the Government undertook, in connection with an extended system of irrigation, to construct headworks and reservoirs in the public interest. An internal penny post was to be introduced in January 1889, in lieu of the existing twopenny rate, involving a primary loss of 100,000*l.*, and a stamp duty was imposed upon every transaction in land. The Government further proposed an important revision of the tariff—reducing the tea duties from 3*d.* to 1*d.* per lb., and abolishing altogether those on coffee, cocoa, chocolate, kerosine, and safety matches. On the other hand, the duties on woollen goods were increased 5 per cent., but dress stuffs worn by the poorer classes were admitted free. Other readjustments were proposed with a view to remove existing anomalies, and the revised tariff was to take effect from January 1889. The estimated receipts under this Budget for the current year were stated by Mr. Gillies to be 9,073,000*l.*, and the expenditure 8,984,000*l.*, leaving an expected surplus of 89,000*l.* The financial proposals of the Government, at first warmly received, gave rise to protracted discussion, and the middle of September found legislation at a standstill, with half the session gone and no business done. At length, after much obstruction, Mr. Gillies succeeded in getting his Budget into Committee. Its ultimate success was, however, doubted, even by its chief supporters, for it aimed at the impossible task of pleasing both Protectionists and Free Traders. In the hope of conciliating the farmers, the Government went so far as to offer to tax cereals entering the colony, but was defeated on the horse-tax, which it had fixed at 5*s.*, whilst the Opposition held out for 20*s.* The Ministry, having to choose between immediate resignation and the abandonment of the Budget, decided on the latter course, and proposed to the House to vote the Estimates in their unaltered form, and to pass the Electoral and Appropriation Bills. A stormy debate followed, of which the disorder was quite beyond the control of the Speaker, affording satisfaction only to those who had strenuously, but unsuccessfully,

opposed the payment of members. After a while, however, party feeling was to some extent allayed, and the Ministry were allowed to carry on the ordinary business of the session. A long and interesting debate took place (Nov. 28) on the subject of colonial interference with the Crown in the selection of Colonial Governors in Australasia, on which occasion the leader of the Opposition, Sir B. O'Loughlen, moved that the House should support the position taken up by the other colonies, and that Ministers of a colony should be consulted prior to the appointment of its Governor. When the division was called, the Opposition crossed over to the Ministerial benches, leaving the mover alone with his two tellers, and the motion was accordingly rejected by 59 to 3. On the result of the division being announced, the majority called for the National Anthem, the first verse of which was sung by the whole House, the Speaker, clerk, officers, and gallery joining in, and then three cheers were given for the Queen. A Bill providing for a loan of 4,600,000*l.*, bearing interest at 3½ per cent., passed the Assembly (Dec. 12), but it was decided to offer only 3,000,000*l.* in the first instance. Parliament was at length prorogued (Dec. 22), after passing the Redistribution of Seats and the Electoral Law Reform Bills.

The sudden interruption on June 30 of telegraphic communication with Europe, caused by the simultaneous fracture of both cables about 40 miles from Java, suggested to the Government the idea of immediately mobilising the forces available for the defence of Melbourne. The order, although issued on a Saturday, which for a variety of circumstances was least propitious, was responded to heartily and efficiently. The land forces manned the forts at Albert Head and prepared everything for action, laying such mines as were possible without obstructing navigation, and practising with electric search-lights. The ships were also found in readiness, everything being in thorough working order in the depôt and boats, as were also the artillery and naval reserves. The Centennial International Exhibition, erected in the eastern quarter of the city of Melbourne, and covering 32 acres, a far larger area than the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, was opened with great ceremony (Aug. 1), its purpose being to celebrate the centenary of the foundation of the Australian colonies. The Exhibition was formally opened by the Governor, Sir H. Loch, attended by the Governors of the neighbouring colonies, and by representatives of their respective Ministries and Parliaments. The day was proclaimed a public holiday, and Parliament was specially adjourned. A procession of soldiers, sailors, volunteers, judges, craftsmen, and distinguished visitors was organised to escort the Governor and party to the Exhibition, where 7,000 invited guests had already assembled. Here another and most imposing procession was formed, and as it passed up the Grand Avenue of Nations (1,350

yards in length), the National Anthems of America, Germany, Austria, and France were played by bands stationed in the various courts, and when the hall itself was reached, the British National Anthem was sung. The President (Sir J. MacBain) then read an address to the Governor, at the close of which he claimed that the magnitude and value of the artistic, industrial, and other exhibits far surpassed anything previously displayed in the Southern Hemisphere, and, presenting the Governor with a gold key, asked him to declare the Exhibition open. The successful opening was telegraphed at once to Queen Victoria, who within half an hour transmitted her congratulations to the Commissioners. Festivities were kept up day and night for more than a week. A fine collection of pictures, lent for the occasion by their various owners, including her Majesty, and representing almost exclusively British art, proved one of the most attractive features of the Exhibition. Unfortunately the whole scheme had been conceived upon a scale out of proportion to its possible financial success, and although the Exhibition attracted considerable numbers of visitors, the receipts failed to cover the expenses which the promoters had incurred.

The question of the right of Chinamen to enter the colony culminated early in September in a trial of such importance that the six judges of the Supreme Court sat to discuss and decide the matter. Ah Toy, a Chinaman, had arrived with many others at Melbourne in April, and tendered the usual capitation tax of 10*l.* to the Customs collector. The latter, influenced by the popular agitation of the time against Chinese immigrants, decided not to allow Ah Toy and his fellow-countrymen to land, and they were accordingly sent back to their own country in the same vessel. Immediately upon his return Ah Toy commenced proceedings against the Government for illegally preventing his landing. It was contended on behalf of the Government that the Queen could, by her mere prerogative, exercised in any part of her dominions, exclude any alien, however friendly, and that such power was imparted to the Victorian Government by the Constitution Act. This view was taken by two of the judges; but the other four held that, if such a power had ever been exercised or deemed exercisable by a British sovereign, it had never been exercised in modern times, and that, even if it had been, it had never been communicated to any colony. This opinion of the majority of the judges was in accordance with the judgment of the Supreme Court of New South Wales given some time previously under similar circumstances. The high-handed proceedings of the Government towards the Chinese immigrants had brought about a certain reaction in their favour, and the verdict which was given in Ah Toy's favour was supported by public sympathy and by the Press.

Queensland.—The dissolution of Parliament the first week in April was followed by the immediate issue of the new writs, on

which the Government secured only 27 seats, whilst the Opposition won 45. The new Parliament having met (June 12), and unanimously chosen Mr. A. Norton as Speaker, the Ministry at once resigned, and Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith was summoned by the Governor to form a new Cabinet. By combining in his own person the posts of Premier, Chief Secretary, and Treasurer, he was able to present a list with little delay. The House of Assembly offered no obstacle to this simple method of shortening a Ministerial crisis, and, having passed a Supply Bill authorising an expenditure of 250,000*l.*, forthwith adjourned. The members of the new Cabinet, who had vacated their seats on accepting office, were re-elected unopposed, and Parliament reassembled (Aug. 14). The Governor, Sir A. Musgrave, in his speech on the opening of the session, commended to the serious attention of the House the Ministerial proposals for remedying the unsatisfactory state of the finances, for effecting a radical change in the building and management of railways, and for extirpating the rabbit pest. A crisis was not, however, long avoided, for within three weeks (Sept. 4) the new Ministry resigned, in consequence of the refusal of the Governor to sanction the release under the Offenders' Probation Act of a prisoner under sentence for larceny. Before accepting their resignation, the Governor summoned Sir Samuel Griffith, who, however, declined to form a new Cabinet. Sir T. M'Ilwraith, at the same time, refused to recede from the position he had taken up, and he was supported in this resolution by the majority of the Press. A torchlight meeting of 8,000 persons was held at Brisbane in favour of the Ministry, and similar meetings were held in other parts of the colony. The deadlock was at length brought to an end (Sept. 8) by a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies ordering the release of the prisoner. Sir T. M'Ilwraith was thus able to make his annual Budget statement (Sept. 12), showing an anticipated deficit of 135,000*l.* To meet this he proposed changes in the Customs tariff, by means of which he hoped to convert the deficit into a surplus of 72,000*l.* He proposed to substitute fixed duties whenever practicable, and otherwise to raise the *ad valorem* duties to 15 per cent. The beer duties and timber royalties were to be removed, and the malt tax was to be raised to 3*s.* per bushel. Increased duties would be levied on agricultural implements and machines, exemption being given to such as could not be made in the colony, but printing and paper machinery were to be admitted free. If these proposals were adopted, Sir T. M'Ilwraith expressed his belief that the finances of the colony would shortly be in a sound condition, and Parliament accepted the Budget without demur. Soon after the conclusion of the session, which was marked by no important incidents, Sir T. M'Ilwraith resigned the offices of Chief Secretary and Treasurer, retaining only that of Vice-President of the Executive Council. The

events incident on the death of Sir A. Musgrave have been already related.

South Australia.—In opening Parliament (May 31) the Governor, Sir W. Robinson, congratulated the members upon the improved condition of affairs in the colony, and expressed the hope that the bountiful harvest, the increase of the wool clip and mining enterprise, combined with the new tariff, would have a stimulating effect upon the industries of the country. The Premier and Treasurer, the Hon. T. Playford, in his financial statement (Aug. 16), estimated the revenue for the coming year at 2,400,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 2,280,000*l.* He proposed no fresh taxation, but announced that a loan of from 500,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* was in contemplation for public works. On the retirement of Sir W. Robinson at the close of the year the Government, following the example of Queensland, requested the Secretary of State to allow them the opportunity of expressing an opinion with regard to the person whom it might be proposed to appoint to the vacant governorship. Lord Knutsford replied that the Imperial Government were precluded by the conditions of the Governor's office from having recourse to the advice of the Colonial Ministry in regard to the selection of a Governor, and he gave various other reasons against the proposal. To this the Government of South Australia rejoined that the objections appeared to them to be untenable, and maintained their protest. The matter, however, rested there, and just before the year closed it was announced that the Queen had appointed the Earl of Kintore to the vacant post.

Western Australia.—The material progress made by the colony in 1887 was fully maintained during the present year. The extension of railways contributed to the substantial development of the principal towns, whilst the agricultural districts showed a marked increase in stock of various classes, and in the area of cultivated land. The goldfields also attracted considerable attention from diggers and speculators, who in one way or another gave an impetus to trade of all kinds. The Committee—consisting of Lord Cranbrook, Lord Macnaghten, and Lord Knutsford—appointed by the Privy Council to examine into the differences which had arisen between the Governor (Sir F. Napier Broome) and Chief Justice Onslow, after careful investigation, agreed upon their report. In accordance therewith an Order in Council was issued to the effect that, although Chief Justice Onslow could not be entirely exempted from censure, his suspension from office by the Governor must be annulled. The report added that the past relations between the two officials concerned had been prejudicial to the colony, and their continuance would lead to deplorable results. A draft Bill for the introduction of responsible government in this colony, approved by the Secretary of State, was under discussion in the Legislative Council. In most of its details it embodied the wishes

expressed by the Colonial Legislature ; but the Imperial Government stipulated that the control of the Crown lands in the northern part of Western Australia should not be alienated until that portion of the colony had been more thoroughly explored and opened up. The most noteworthy feature in the year's history, perhaps, was the strongly expressed belief that the construction of the Central Railway from Guildford to Geraldton would be undertaken by a German syndicate, the necessary labourers being supplied from Germany.

New Zealand.—The financial proposals of the Government discussed in the previous year were ultimately carried by large majorities before Parliament was prorogued. There was to be a new Government loan of 1,000,000*l.*, and a like sum was empowered to be raised on account of the North Island Railway, authorised in 1882 ; but beyond these two amounts, the Government engaged not to borrow any further sum on the London market for three years. On the reassembling of Parliament (May 10) the Governor, Sir William Jervois, dwelt upon the signs of improvement in various industries in the colony, and particularly in mining. The Land Act, he declared, was working satisfactorily, and the Maories were contented. He also announced that the tariff would be readjusted, in order to remove existing anomalies and assist the finances of the colony. The Premier and Treasurer, Sir H. A. Atkinson, at once (May 29) brought forward his Budget for 1888–9, which showed that the expenditure for the past year had exceeded the revenue by 382,000*l.* This, added to the deficit of the preceding year, made a total of 528,000*l.* for the two years, of which amount 400,000*l.* had been provided in the previous session. To meet this state of affairs, the Treasurer announced that reductions would be effected in the public expenditure amounting to 233,000*l.*, and that consequently the estimated revenue for the ensuing year would be 4,016,000*l.*, as compared with an expenditure of 4,061,000*l.* He, therefore, further proposed to levy a special primage of 1 per cent. on all imports for two years, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to make good the unfunded deficit of the previous year, whilst the requirements of the current year would be met by additions to the Customs which would yield an estimated revenue of 173,000*l.* The economy of the Government was to be shown by the amalgamation of the Native Department with that of the Colonial Secretary, and the abolition of the Department of Public Works as a separate body. These proposals met with slight opposition, and were accepted by Parliament as necessary in view of the financial situation.

New Guinea.—The formal proclamation (Sept. 4) of the sovereignty of Queen Victoria over the British portion of the island was followed during the same month by edicts prohibiting the supplying of natives with firearms, intoxicating liquors, or opium, and forbidding all attempts to entice or remove natives

from their homes. Regulations were also made for the adoption in the Protectorate of the laws and Gold Mining Acts in force in Queensland, under which the officer administering the government was empowered to grant rewards to discoverers of gold reefs or washings.

Borneo.—After nearly thirty years of constant urging and solicitation the Imperial Government consented to establish a British Protectorate over North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak, the total area of the united Protectorate being about 70,000 square miles. The annual reports of the British North Borneo Company bore witness to its steady development, and showed an increasing revenue side by side with a diminishing expenditure. In Sarawak, where Rajah Sir James Brooke's beneficent rule has been carried on and extended by his nephew, the actual Rajah, the commercial prosperity was even more marked, and the basis of civilised government had been fairly established. By the new arrangement British influence became supreme over the whole of the north-west and north coast of Borneo, a stretch of about 2,000 miles, the Rajah of Sarawak, and probable heir to the empire of Brunei, standing aside in order to facilitate the substitution of the Imperial Government. The people, consisting of Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks, under the British Rajah have for some years lived peaceably together. A trained military force of 250 men, in addition to a police force, have preserved order. The administration of the various districts has been through an organised Civil Service. Sarawak, for many years responsible to the Rajah or his representative, has enjoyed all the advantages of a settled government. The revenue is derived from duties on opium, tobacco, spirits, salt, and export duties on produce, and Excise. The soil and climate are well adapted for growing sugar, coffee, pepper, and other tropical products, whilst North Borneo tobacco is a successful competitor with that from Sumatra. In the district under concession to the North Borneo Company there has been a large and continually increasing demand for land, and before the end of the year 500,000 acres had been applied for, of which 350,000 were taken up. At least a dozen companies were formed during the year, mainly for tobacco planting, and representing a nominal capital of 1,000,000*l.*, of which the expenditure in Borneo was expected to return handsome results.

Samoa.—The early part of the year was tolerably quiet, but in September, Malietoa, the king who had been deposed in August 1887 by an armed force of Germans, and sent into exile, was allowed to return. Civil war almost at once followed, for it became evident that Tamasese, the rebel whom the Germans had made king in place of Malietoa, was unable to maintain his position without their help. Prior to this, a rebellion had broken out, partly owing to an attempt by the German Consul, Herr Branders, to induce the natives to confer

on Tamasese the hereditary name of Malietoa, and partly on account of the excessive taxation to which the people were subjected by Tamasese's Government. Herr Branders placed himself at the head of King Tamasese's partisans, but his first encounter with the ex-King Malietoa's followers was decisive. Tamasese's force mustered about 1,400 men, but the more popular, though dethroned, chief could reckon on nearly 3,000. This disproportion led to the obvious result, and Tamasese was totally defeated (Sept. 12), after several hours' hard fighting. Malietoa's followers at once occupied Apia, the principal town and harbour of the group, and proclaimed Mataafa king. Tamasese retired inland, hiding in the bush and among the rocky defiles of the island, whilst the Germans protected and found supplies for his followers. Frequent skirmishes ensued between the rival partisans, and at length Mataafa attacked (Nov. 29) Tamasese's stronghold at Atua, and after a fierce and prolonged fight drove the latter from it, the loss on either side amounting to 100 killed and several hundred wounded. With this exploit active campaigning in the island closed for the year, neither side having obtained a paramount superiority. It was, however, felt by many in England that Malietoa should be restored to his throne. Subsequent events had shown that the advice given to him by the British and the United States Governments not to resist the German force was founded upon a misconception of Malietoa's hold upon his followers. He had, moreover, surrendered to the Germans, on the advice of the consuls of the other Powers, in the belief that they would sustain his cause. In this he was disappointed, and naturally the first use he made of his liberty was to recover the place he had once occupied.

South Pacific.—Christmas, Fanning, and Penrhyn Islands were formally annexed by Great Britain during the year as lying in the path of a possible telegraph cable connecting Canada and Australia. Another Christmas Island, 200 miles south of the western end of Java, entirely uninhabited, was also annexed in July, in view of a project for a duplicate cable to Australia; and in November a British Protectorate was established over the Hervey or Cook Islands, the principal of which is Rarotonga. The importance of this acquisition had long been recognised, and although in 1864 the inhabitants applied to the British Government for protection, nothing was done until the present year. In the stretch of 7,700 miles of sea that separates Sydney from Panama it is the only coaling station we possess, for, with the exception of Pitcairn, Rurutu, Rimatara, and Easter Islands, the entire S.E. Pacific is under the control of France. Its value to Great Britain was therefore unquestionable. It has two small but fairly secure harbours, and is connected with Auckland by ties of friendship and commerce. The group consists of seven islands, the largest of which are Rarotonga and Mangaia, each about 30 miles in circumference, and the others

are Aitutaki, Aliu, Mauki, Metiaro, and Hervey. Temperature averages 80°, and the whole group has attractions for commercial men, Mauki being specially noted for its ironwood. The inhabitants are governed by a Queen, and are in a more advanced state of civilisation than any others in the South Pacific. Their laws are just and well-administered; as a people they are honest and hospitable, they dress in European fabrics, are well-fed, happy, and prosperous. Their houses are of stone and lime, and contain furniture; they seem free from superstition and suffer little from want. France almost simultaneously annexed the Wallis Islands, midway between Samoa and Fiji, consisting of various small islands, of which the largest is Unea, with 4,000 inhabitants and a Roman Catholic Queen; and she also hoisted her flag on the Marquesas Islands, but not until after severe fighting with the natives.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1888.

JANUARY.

1. The Pope celebrated his Jubilee Mass in St. Peter's with great solemnity and in the presence of an enormous assemblage of clergy and laity from all parts of the world. After the ceremony the Pope, robed in his pontifical vestments, and wearing the tiara, was carried before the statue of St. Peter, whence he gave the benediction, "Urbi et orbi."

— The "Times" celebrated its hundredth anniversary by reprinting a large portion of its first number, and giving a history of its career as a newspaper.

— Mr. Gladstone, on his arrival in Florence, received a grand ovation from the Garibaldian Association, which he acknowledged by a speech in Italian.

— The Alhambra Theatre at Antwerp totally destroyed by fire, which broke out after the audience had left. No lives were lost.

3. The Pope, in receiving a deputation of Italian pilgrims, among whom were 100 Italian bishops, declared the Papacy should be independent of whatsoever terrestrial authority.

— A portion of the embankment of the Birmingham Canal, near Rowley, Staffordshire, gave way, inundating a wide tract of the surrounding country.

4. The cold in parts of Eastern Europe said to be almost unparalleled. In Galicia the thermometer fell to 30 deg. (Réaumur) below zero. The Balaton Lake in Hungary was completely frozen over, and no foreign mails had been able to leave or reach Odessa for many days in consequence of the depth of the snow.

— The Theatre Royal, Bolton, totally destroyed by fire, which broke out about an hour after the close of the performance of the Christmas pantomime. No lives were lost. The fire was discovered to have been the work of a discharged gasman, who was tried and convicted.

5. The vacancy at Winchester, caused by the death of Mr. A. L. Tottenham, resulted in the return of Mr. R. Moss (Conservative), 1,864, against Mr. P. Vanderbyl (Gladstonian), 849 votes.

6. The Venerable Archdeacon Earle (of Totnes) nominated Suffragan Bishop of London, under the title of Bishop of Guildford. The Grocers' Company agreed to appoint the Suffragan Bishop to the vacant and valuable living of St. Michael's, Cornhill.

— The body of Mr. McNeill, a journalist, who had been missing since Dec. 20, washed ashore near Boulogne, bearing signs of foul play.

— A body of Montenegrins, headed by the Russian Major Nabokoff, made a raid on the Roumelian territory at Bourgas, but were repulsed by the Turkish troops, Major Nabokoff and about 20 others being killed.

7. Mr. T. R. Henn, Recorder of Galway, rejected Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's appeal against the sentence of two months' imprisonment passed on him by the Woodford magistrates for resisting the police on Oct. 23. Mr. Blunt was, after a short delay, conveyed to prison.

— Mr. W. J. Lane, M.P., arrested at Cork on the charge of having incited tenants to resist decree of the court at Watergrasshill.

— The foundation of Temple Bar, on its re-erection at the entrance to Theobald's Park, Cheshunt, laid by Lady Meux.

9. The remains of Napoleon III. and of his son removed from the Roman Catholic church at Chislehurst to the mausoleum erected at Farnborough by the ex-Empress Eugénie.

— Two Swedes landed at Plymouth, the sole survivors of 28 passengers and crew of the American ship *Alfred Watts*, which was wrecked on her voyage to Liverpool. They were found alive on the fore-castle, which alone was not under water, after an interval of thirty-one days.

— The crofters of the island of Lewis, numbering about 1,000, assembled near Aignish and proceeded to drive the sheep and cattle off a large stretch of land on the pretext that the land had been arbitrarily enclosed. The troops and police did their best to protect the more peaceful inhabitants, but many sheep were driven into the sea and otherwise injured.

10. Philip Cross, M.D., of Shandy Hall, near Dripsey, who had been convicted of poisoning his wife with arsenic, hanged in Cork Gaol.

— An express train from Boston to Portland ran off the rails at Haverhill, Mass., in consequence of the spreading of a switch-tail. Two of the coaches were smashed, and nine persons were killed and about fifty wounded.

— A heavy fog settled over England and a great part of Ireland, lasting three days, during which traffic by sea and to a less extent by land was greatly impeded, and many accidents were reported from all parts of the country.

— An earthquake of unusual violence and duration caused great damage to the buildings in the town of St. George, in the island of Grenada, W.I.

11. M. Vigneau, the *juge d'instruction* to whom the preliminary investigation into the charges against M. Wilson had been confided, suspended from his office on the ground of having invited one of the witnesses to dinner and then committed him to prison, and of having attempted by means of the telephone to obtain information by passing himself off as M. Wilson.

— During the dense fog which prevailed in the Mersey, as elsewhere,

sixteen boys belonging to the *Akbar*, reformatory ship, managed to escape in a boat to the shore.

11. Lord Salisbury received an enthusiastic welcome at Liverpool from a large audience, before whom he vindicated the action of the Government in Ireland.

12. Several shocks of earthquake felt in different parts of Algiers. At Tunis, during a violent thunderstorm, the powder magazine at Fort Filfil exploded, causing great damage in the town.

— Extraordinary excitement prevailed at Birmingham when the report that the world was coming to an end obtained credence among many, who were strengthened in their delusion by five days of the thickest fog ever known in the town.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 4 to 3½ per cent., the reserve being 12,326,000*l.*, and the proportion of the liabilities 40½ per cent.

13. In order to incorporate the National Pension for Nurses, the guarantee of 20,000*l.* required by the Court of Chancery was deposited by Messrs. Gibbs, Hambro, J. S. Morgan, and Rothschild, four leading City merchants, each of whom subscribed 5,000*l.*

— A fire broke out in a large block of buildings in Corporation Street, Birmingham, belonging to Messrs. Morris and Norton, and rapidly extended to the Central Arcade and the restaurant adjoining. The Central Telegraph Office and other buildings also caught fire, but the flames were quickly extinguished in these. The damage done to Messrs. Morris & Co. was estimated at nearly 100,000*l.*

14. An inquest held respecting the death of Moses Raphael, aged 32, a commercial traveller, who a few weeks previously had been removed to the London Hospital in consequence of suffering much from pains in the head. A *post-mortem* examination revealed an abscess in the brain the size of a turkey's egg, and evidently of long standing. On removing the abscess from the base of the brain a penholder and nib measuring three inches were found protruding from the top of the right orbital plate. The bone had grown over them, and the eye showed no injury. The man had been very bright and active-minded throughout life, and his wife stated that she had never heard her husband allude to the accident, which must have happened in his school-days.

— A daring burglary effected at Taplow Court, when over 3,000*l.* worth of jewels were carried off without any alarm being given. Mrs. Grenfell's dressing-room was found locked when, about 10 p.m., her maid desired to enter, and on the door being forced it was discovered that the drawers and jewel-cases had been ransacked by burglars, who had entered by the window, where a 36-ft. ladder had been brought and placed.

16. The Bayswater water main, passing under Hyde Park, suddenly burst. The force of the explosion created a deep pit, and the water, rushing towards the Serpentine, tore up the paths and did much damage.

— A blizzard, or blinding snowstorm, passed over Texas, Minnesota, and other territories of the Union. Within twenty-four hours the mercury fell from seventy-four above zero to twenty-eight below it, and snow, as fine

as flour, driven by a roaring wind. Upwards of 180 lives were lost, people being stopped by sudden snowdrifts, and then frozen to death.

16. Colonel Kitchener and Major M'Murdo wounded by Arabs under Osman Digma, who had been attacked by "friendly" natives and ultimately driven away from the neighbourhood of Suakim.

17. Norton Canes Church, Cannock Chase, destroyed by fire owing to the bursting of a lamp in the organ loft. Only the tower and belfry were saved.

— A riot, renewed on subsequent evenings, took place in Rouen Cathedral, where the Abbé Garnier was giving a series of "Dialogue" sermons. One of the audience, misunderstanding the nature of the dialogue, insisted upon putting questions, and caused much disturbance. A certain portion of the congregation taking sides with the intruder, a scene of great disorder prevailed, and the Cathedral was not cleared until the police were sent for.

— Six crofters, indicted for raiding and driving deer on the island of Lewis, tried at Edinburgh; but, in spite of an adverse summing-up of the Lord Justice Clerk, were acquitted.

— At a general meeting of the Royal Academy, Mr. W. B. Richardson (painter), Mr. Onslow Ford (sculptor), and Mr. A. Blomfield (architect), elected associates.

18. Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns, after three days' trial at the Old Bailey, found guilty of inciting to unlawful assembly on Nov. 13 in Trafalgar Square, and sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment without hard labour. On the charge of assaulting the police and rioting they were acquitted.

— Lord Charles Beresford, R.N., resigned his place as Junior Sea Lord of the Admiralty, in consequence of the Treasury and Admiralty declining to carry out his schemes of reorganisation.

— A body of 4,000 workmen, whilst engaged in making a breakwater to stem the rush of the Hoang-ho floods, engulfed by a sudden rush of water.

19. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from $8\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 per cent., the reserve having within the week risen to 13,050,000*l.*, and its proportion to the current liabilities to $42\frac{3}{8}$ per cent.

— The Jockey Club suspended C. Wood and G. Barrett from the right to ride in races on courses under the jurisdiction of the Club.

— At Canterbury Cathedral, in St. Anselm's Chapel, the body of Thomas Bradwardine, known as *Doctor profundus* and Archbishop of the See in 1349, discovered in a font under the panelling of Prior Oxenden's window.

20. A disastrous fire, resulting in four deaths, broke out in Hutchinson Street, Houndsditch. The fire spread so rapidly that the other inhabitants of the house had great difficulty in escaping; many were seriously burnt and injured.

21. Louis Serné and F. Goldfinch, who had been acquitted of murder, tried on the charge of arson, and the former found guilty and sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude. Goldfinch was acquitted. Two of Serné's

children had nearly lost their lives in the fire, which was due to their father's recklessness.

22. The centenary of Byron's birth celebrated by a special service in the Greek Church, Bayswater, attended by the Greek Minister, the principal Greek residents in London, and by Lord Wentworth and Lady Ann Blunt, the poet's grandchildren. At Athens, Missolonghi, and elsewhere in Greece, the anniversary was enthusiastically celebrated; whilst at Vienna and Pesth "Manfred," with Schumann's music, was specially performed.

— Louise Michel, whilst lecturing at Havre at an Anarchist meeting, shot at twice by a man named Lucas, both shots wounding her, though not seriously.

23. Mr. J. R. Cox, M.P. for East Clare, arrested in London on a warrant for offences committed in Ireland under the Crimes Act.

— A serious explosion of gas, which at first was thought to be dynamite, took place in the Four Courts, Dublin. The windows in the rear of the building were all shattered, the contents of two or three offices destroyed, and the boy who was assisting the plumber by whose carelessness the accident arose was buried under the *débris*, and was found to be dead when extricated.

24. The ex-Queen Isabella of Spain requested to leave Spain on account of the numerous anti-dynastic intrigues of which she had become the centre or the tool.

— A terrible colliery explosion took place at Dunsmuir's Wellington Mines, Vancouver Island, by which twenty-six white men and as many Chinamen lost their lives.

— Further investigations in Canterbury Cathedral brought to light a stone coffin lying about five inches below the ground of the à-Becket Chapel, in which were found a human skull and bones, supposed to be those of the murdered Archbishop. The story of the bones having been burnt at the Reformation has not been accepted as proved.

25. The new reredos in St. Paul's Cathedral, from designs by Messrs. Farmer and Bodley, erected at a cost of 30,000*l.*, uncovered.

— The centenary of the landing of Captain Phillip at Botany Bay, and the consequent establishment of the first English colony in Australia, celebrated with great rejoicing in New South Wales, Victoria, &c.

26. The *fauteuils* in the French Academy, vacant by the death of MM. Caro, de Vieil-Castel, and Cuvillier-Fleury respectively, filled by the Comte d'Haussonville, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, and M. Jules Claretie, the manager of the Comédie Française.

— The German War Minister thought the initial cost of the New Army Bill, voted in the previous summer, would be 280,000,000 marks, (14,000,000*l.*), independent of the increased annual cost. The numbers added to the force in time of war would be 700,000 men.

27. The Metropolitan Board of Works decided to send notices to the managers of thirteen theatres to carry out certain structural alterations on pain of having their houses closed.

27. The troopship *Serapis*, outward bound to Bombay, broke down in the Red Sea, and towed back to Suez by a Dutch steamer.

28. The Variedades Theatre, in a densely populated district of Madrid, discovered to be on fire, which for a time threatened the neighbouring buildings. Crowds of persons, half clothed, rushed out of the narrow streets leading to the theatre, and several serious accidents occurred, but no lives were lost in the theatre, where the performance had closed some hours before the fire was discovered.

— During a severe snowstorm at Jarrow a curious whirlwind passed along the Grange Road, lifting a horse and cart for some distance, and carrying a man off his legs for at least 150 yards. The trap and horse were severely injured, portions of the former being found at great distances.

— A van containing pictures belonging to Lord Rothschild caught fire whilst crossing a railway bridge on the north side of London, and the pictures, valued at 80,000*l.*, were totally destroyed.

29. At Stockholm, Prince Oscar of Sweden, one of the King's younger sons, was solemnly betrothed at the Royal Palace to Mlle. Ebba Munck, for some time maid-of-honour to the Queen.

— A fire, which spread with wonderful rapidity, completely destroyed a block of buildings in Broadway, New York. The block, which consisted of five houses, was tenanted by twenty persons, and the loss incurred was estimated at \$2,000,000.

31. The ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., released from Tullamore Gaol. Among those who went to receive him was Mr. S. Plimsoll.

— An old farmer, named Fitzmaurice, when returning to his home at Ahabeg, Co. Kerry, in company with his daughter, attacked by two men, who eventually killed him by a shot from a revolver as he lay on the ground.

FEBRUARY.

1. An influential deputation, comprising many of those taking an interest in the welfare of the working classes, waited on Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, to urge upon him the necessity of dealing with the problem of the unemployed.

— The Pope received 300 Irish pilgrims, headed by three archbishops and ten bishops, and in reply to their congratulations urged them, while persistently defending their rights, to do so with moderation, and by a peaceful submission to the law of the country in which they lived.

— The Marquess of Ripon and Mr. John Morley met with a most enthusiastic reception on their arrival at Kingstown and in Dublin. The trades' societies formed a large procession and the streets were filled with orderly, well-disposed crowds, the police having been entirely withdrawn. In the evening a torchlight procession fêted the English statesmen.

2. Sharp shocks of earthquake passed over the Highlands of Scotland, and were felt very distinctly at various spots between the shores of Loch Linnhe and Dingwall.

— The Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by eight bishops and a large gathering of laity, reopened Southwell Cathedral, of which the restoration, mostly due to a local architect and mason, had been in progress for many years.

— The last transit of the Indian mail with passengers, ex the Peninsular steamers from Alexandria and Suez, took place, and the "Overland Mail" became a thing of the past.

8. At Salford, a man named Derby, respectably connected, but in reduced circumstances, having previously poisoned his wife and six children with prussic acid, committed suicide by the same means. From letters he left behind him, it appeared that he had arranged with his wife, in view of the difficulties before them, to put an end to themselves and children.

— Harkins and Callan, after a trial extending over three days, found guilty of being in possession of dynamite with felonious intent, and sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude.

— The German official gazette published the text of the secret treaty between Germany and France, made at Vienna between Prince Henry de Reuss and Count Andrassy on Oct. 7, 1879.

4. A serious fire, which totally destroyed a large pile of buildings, broke out in Lower Thames Street and Queen Victoria Street, and at one time placed the Post-Office Savings Bank in considerable danger, but by the efforts of the firemen it was saved. The loss of property was valued at over 800,000*l*.

— A riot, attended by the loss of fifteen lives, took place at the mines of Rio Tinto, in consequence of the company having decided to reduce the wages of the men employed, in consequence of the dense smoke produced by open-air calcination, which interrupted the work for two or three hours each day. Large bodies of troops sent from Huelva at last routed the rioters, who numbered over 10,000, and restored order.

6. In the German Reichstag, Prince Bismarck made an important speech on the relations of Germany with Russia and Austria.

— The trustees under the will of Mr. E. R. Harris, of Ashton-on-Ribble, who had bequeathed 285,000*l*. to the town of Preston, decided to expend 105,000*l*. on the establishment of a free library and museum, 100,000*l*. to the endowment of an orphanage, and 70,000*l*. to the building and equipment of a technical school.

7. A special and largely attended meeting of the Jockey Club was held at Lord Hastings's house, to consider the dispute between Lord Durham and Sir G. Chetwynd, arising out of certain remarks made by the former at the Gimcrack Club with reference to the running of the horses in Sherrard's stable. After considerable discussion it was unanimously resolved that it was desirable that the matter in dispute should be taken to a court of law with the view to the whole matter being referred to arbitration.

8. Lord Dufferin notified his intention of resigning the Viceroyalty of

India at the conclusion of his fourth year of office. The Marquess of Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada, was nominated to succeed, and Lord Stanley of Preston to the vacant post in Canada.

8. Mr. Gladstone arrived from the Continent, and was very cordially received at Dover and on his arrival at Charing Cross.

9. The third session of the 12th Parliament of the present reign opened by Royal Commission.

— In consequence of increased difficulty in breathing and other complications, the Crown Prince of Germany underwent the operation of tracheotomy, which was most successfully performed at San Remo by Dr. Baumann, the Crown Prince's personal attendant.

— The Extradition Treaty between the United States and Great Britain postponed until after the fall elections by the United States Senate, twenty-three Republicans voting on one side and twenty-one Democrats on the other.

10. Mr. Pyne, M.P., who for some months had defeated the efforts of the police, arrested on Westminster Bridge, just on the outside of the "privilege of Parliament."

— Tremendous avalanches reported to have taken place in various parts of Switzerland and the Tyrol. Between Hallstadt and Aussee a pine forest covering the mountain side was wholly swept away. On the Vorarlberg Railway the Langen station was completely overwhelmed, and one end of the tunnel stopped, enclosing a mail train.

— A powder-mill at Wapwallopen, Wyoming, containing twenty tons of powder, exploded, blowing everything to pieces in the neighbourhood and wrecking every building in the town. Four men were killed outright and forty more injured, fourteen of whom succumbed.

11. Eight wild wolves which had arrived at Sanger's Circus managed to escape from their cage and to enter a stable where seventeen horses were kept. One of the stablemen, seeing the danger, succeeded in rescuing sixteen of the horses, leaving the wolves to devour the remaining one, and managed to secure them in their new prison. It was, however, forty-eight hours before the wolves could be got back into their regular cage.

12. A serious disturbance took place at Damascus arising out of the insults given an Armenian woman. The Christian and Mussulman population at once came to blows, and the former, taking refuge in a church, were ultimately rescued by the police, but not until twenty-five lives had been lost.

13. Dr. Walsham How, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, appointed first Bishop of the newly constituted See of Wakefield.

— A championship race for the challenge cup and 200*l.* was rowed on the Thames course by George Bubeat, of Hammersmith, and Wallace Ross, of St. John's, New Brunswick, resulting in an easy victory for the latter.

— A public reception given at the Euston station to the Irish members who had recently been released from prison. A large crowd accompanied the deputation which awaited the arrival of the train from Dublin, and subsequently held a meeting in Hyde Park.

14. Severe snowstorms prevailed in various parts of England, especially in

the south-western counties, and in many cases railway trains were snowed up for many hours.

15. The Fisheries Treaty signed at Washington by Mr. Bayard (U.S.A.), Mr. Chamberlain (Great Britain), and Sir Charles Tupper (Canadian Dominion), determining the conditions on which fishing should be carried on off the north-west coast of North America.

— At the Halles Centrales, in Paris, a fire broke out in the cellars, chiefly used for storing poultry, game, &c., and before it could be extinguished it was estimated that 100,000 birds had been burnt.

— Mr. Justice Stirling, in the High Court of Justice, pronounced against the validity of a marriage contracted by Mr. Christopher Bethell, whilst serving against the Boers in Bechuanaland, with a woman of the Barralong tribe. Mr. Bethell had observed all the marriage customs of his wife's tribe, but nevertheless the judge pronounced the child born after his father's death to have no valid claim to his estate.

16. The vacancy at Dundee, caused by the retirement of Mr. Lacaita filled by the election of Mr. J. F. B. Firth, a Gladstonian Liberal, who polled 7,886 against 4,217 received by General Sir Henry Daly, who was supported by the Liberal Unionists and Conservatives.

— Very heavy falls of snow reported from various parts of Swizerland, all the passes over or through the Alps being blocked by snow, and telegraphic communication seriously interrupted.

— The Bank rate of discount reduced from 8 to 2½ per cent., the reserve standing at 15,184,000*l.*, being in a proportion of 46½ per cent. to the liabilities.

17. Mr. R. K. Causton (G.L.) returned for West Southwark by 8,678 votes against 2,444 polled by Mr. H. Beddall (C.).

18. Mr. Cuningham Graham, M.P., and Mr. Burns released from Pentonville Prison at 7 A.M., and received by a body of sympathisers representing various Radical Associations.

— Mr. T. R. Buchanan (G.L.), who had resigned his seat for West Edinburgh on account of his change of opinion since his previous election, re-elected by 3,294 votes against 3,248 polled by Mr. T. Raleigh (U.L.).

— Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's action against Mr. Byrne, the divisional magistrate, for illegally dispersing a meeting at Woodford, ended, after seven days' trial, in the non-agreement of the jury.

20. A cyclone of unusual violence caught in its course the town of Mount Vernon, Illinois, laying a large portion of the town in ruins, and before its fury was spent a fire broke out among the houses still standing, and raged until nearly all were destroyed. Thirty persons lost their lives and 200 others were seriously injured.

— Over the greater part of England, but especially in the West and North, snowstorms of unwonted duration and heaviness took place. Railway trains were snowed up on many lines. The Channel Islands were covered with snow. In France the amount of snow which fell during three days was greater than ever before recorded, and on many of the lines, even on those round Havre, traffic was suspended.

21. The Earl of Onslow appointed Secretary to the Board of Trade, in succession to Baron Henry de Worms, promoted to be Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

22. In the case of the Marquess of Abergavenny *v.* the Bishop of Llandaff, Mr. Baron Huddleston gave judgment for the defendant, declaring him to have acted within his episcopal rights in refusing to admit the Rev. R. W. Gosse to the rectory of Goytre, on the ground of his ignorance of the Welsh language.

— Lord Randolph Churchill attended a debate on Home Rule at the Oxford Union Society, and made a long speech on the proposal to establish a "statutory Parliament" in Dublin.

— A furious hurricane swept over Tamatave, laying the British Consulate and half the houses in the town in ruins, and eleven vessels in the harbour were wrecked.

23. The polling in the Doncaster division of Yorkshire to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. W. Shirley (G.L.) resulted in the return of Hon. J. W. Fitzwilliam (U.L.) by 5,684 votes over Mr. Spencer Balfour (G.L.), who polled 5,428.

— On the Alps of Northern Italy tremendous masses of snow accumulated, forming numerous avalanches, doing great damage to property. The village of Valtuta, near Bergamo, was almost wholly destroyed, and twenty-three of the inhabitants buried under the snow.

24. The consecration took place in St. Paul's Cathedral of Ven. Alf Earle, Archdeacon of Totnes, appointed Bishop Suffragan of Marlborough (to work in the diocese of London), and of Ven. Sir Lovelace Stamer, Bart., Archdeacon of Stoke-upon-Trent, appointed Bishop of Shrewsbury (to work in the diocese of Lichfield).

— In the college races at Cambridge, the Clare College boat having "bumped," Emmanuel was drawing out of the way, when the third Trinity Hall boat fouled it amidships, the sharp point striking full in the chest one of the rowers (No. 4), who, after a few hours, succumbed to the effect of the blow.

25. A carefully organised opposition to the collection of tithes was displayed in the island of Anglesea, where the agents employed to distrain found themselves hindered and afterwards attacked by a large body of men, many of whom were well armed. The police had great difficulty in protecting the process servers, but eventually ten out of thirteen writs were served.

— During a service in connection with the Feast of Purim, held in a synagogue at Warsaw, a false alarm of fire was raised, and in the panic which ensued four women were killed and sixteen seriously injured.

26. A house in Cuffe Street, Dublin, let out in tenements, took fire and burnt so rapidly that five of the inmates lost their lives.

27. The House of Commons met for the first time under the new rule at 8 p.m., and rose at midnight.

— The boiler of a steam ferry-boat at South Vallejo, California, exploded in mid-stream, and thirty out of fifty persons on board were killed.

27. The persistent fall in the value of Russian securities culminated in a panic on the St. Petersburg Exchange. Some Russian banks and other national companies' shares fell 25 per cent., and the value of the Russian rouble was quoted at 1s. 7d.

28. The Union Square Theatre in New York, and the larger portion of Morton House Hotel adjoining, burnt down by a fire originating in the fifth story of the hotel. There was luckily no performance going on, as the theatre was regarded as a "fire-trap." Six firemen lost their lives in their efforts to save the inmates of the hotel.

— At the International Skating Race at Amsterdam, the first prize was awarded to James Smart, and the second to J. Slee, both Englishmen. The former covered the distance (two miles) in 6 min. 56·36 sec.

29. According to M. Camille Flammarion, the French astronomer, the average temperature of the latter half of February in Paris was scarcely ever above freezing-point, and often below it, whilst the records of the century showed that 40° Fah. was the average temperature of the month. Still more remarkable was the heavy snow extending from the Atlantic to the Steppes of Asia, and covering the greater portion of Southern Europe, and in spots where snow is generally unknown.

— Mr. C. Darling (C.) elected for Deptford by 4,345 votes against Mr. Wilfrid Blunt (G.), who polled 4,070 votes.

— Mr. John Morley attended the adjourned debate on Home Rule at the Oxford Union, and replied to Lord R. Churchill's speech. He was received with as much enthusiasm as his opponent, but the resolution in favour of Irish Home Rule was lost by 359 against 159.

MARCH.

1. After a long trial, lasting several days, M. Wilson, a deputy and son-in-law of M. Grévy, the ex-President of the French Republic, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the payment of a fine of 3,000 fr., and the deprivation of civil rights for five years. Of his associates, Ribaudeau was sentenced to eight months', Dumenil to four months', and Hébert to one month's imprisonment. Madame Ratazzi was acquitted. The traffic in public decorations, for which the accused were tried, was declared to be an offence against public morality and conscience.

— The independent state of Moresnet, near Aix-la-Chapelle, on the frontier between Belgium and Prussia, ceased to exist. Its extent was about 1,600 acres, and it had a population of 800, of whom 275 were aborigines. The mines worked by the Société de la Vieille Montagne having ceased to be profitable, the funds for maintaining the "State" were no longer obtainable.

2. In the Upper House of Convocation the question of the Sunday amusements of the rich brought forward by the Bishop of Exeter, and after a long discussion, a resolution, moved by the Bishop of Winchester and seconded by the Bishop of London, was unanimously carried, appealing to

the clergy and others not "to suffer the Church and country to lose the priceless benefits of the rest and sanctity of the Lord's Day."

2. Mr. Chamberlain entertained at a grand banquet given by the "Sons of St. George," an English society long established in Philadelphia, previous to his return to England.

3. The Committee charged by the Belgian Academy of Medicine to report on the dangers of public experiments, reported against them as morally and physically dangerous, and recommended their prohibition.

4. Osman Digma, with about 1,500 men, attacked the outlying works of Suakim and attempted to lead out the Egyptian troops. Colonel Tapp, the commanding officer of the 3rd Egyptian battalion, and formerly of the Welsh Regiment, was killed.

5. Two avalanches fell on the Hospice of St. Bernard, almost completely burying the church, but no lives were lost.

— A descent made by the Metropolitan police on to the coppersmiths' workshops at Keyham Dockyard, and an investigation at once commenced (with closed doors) into an alleged system, extending over many years, of turning Government property into articles sold by retail firms.

6. An iradé issued by the Porte declaring the presence of Prince Ferdinand in Bulgaria to be illegal.

— Mr. Wilfrid Blunt released from Kilmainham Gaol on the completion of the sentence passed upon him for resisting the police at a proclaimed meeting.

— Mr. L. Pilkington's greyhound Burnaby won the Waterloo Cup.

7. The state of the German Emperor excited serious apprehensions in Berlin and throughout Europe, and it was stated that the Crown Prince, notwithstanding his own critical condition, was summoned to Berlin.

— The Marquess of Hartington addressed a large meeting of East Anglian Unionists at Ipswich, presided over by the Duke of Grafton.

— The office of the *Daily Union* newspaper, in Springfield, Mass., destroyed by fire. Of forty persons employed in the upper stories of the building, six were killed by falling or jumping into the street, and others were badly injured.

8. The relics of Mahomet found in the citadel of Cairo solemnly transferred to the Abdeen Palace. The procession following the relics, numbering 60,000 persons, was said to be the largest ever assembled in Cairo in modern times.

9. The German Emperor William I. died at Berlin; his grandson, Prince William, in the absence of the Crown Prince, undertaking the discharge of the immediate duties of the Government. The Crown Prince was at once proclaimed his successor under the title of Frederick III., and left San Remo forthwith to assume the duties of his position.

— The four-masted ship *Tasmania* came into collision, in the English Channel, with the steamship *City of Corinth*. The latter sank almost at once, the captain and twenty-seven other persons being drowned.

9. In the House of Commons, Mr. Goschen brought forward his scheme for reducing the interest on certain portions of the National Debt from 3 per cent. to 2½ per cent.

— Mr. Labouchere's resolution expressing disapproval of an hereditary legislature negatived by 223 to 162.

10. The silver wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales celebrated with as much display of loyalty as the mourning incident on the death of the German Emperor would permit. The Prince and Princess received numerous tokens of regard from public bodies and private friends, and in the evening gave a State banquet at Marlborough House, at which the Queen was present, returning to Windsor shortly before midnight.

— A prize-fight for 1,000*l.* took place between J. L. Sullivan, the American champion, and C. Mitchell, near the Château of Chantilly, in France. After thirty-nine rounds, lasting over three hours, a "draw" was suggested and accepted, and the pugilists and their friends, forty in number, returned to Paris. On reaching the railway train they were, however, arrested and confined in prison for several hours at Senlis, but were subsequently released and returned to England.

— Mr. J. Chamberlain, M.P., on his return from the United States, received with great enthusiasm at Liverpool and Birmingham.

11. A violent gale, accompanied by snow and rain, swept over the South of England, and heavy snowstorms prevailed in the North. The steamer *Victor Albert*, on her passage from Boulogne to Folkestone with 300 passengers on board, had a very narrow escape of being shipwrecked, and after more than one fruitless attempt to enter Folkestone Harbour, had to make her way as best she could to Dover, where she landed her passengers.

12. New York visited by a severe "Dakota" blizzard. The weather, which had been warm and springlike, suddenly became wintry, snow was driven before the wind at the rate of sixty miles an hour, and in a short time it was impossible to remain out of doors. Vehicular traffic was totally suspended, huge snow-ploughs, drawn by a score of horses, had to be abandoned in the streets, the tramcars were left standing in the tracks, the Stock Exchange stopped business by formal resolution for the first time in its existence, many of the banks were unopened, and drifts of snow varying from two to six feet in height filled the shop doors along Broadway. Upwards of 200 lives were lost, including twenty-four in the streets of New York. In Chesapeake Bay alone 200 vessels were wrecked, and along the coast the shipping suffered severely.

13. At Arles a crowd of about 10,000 people assembled before the Mairie and demanded that the Italians who, on the previous day, during a conflict between Italians and Zouaves, had murdered two of the latter, should be handed over to them. The guard of twenty-five men were powerless to protect the prisoners, one of whom was nearly strangled, but they were at length placed in security. On the following morning the French workmen attacked the Italians working on the dykes of the Rhone and nearly murdered one of them. The contractors were made to promise to discharge all Italians from their works.

— Major Popoff, commander of the First Bulgarian Infantry Brigade and

of the Sophia garrison, arrested with other officers on a charge of embezzling the funds of the War Department.

14. The treaty between the United States and China prohibiting the emigration of Chinese labourers into the States for twenty years signed at Washington.

— Snowstorms generally prevalent over England and Scotland; in the Midlands the snow being drifted by a severe gale, roads and railways were blocked and many persons snowed up in their houses.

— Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill for abolishing oaths in certain cases read a second time by 252 votes against 152, after the closure had been applied on the motion of Mr. Bradlaugh himself.

15. Bank rate of discount reduced to 2 per cent., the reserve being 16,507,000*l.*, and in the proportion of 44½ per cent. of the current liabilities.

— The French Minister of War published an order depriving General Boulanger of his commission, in consequence of three visits to Paris without permission, the two last journeys in disguise, wearing dark spectacles and affecting lameness.

— Prince Oscar of Sweden and Mlle. Ebba Munck married at St. Stephen's Church, Bournemouth, according to the rites of the National Church of Sweden. The Queen of Sweden, the Crown Prince of Denmark, the Duchess of Albany, as well as other members of the Swedish Royal Family, were present.

— The snowstorm which burst over the North-Eastern States cut off all communication south of the Potomac and east of Boston, whilst only one telegraph wire was working west of Pittsburg, and northwards it stopped as far as Montreal. In the cities food and fuel rose to high prices and milk was unobtainable. Disasters were reported along the coast, and trains were snowed up in all directions. The losses were estimated at more than twenty millions of dollars.

16. The Emperor William of Germany buried with great pomp and show of public mourning. The funeral service held in the cathedral was attended by members of all the reigning families of Europe, but the physicians refused to permit the Emperor Frederick to expose himself to the ordeal. The procession from the cathedral to the mausoleum at Charlottenburg was followed by all the mourners, through streets draped in black and crowded by a sorrowing population. Funeral services were simultaneously held in most of the European capitals. At Windsor the Queen attended a funeral service in the private chapel at Windsor, which was attended by many members of the Royal Family.

— The snowstorms in the North of England and Scotland completely blocked a number of railways, including the East Coast lines between Newcastle and Berwick.

17. The Cuban mail train from New York, whilst crossing the Little Satilla River in Southern Georgia, a desolate region, seventy-five miles south of Savannah, broke through the trestle bridge, the axle of the first coach having suddenly broken. The coach in falling carried with it three Pullman cars, smashing to pieces the entire train. Twenty-five persons were killed on the spot, forty badly injured, and scarcely anyone escaped altogether unhurt.

17. The Empress of Austria, travelling as the Countess Von Hohenembs, accompanied by her youngest daughter, the Archduchess Marie Valérie, arrived in London on a visit, taking up their quarters at Claridge's Hotel.

19. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Rosebery's motion for a select committee to inquire into the constitution of that House negatived by 97 against 50 peers.

— In the House of Commons was brought in the Local Government Bill, which after a short discussion was read a first time.

— A severe gale from the north-east, accompanied by a heavy fall of snow, broke over London, the Southern counties, and extended to Belgium and Eastern France, and as far as the Rhine. The foreign mails on both sides of the Channel were much delayed.

— The Paris Correctional Tribunal sentenced Madame Limouzin to six months' imprisonment, and General Caffarel, admitting extenuating circumstances, to a fine of 3,000 fr., for their complicity in the Decoration scandals.

— The town of Myingyan, in Upper Burma, an important military post on the Upper Irrawady, almost destroyed by fire, and 15,000 people rendered homeless.

21. The Lincolnshire Handicap, the first important flat race of the season, won by Mr. W. J. Legh's Veracity (Chandley), 4 yrs., 6 st. 10 lb., defeating a field of 25 starters. The betting at starting was 50 to 1 against Veracity.

— The Baquet Theatre at Oporto took fire before the close of the performance. A terrible panic ensued, in which over 100 persons lost their lives. The building was completely destroyed.

— During a thunderstorm of great severity the lightning struck the figure of Freedom on the top of the Capitol at Washington. Congress was sitting at the time, but no one was injured.

— Mr. Parnell's Arrears Bill (Ireland) rejected on a second reading by 380 to 245, 7 Liberal Unionists voting in the minority.

22. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg, left Portsmouth at 9 A.M. and reached Cherbourg about 7 P.M.

— A run, lasting three days, was made on the "Penny Bank," an institution holding about 500,000*l.* on deposit in sums varying from a shilling. The only branch attacked was that at Westminster, where upwards of 100,000*l.* was withdrawn, the bank being kept open until 11 P.M. to meet the demands of the depositors.

— Terrible floods occurred in various parts of Hungary, especially in the valley of the Theiss, where the dykes protecting many of the towns and villages had been swept away.

23. The Grand National Steeplechase at Liverpool won by ten lengths by an outsider, Mr. E. W. Baird's Playfair (Mawson), aged, 10 st. 7 lb., defeating twenty others.

— In the Inter-University athletic sports the Cambridge men were successful in five and the Oxford in four events; Oxford, however, winning the two long-distance races and the quarter of a mile.

24. The Queen arrived at Florence at 1 P.M., having travelled through from Cherbourg, passing round Paris, and thence by the Mont Cenis route to Turin.

— The University boat-race won easily by Cambridge by six lengths, the Oxford boat being outpaced from the start to the finish. The following composed the crews:—

OXFORD.		CAMBRIDGE.	
	st. lb.		st. lb.
W. F. C. Holland, B.N.C.		R. H. S. Tayler, Trin. H. (bow)	10 8
(bow)	10 13	2. L. Hannen, Trinity Hall	11 4
2. A. P. Parker, Magdalen	11 11	3. R. H. P. Orde, First Trinity	11 8
3. M. E. Bradford, Christ Church	11 9	4. C. B. P. Bell, Trinity Hall	12 13½
4. S. R. Fothergill, New	12 9½	5. S. D. Muttibury, Third Trin.	13 8½
5. H. Cross, Hertford	13 0	6. P. Landale, Trinity Hall	12 4
6. H. R. Parker, B.N.C.	13 6	7. F. H. Maugham, Trinity Hall	11 5½
7. G. Nickalls, Magdalen	12 4½	J. C. Gardner, Emm. (stroke)	11 7½
L. Frere, B.N.C. (stroke)	10 1½	J. R. Roxburgh, Trinity	
A. Stewart, New (cox.)	8 1	Hall (cox.)	8 2

— A grand celebration commemorative of the Emperor William was held at Exeter Hall by the German societies of London. The Prince of Wales, the German Ambassador, &c., were present, and the Hall was densely crowded with Germans. After appropriate music, Professor Max Müller pronounced an oration on the deceased Emperor.

25. Disturbances took place at Youghal consequent upon Mr. Wm. O'Brien's attempt to address the tenants of the Ponsonby estate. Captain Plunkett, in charge of the police, was somewhat severely wounded.

— At Marseilles, M. Félix Pyat, an Irreconcilable, elected by 40,204 votes; and at Laon, General Boulanger, although ineligible, placed at the head of the poll with 45,089 votes.

26. The Paris Court of Appeal, while censuring M. Wilson and his associates in the traffic of decorations, declared the offence to be one which did not fall within the law, and acquitted the accused.

— The Court of Inquiry into General Boulanger's conduct found him guilty of insubordination, and he was ordered to be placed on half-pay.

27. Serious inundations, caused by the thawing of the ice in the Elbe, occurred in the March of Brandenburg, by which upwards of 100 square miles were placed under water and forty villages surrounded by the floods. The low-lying lands on the border of the Vistula also suffered from the bursting of the embankment of Nogat, near Marienburg, threatening also the city of Elbing.

— The election for the Gower division of Glamorganshire resulted in the return of Mr. David Randall (G.L.) by 8,964 votes over Mr. J. T. D. Llewellyn (C.), who polled 3,858 votes.

28. A public reception given to Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham in recognition of his services at Washington, and the honorary freedom of the town conferred upon him by the mayor in the presence of the Corporation. In the evening, at a grand banquet in the Town Hall, his health was proposed by Mr. John Bright.

— According to a return published by the Board of Trade from reports furnished by the railway companies, 33 persons had been killed and 647 in-

jured in railway accidents during the year 1887, as compared with 12 killed and 696 injured in 1886.

29. The Northumberland miners reversed their vote given in the preceding autumn, by which the annual payment to their representatives in Parliament, Messrs. Burt and Fenwick, was to have ceased.

30. The French Ministry of M. Tirard, in consequence of an adverse vote on the revision of the Constitution, resigned, and M. Floquet, the President of the Chamber, undertook the formation of a new Cabinet.

31. The decision of the Wilna Court authorising the foreclosure of the mortgages on the Lithuanian estates belonging to the late Prince Peter of Sayn-Wittgenstein upheld by the Court of Appeal. By this decree 632,470 acres of land inherited by the German Hohenlohe family in the provinces of Minsk, Wilna, &c., were ordered to be sold in small lots to satisfy the claims of the Russian Foreign Trade Bank.

APRIL.

1. At Celaya, a small town about 100 miles from the city of Mexico, some prisoners who had been permitted under a strong guard to attend the bull-fight set fire to the covering of their partition; the flames spread rapidly round the circus, and in the panic which ensued eighteen persons were burnt or trampled to death, and upwards of 200 seriously injured.

2. The Volunteers having by various routes proceeded to their destinations at Dover, Eastbourne, Hayling Island, and Aldershot, engaged in a series of manœuvres. In the sham fight round Dover the attacking force, numbering 7,134, under Major-Gen. Smith, forced back the defenders, numbering 6,417, under Colonel Mathews, from their position round the Hougham Hills. At Hayling Island and the south-eastern defences of Portsmouth, where there were also about 14,000 men engaged, the assailants who landed under the protection of gunboats drove off the defenders and made good their position.

— The Abyssinian troops, numbering 90,000, which for some time had been gathering round the Italian positions round Ailet, suddenly retired without striking a blow.

3. The Brighton Beach Hotel, Coney Island, N.Y., having 400 feet frontage, covering 92,000 square feet, and weighing 5,000 tons, successfully moved 100 feet inland by placing it on 120 railway cars drawn by locomotives upon parallel lines.

4. The French Chamber of Deputies, after three ballots, elected M. Méline, a Moderate Republican, to the office of President. He received 168 votes, a like number being given to M. Clémenceau, but, in accordance with a regulation of the Chamber, the choice was determined in favour of the senior in the case of a tie.

5. Rumours of Prince Bismarck's resignation spread about in consequence of his supposed opposition to the betrothal of the Princess Victoria of Prussia (the Emperor's daughter) to Prince Alexander of Battenberg, ex-ruler of Bulgaria.

6. At the Leicester Spring Meeting, a new two-year-old race of five furlongs, the Portland Stakes, value 7,000*l.*, won by the Duke of Portland's Donovan (F. Webb), who won in a canter by three lengths, defeating a field of twenty-five starters.

8. Nationalist meetings advertised to be held in various places in Cork, Clare, and Galway were forthwith proclaimed by the Government; but at Loughrea, Kilrush, Ennis, and Macroom the Nationalists mustered in considerable numbers, and serious conflicts with the police and military ensued. The members of Parliament, however, who had attended were unable to make any speeches.

— In the department of the Dordogne, General Boulanger, although not a candidate, was returned at the head of the poll by 59,500 votes. In the Aude also he received over 7,000 votes, although he did not stand. In the Aisne he received 11,000 votes, whilst his ally and supporter, M. Dourner, was returned by 42,000.

9. The Empress of Germany, accompanied by her elder daughters, started soon after daylight from Berlin for Posen, in order to ascertain the extent of the disaster occasioned by the terrible floods. After visiting the chief centres of distress, and conferring with the local committees, she returned to Berlin.

— On the invitation of the British Ambassador, the Lord Mayor opened a subscription for the relief of the inundated families in Brandenburg.

10. After a prolonged trial by court-martial, Major Templer, R.E., fully and honourably acquitted of the charge of having communicated to a foreign Government secrets connected with the ballooning department of the army.

— A number of men engaged in transporting explosives in the Polygon at Grenoble took shelter against the cold and snow in a hut in which dynamite was prepared. By some accident an explosion took place, fearfully mutilating all the men.

11. At the Epsom Spring Meeting, the City and Suburban Handicap won by Sir G. Chetwynd's Fullerton (J. Woodburn), 5 yrs., 8 st. 4 lbs. Fourteen started; the favourite, Merry Hampton, came in last, having been pulled up.

— A deputation waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge the reduction or total withdrawal of the Wheel Tax. Mr. Goschen, in reply, consented to remove one-half of the grievance complained of, and was willing that no duty should be payable on vans beyond the number of horses kept by the same van-owner. The number of horses in the United Kingdom being 450,000, the amount raised by the new tax would be only 450,000*l.*

12. The House of Representatives, which had been in almost unbroken session since the 4th inst., and had sat continuously for thirty-one hours, at length decided to postpone the Direct Tax Bill until the following Session.

13. A meeting of the Liberal Party, held at the National Liberal Club under the presidency of Mr. Stansfeld, to discuss the policy of the party with regard to the Local Government Bill. It was resolved to urge the substitution of Parish Councils for County Boards.

— The three-masted steam whaling schooner *New Bedford*, having been crushed in the ice, foundered off Santos. Out of the crew of fifty-five, twenty-seven were lost, and the remainder, after fearful sufferings on the ice,

extending over a fortnight, were rescued and landed at Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland.

14. At the Albert Institute, Windsor, a present of jewellery (value 600*l.*) was made to the Princess Christian by the residents of the district, in recognition of her kindness to the poor.

— Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., again arrested for taking part in a proclaimed meeting of the National League at Loughrea and inciting the people to a breach of the law.

15. General Boulanger elected for the department of the Nord by a majority of more than 96,000, having polled 172,272 votes.

— Two foreign steamships, the *Vena* and the *Biela*, came into collision off the South Foreland, involving the loss of fourteen lives.

16. Messrs. Cowan's soap and sugar refining works at Barnes narrowly escaped total destruction. A fire broke out at an early hour in one of the refining rooms, and damage to the extent of 60,000*l.* was done before the flames could be extinguished.

— The Emperor Frederick suffered a serious relapse, arising from bronchitis and over-exertion. The members of the Imperial family were hastily summoned, but the Emperor subsequently rallied.

17. Mr. Dillon, M.P., gave himself up to the police in Dublin, and was at once conveyed to Drogheda and remanded on bail.

— The Lord Mayor received a deputation at the Mansion House in support of the movement for the commemoration of the tercentenary of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Among those present were Major Martin Frobisher and Dr. H. H. Drake, descendants of the admirals in command.

— During a thunderstorm which burst over North Yorkshire, a man ploughing near Thirsk was struck by lightning and instantly killed, together with three horses.

18. Freedom of the City of London presented to the Marquess of Hartington in recognition of his high services as a statesman.

— In the House of Commons the second reading of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was moved by Mr. Heneage, and after a long discussion, carried by 239 to 182 votes.

— The House of Assembly of the State of New York passed a Bill by 87 votes to 8, substituting death by electricity for hanging in capital cases, and also prohibiting the publication in newspapers of the details of executions.

19. In the Court of Queen's Bench, the case of *Peters v. Bradlaugh* resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff with damages of 300*l.* Mr. Peters, as secretary of the Workmen's Association for the Abolition of Foreign Sugar Bounties, sued Mr. Bradlaugh for a libel in which the latter had said that certain cheques from leading Conservatives had been received by S. Peters, and were used by him in connection with the meetings that preceded the riotous proceedings in Trafalgar Square. Lord Salisbury was called as a witness, and proved that the only cheque he had given had been expended in relief of distress at the East End of London.

— A terrible explosion took place at St. Helen's Colliery, Workington,

by which twenty-five out of thirty-five men at work lost their lives. The pit took fire immediately after a shot had been fired.

20. Disturbances took place in Paris in consequence of anti-Boulangier demonstrations made by the students of the Quartier Latin, who crossed the river and were met by the Boulangist mob. The disturbances were renewed on the following nights, but at length the police interfered and prevented the passage of the bridge by the crowds.

— The Local Government Bill read a second time in the House of Commons without a division.

— The Tanetan Valley Estate, about one-twelfth of the whole island of Achill, and comprising 2,068 acres of land, with house and a scattered hamlet of fifty-three cottages, was sold by public auction by the direction of the trustees of the late Earl of Cavan. The price realised was 680*l.*, or about 6*s.* per acre, probably the lowest price at which land had been sold in the United Kingdom for centuries.

21. A peasant revolt which had spread over a large district of Roumania, reported to have been appeased by the imprisonment of upwards of 3,000 of the insurgents. The outbreak had its origin in the deplorable condition into which the peasantry had fallen through the subdivision of land and exactions of the agents of absentee landlords.

22. The Theatre Royal, Grantham, which had been locked up in safety at the close of the performance, was a few hours later found to be on fire, and in spite of all efforts was totally consumed.

23. The Channel steamer *Invicta*, on leaving Calais at 4 P.M., struck on the bar, and getting off again struck on the sands. All efforts to get her off failed, and the passengers having been detained on board until midnight, were then able to leave the vessel and walk over the sands to Calais.

24. The Queen, who had left Florence on the evening of the 23rd, and had been met by the Emperor of Austria at Innsbrück, reached Berlin at 9 A.M., where she was warmly received by the people lining the streets and roads between the station and Charlottenburg.

— Lord Wolseley, at a banquet given to Sir John Pender, and the Duke of Cambridge in evidence before the Army Estimates Committee, admitted that the army was below the requirements of the time and in view of the state of other nations.

25. President Carnot, accompanied by two members of the Ministry, left Paris for Limoges and other large cities in the south-west of France. He was everywhere most enthusiastically received.

— At Berlin the Queen had a long interview with Prince Bismarck, and subsequently attended a State banquet at the Charlottenburg Palace.

26. Lord Dunraven's motion for the Reform of the House of Lords, withdrawn after a short discussion, met by a promise from Lord Salisbury that he was willing to consider the creation of life peerages and other points.

— M. Meilhac, the author of many popular operettas, elected member of the French Academy, in succession to M. Labiche.

27. The Queen having left Berlin on the previous evening at 7 P.M.

reached Windsor at 8.30 p.m., having travelled *via* Flushing and Port Victoria and Waterloo Junction.

27. The election for Mid-Lanark resulted in the return of Mr. J. Wyndford Phillips (G.L.) by 3,844 votes, Mr. Bousfield (C.) polling 2,917, and Mr. Hardie, the Labour Candidate, 617.

— It was announced that the Pope, through the Propaganda, had, on the reports and inquiries of Monsignor Persico, condemned the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, as well as the system of boycotting.

28. Daniel Moriarty and Daniel Hayes, the latter strongly protesting his innocence, hanged at Tralee Gaol for the murder of James Fitzmaurice at Lixnard, Co. Kerry.

— The Duke of Cambridge formally opened the Paddington Recreation and Cricket Ground, an open space of about 21 acres in extent, in Maida Vale.

29. In Paris, two artists and art-critics, M. Felix Habert and M. Eugène Dupuis, having quarrelled over certain pictures exhibited at the Salon, a duel ensued in which M. Dupuis was shot through the heart.

— A panic occurred in a menagerie at Prague, in consequence of a false alarm of fire being raised by evil-disposed persons. In the struggle to escape six persons lost their lives, and many were seriously injured.

30. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Alfred Ryder, whilst standing on Pimlico Pier, was seized by a fit and fell into the Thames. In spite of all efforts his body, carried away by the stream, was not recovered until life was extinct.

— At Santiago de Chili, the mob made a raid on the tramway cars of the city, in consequence of the company refusing to reduce its fares. Thirty cars, valued at \$100,000, were destroyed.

MAY.

1. While the Prince of Naples was assisting at experiments with dynamite shells at Fort Tiburtino, near Rome, one of the cases exploded, wounding the Prince slightly in both thighs. General Doncieux and four other officers in attendance were also wounded.

2. At Newmarket, the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes won by the Duke of Portland's Ayrshire (G. Osborne), defeating the favourite, Friar's Balsam, and four other starters.

— In the House of Commons the second reading of Sir John Lubbock's Early Closing Bill rejected by 280 to 97.

— Mr. Gladstone attended at the National Liberal Club to preside at the opening of the "Gladstone Library," of which the nucleus had been already formed. Mr. Gladstone made a speech on the uses of books and reading.

— On resuming the trial of Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., at Loughrea, it was discovered that the depositions and other sworn papers on which the case was based had been abstracted from the Court House, and no clue to the thief was discovered.

8. The Empress Victoria and her eldest daughter paid a visit to the

flooded districts of the Elbe, stopping at Wittenberg for a short time, and returning to Berlin late at night.

3. The cricket season at Lord's Cricket Ground opened with the annual match of the M.C.C. against the Middlesex Colts (22), in which the former made 17 runs in their first innings, and subsequently the Colts won by fourteen wickets.

4. Two members of the firm of Greenway, whose bank stopped payment some months previously, surrendered to the warrant issued for their apprehension in consequence of the proceedings taken by the Treasury.

— The One Thousand Guineas Stakes won easily by two lengths by Mr. D. Baird's Briar Root (Warne), a complete outsider. Fourteen started.

— A memorial to Randolph Caldecott erected in Chester Cathedral by the past and present scholars of the King's School, Chester.

5. A demonstration against the Van and Wheel Tax took place in London. A long procession of vans and carts bearing mottoes or inscriptions condemnatory of the proposed tax assembled on the Thames Embankment, and thence paraded the streets to Hyde Park, where speeches were made and resolutions passed.

7. The Prince and Princess of Wales left London for Glasgow, in order to open the Glasgow Exhibition, being for the time the guests of Lord Hamilton at Dalzell.

8. The Queen attended at the Albert Hall a performance by command of Sir A. Sullivan's "Golden Legend."

— Mr. Parnell, as "guest" of the Eighty Club, delivered a long speech on the relations between himself and Lord Carnarvon; and on the effect of the Papal Rescript on the Irish national cause.

9. The Prince and Princess of Wales, on their return from Glasgow, visited Blackburn in order to lay the first stone of the new Technical School.

— An important deputation of members of Parliament waited upon the Secretary of State for War to urge the necessity of taking steps for the defence of London, and of putting the naval and military resources of the country on a more satisfactory footing.

— The Chester Cup won by Mr. J. G. R. Homfray's Kinsky, aged, 8 st. 2 lbs. (J. Watts), defeating a field of twelve starters.

10. The Bank rate raised to 3 per cent., the total reserve having fallen to 11,210,781*l.*, or about 86 per cent. of the liabilities.

— The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies voted the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery throughout Brazil.

— Mr. Justice Stirling, in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, gave judgment in the action brought by the publishers of the story of "Little Lord Fauntleroy" against Mr. Seebohm, who had dramatised the work. The defendant was restrained from printing or multiplying copies of his play containing passages from the original work by Mrs. Burnett, and to deliver up for cancellation all copies of the book containing colourable imitations of the original.

— Mr. W. Hamo Thornycroft, A., elected a full Academician.

— Explosion of natural gas in the street mains and houses of Buffalo,

N.Y., occurred in about a dozen places, and St. Paul's Cathedral, the finest church in the city, was completely burned out, but the exterior fabric was saved.

11. An accident, by which fourteen persons lost their lives, occasioned by the sinking of a steamboat on the Seine, occurred at Muids, in the department of the Eure.

— The Communal Council of Rome, after a long discussion, rejected the proposal for the erection of a monument to Giordano Bruno in the Campo dei Fiori.

— The Czar narrowly escaped assassination at a military parade at Tsarskoe Selo, at which he with the Empress and entire Court was assisting. A cavalry lieutenant, named Timofeieff, presented a loaded revolver and was about to pull the trigger when another officer rushed forward, and in the struggle the bullet entered the ground.

12. An alarming fire took place in St. Swithin's Lane, close to the Mansion House, when the old Bay Tree Inn was almost totally destroyed, and the inhabitants rescued with great difficulty.

— The great Jubilee Stakes at Kempton Park, valued at 3,000*l.*, won by Mr. R. Ogner's Minting, 5 yrs., 10 st. (Webb). Nineteen started.

— The election for St. Stephen's Green division of the City of Dublin resulted in the return of Mr. T. A. Dickson (Nationalist) by 4,819 votes against 2,982 polled by Mr. Sexton (Unionist).

13. The Emperor of Austria unveiled with great ceremony the monument (erected outside the Hofburg Gate) to the Empress Maria Theresa surrounded by her principal marshals and statesmen.

— A rather severe earthquake shock felt at Santiago (Chili) on the anniversary of the great earthquake of 1647, which laid the greater part of the city in ruins.

14. Two houses in East Street, Manchester Square, in course of demolition, suddenly collapsed, burying among the ruins two of the workmen, who were, however, extricated alive, although badly hurt.

— The Anglo-Danish Exhibition, erected in the grounds of the Horticultural Society, South Kensington, opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

— In the House of Lords, Lord Wolseley replied to the censure passed upon him by Lord Salisbury, and whilst explaining that he had no idea of making any attack upon the Secretary of State for War individually, he maintained and repeated all he had previously said as to the defective condition of the army and navy.

15. A fatal railway accident occurred on the Moscow-Kursk line near Galitsyno, when several carriages of a passenger train having been detached from the others, were run into by a goods train, and eleven persons were killed and twenty-seven injured (eighteen seriously).

— The bandit Alessandri, who for six years had been the scourge of the villages of Corsica, shot by gendarmes after a determined resistance. In 1882 he fired on a *juge de paix* against whom he had a grudge, and then murdered the man who had denounced him, and shortly afterwards took to the

maquis, where he hid himself, living on contributions he levied upon villagers and travellers.

16. The convict Benson, who had been involved in various swindling frauds involving large sums, committed suicide in Ludlow Street Gaol, New York (where he was undergoing sentence), by jumping from a staircase to the floor below.

— A portrait of the late Lord Frederick Cavendish presented to the Public Library and Working Men's Institute of Keighley unveiled by Sir George Trevelyan.

17. A meeting of the Irish Roman Catholic members of Parliament held at the Mansion House, Dublin, to take into consideration the state of political affairs arising out of the Papal rescript.

— The Princess of Wales opened a bazaar held at the Hôtel Métropole under the auspices of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Its object was to raise 10,000*l.* to establish Soldiers' and Sailors' Homes at all naval and military stations throughout the Empire.

— The refusal of the Egyptian Government to accept liability for the payment of bonds purporting to have been issued by General Gordon during the siege of Khartoum confirmed by the International Court of Appeal at Alexandria.

18. The Queen Regent of Spain, on arriving at Barcelona to open the International Exhibition, was received with great ceremony by the ships of war of ten nations anchored in the harbour. Gorgeous ceremonies and prolonged festivities marked the stay of the Regent.

— On the meeting of the Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Mr. Robertson, Assistant-Surveyor, who had been under examination, failed to answer when called upon to appear, and on inquiry it was found that he had left his house, and declined to submit to further examination.

19. Terrible floods reported from the districts lying along the course of the Mississippi, of which the water had risen seven inches higher than during the great floods of 1881. Throughout Illinois, especially in the neighbourhood of Quincy and Hannibal, great destruction of life and property occurred.

— A terrific thunderstorm broke over the south-west of Scotland, Glasgow being about the centre of the disturbance. In the course of an hour three quarters of an inch of rain fell, accompanied by huge hailstones and almost incessant thunder and lightning. One of the clocks of the Observatory was struck.

21. The Co-operative Congress met at Dewsbury under the presidency of Mr. Vansittart. The principal question discussed was the question whether the profits of co-operation should primarily be shared by the producers or divided among the consumers. Lord Ripon, who was amongst the speakers, advocated the former course. After the greater part of the three days had been devoted to this question, the division showed 200 votes in favour of a resolution pointing towards this proposal, and 218 against it.

— The Marquess of Lansdowne, having prorogued the Dominion Parliament, left Ottawa at once on his return to England, prior to taking over the Viceroyalty of India.

21. Mr. Samuel Osborne, of Tewkesbury, without notice of his intention, hired a small boat on the shore at Dover at about 11 A.M. and rowed himself across to Calais, arriving on the French coast about midnight, after a course of between 40 and 50 miles owing to the currents. He took with him a few biscuits and a bottle of stout.

— The London Cart Horse Parade Society held their third annual parade in Regent's Park. The whole number of entries was 332. After the distribution of the money prizes by Lady Burdett Coutts, it was found that the diplomas and certificates of merit fell far short of the number of drivers whom the judges recommended.

22. "Congregation" of the University of Oxford passed the preamble of a statute admitting women to compete for honours in the final classical school.

— John Jackson, who was undergoing a short sentence in Strangeways Gaol, Manchester, whilst doing some repairs to the matron's room, murdered the gaoler in charge of him and escaped by the roof. In the course of the night he committed two burglaries in Oldham, and managed to elude pursuit.

23. The seat at Southampton, vacant by the appointment of Admiral Commerell to an active command, carried by Mr. T. H. Evans (G.L.), 5,151, against Mr. A. E. Grant (C.), who polled 4,266.

— Venerable Archdeacon J. J. Pulleine, of Kirby Whiske, appointed Bishop of Penrith, as suffragan to the newly appointed Bishop of Wakefield.

24. The marriage of Prince Henry of Prussia and Princess Irene of Hesse celebrated at Charlottenburg in the presence of the Emperor and Empress of Germany, and representatives of the principal Royal families of Northern Europe.

— The Earl of Hopetoun, as Lord High Commissioner in Scotland, opened the meeting of the General Assembly of the Scotch Church at Edinburgh.

— The centenary of the Linnean Society celebrated under the presidency of Mr. W. Carruthers, R.S., who presented to Sir Richard Owen and Sir Joseph Hooker the two gold medals instituted for the occasion.

25. A terrible explosion took place at a cartridge and firework factory at Pantin, near Paris. Seven buildings were destroyed, twelve dead bodies were taken out of the ruins, and about thirty persons were seriously injured.

— The Prince of Wales left Berlin for Stolf, in Pomerania, in order to inspect the Blücher Hussar Regiment, of which he was Colonel.

— A young man named Rumbold, whilst walking with three companions in Regent's Park, attacked by a party of eight men and stabbed in the back.

26. At Manchester, a new race, five furlongs, for colts and fillies, the Whitsuntide Plate, value 5,000*l.*, won by Mr. C. Perkins's Chit-a-Bob, 8st. 11lb. (Fagan), defeating a field of eleven starters.

— A sculling match over the Tyne championship course, between George Bubeare of Hammersmith and Charles Carr of Newcastle, resulted in an easy victory for the Thames waterman.

27. The Transcaspian Railway from Mikhailovsk, on the Caspian Sea, to Samarcand, a distance of 900 miles, formally opened. The train conveying

General Annenkoff and his colleagues stopped close to the tomb of Tamerlane.

27. The Prix de Jockey Club (French Derby), at Chantilly, won by M. Pierre Donon's Stuart, the favourite, defeating a field of twelve starters. The winner's grandsire was the famous English horse Stockwell.

— A riot took place at the cemetery of Père La Chaise, on the occasion of a procession to the tombs of Blanqui, Vallès, and Delescluze by the Blanquists. These on retiring were attacked by the Anarchists, and two of them wounded by a pistol shot.

28. A serious accident took place at the Berlin Royal Playhouse (Schauspielhaus), where certain structural alterations were going on. The scaffolding, four stories high, suddenly gave way, killing one workman and seriously injuring fourteen others.

29. Violent storms took place in various parts of Pennsylvania, the southern districts of the State of New York, Ohio, and Missouri. Trees, churches, barns, and public buildings were demolished by the heavy rainfall and lightning, and many lives and much cattle were lost.

— According to the report of the Deputy-Master of the Mint, the number of five-pound gold pieces coined during the Jubilee year (1887) was 58,000, and of two-pound pieces 90,000, none of which, however, appeared in general circulation.

30. The premises of Messrs. Garrould, milliners and drapers, in the Edgware Road, London, totally destroyed in less than an hour by a fire which broke out about 6 A.M. There were twenty-two female assistants and six servants living on the premises, and in consequence of the rapid progress of the fire five of the former were burnt to death, whilst four others were severely injured by jumping from the windows, the fire escape not being available.

— The "Derby" won by the favourite, the Duke of Portland's *Ayrshire* (F. Barrett), by two lengths. Nine horses only started, as in 1886.

JUNE.

1. The "Oaks" won by Lord Calthorpe's *Sea Breeze* (Robinson), defeating a field of only six starters.

— A Cabinet crisis reported from Berlin in consequence of the Emperor having insisted upon the publication of an Imperial Rescript prohibiting official interference at Parliamentary elections, a document which he wished to appear simultaneously with the law prolonging the duration of Parliament from three to five years.

2. The steamship *Etruria* reached New York, having made the passage in 6 days 1 hr. 55 min., or 2 hrs. 57 min. less than the previous fastest time recorded by the *Umbria* in May 1887. The Union Steamship *Athenian* also arrived at Plymouth from the Cape of Good Hope, having made the fastest passage from Cape Town on record, in 17 days 9 hrs. 10 min., including 5 hrs. detention.

— A meeting which was very largely attended, and supported by deputa-

tions from various parts of the country, held in Hyde Park to protest against the licensing clauses of the Local Government Bill, by which compensation was to be paid to publicans on the refusal of the magistrates to renew their licences.

8. A fall of snow lasting nearly thirty-six hours covered the whole of Scotland from Stirling to the Pentland Firth.

4. The Irish Exhibition in London opened at Olympia, West Kensington, by the Lord Mayor of London, accompanied by the Lord Mayor of Dublin and a large number of provincial mayors.

— Earthquake shocks of more or less intensity felt all over the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, but no serious damage reported.

— In the palm house of the Schönbrunn Palace, the *Brownia Ariza*, a palm tree of which only one other specimen had ever blossomed in Europe, came into blossom, lasting only 48 hours.

— The Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston (Mass.), celebrated the 250th anniversary of its incorporation. The fête was attended by deputations from various places; the Honourable Artillery Company of London marching with the Old Guard of New York.

5. The members of the Church Association decided to commence proceedings against the Bishop of Lincoln for illegal practices in the celebration of Holy Communion, and to apply to the Court of Queen's Bench to compel the Bishop of London to allow their case against the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for removing the crucifix from the reredos to proceed.

— The Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Princess and their two daughters, unveiled the statue of Sir Bartle Frere erected on the Thames Embankment. The statue, the work of Mr. Brock, cost 8,000*l.*, which had been raised by public subscription.

6. The Archduchess Marguerite Sophia, aged 18 years, daughter of Archduke Carl Ludwig, installed with great pomp as Abbess of the Community of the Bible Ladies of the Hradschin (Prague.)

— A young Brazilian named Raoul Herques, whilst at dinner at a restaurant at Monaco with his brother and sister-in-law, drew a revolver, shot them both dead, and then blew out his own brains.

7. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 8 to 2½ per cent., the reserve standing at 12,646,850*l.*, or 41½ per cent. of the liabilities.

— The Prince of Wales opened a gymnasium of the National Physical Recreation Society promoted in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association. The King of Sweden was also present, besides many other distinguished persons. The gymnasium occupied the site of the Queen's Theatre in Long Acre.

— The Democratic Convention at St. Louis unanimously selected Mr. Cleveland as the party candidate at the ensuing Presidential Election. Mr. Thurburn was subsequently selected as candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

8. Herr von Puttkamer, the Prussian Minister for Home Affairs, tendered his resignation, which was accepted by the Emperor-King.

— Nubar Pasha, Egyptian Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, called upon to resign his office.

8. The betrothal of Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, a sometime King of Spain, to his niece the Princess Letitia, only daughter of Prince Jerome Napoleon and the Princess Clotilde, publicly announced.

9. Mr. William McFayden Orr, of St. John's College, declared Senior Wrangler (Mathematical Tripos, Part I.), of the year.

— A fire occurred in St. Andrew's Street, Manchester, by which four lives were lost, in great measure owing to the ignorance and extraordinary conduct of a body of self-constituted and amateur firemen who interfered with the regular firemen.

— A heavy fall of snow covered nearly the whole of the county of Cornwall for some hours, and was followed by severely cold weather, lasting upwards of a fortnight, throughout England.

10. Grand Prix de Paris, Longchamps meeting, won by M. Donon's Stuart (J. Lane), the winner of the French Derby, which defeated the English horse Crowberry by three lengths and a field of six starters.

11. Jackson, *alias* Firth, who had murdered the warder Webb on May 22, in Strangeways Gaol, Manchester, captured at Bradford whilst in the act of committing a burglary.

— Albert Travis, the landlord of the Swan Inn, Sutton, Cheshire, in 1886 was convicted of the murder of Mrs. M'Intyre, chiefly on the evidence of that person's sister, to whom he was going to be married. His sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, but owing to the exertions of Sir Edward Hamley, the case was revised and an unconditional pardon was granted to him.

12. The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ascot Races postponed at the very last moment in consequence of the change for the worse in the health of the Emperor of Germany.

— Mr. Ritchie, in the House of Commons, announced the withdrawal of the Licensing Clauses from the Local Government Bill.

— In a steeple-chase at French Park, New York, three jockeys lost their lives.

— A quarrel broke out in the barracks surrounding Yildiz Kiosk, the Sultan's residence, between the men of the Black Zouave Regiment of the Imperial Guard and the Albanians. Swords, bayonets, revolvers, and side-arms were freely used, and it was not before several had been killed, and upwards of fifty seriously wounded, that the combatants could be separated.

18. The sculling match between Edward Hanlan, of Toronto (Canada), and Edward Tricket, of Sydney (New South Wales), for 500*l.* a-side, rowed on the Fitzroy River, and resulted in an easy victory for the Canadian after a mile of even racing.

— The annual pilgrimage of Scotch Roman Catholics to Iona in honour of St. Columba took place, Monsignor Persico being amongst the 800 who left Oban by the first boat.

— The eighth centenary of the University of Bologna celebrated with great pomp. Deputations from the principal British and Continental Universities attended, and were received by the King and Queen of Italy. The degree of Doctor of Arts was conferred upon a number of English and Ame-

ricans, including Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Agassiz, and others.

14. The Australasian Conference on the Chinese immigration question decided to appeal to the Imperial Government to use its good offices with China to conclude a treaty similar to that existing between China and the United States.

— A deputation of the National Rifle Association waited on the Chief Commissioner of Works to urge that Richmond Park should be granted for the annual meeting of the Association.

— Rev. C. Billing, rector of Spitalfields, appointed Suffragan Bishop of Bedford—for East London—in the place of Bishop Walsham How, translated to Wakefield.

15. The principal events of the Ascot meeting were decided as follows:—

Prince of Wales's Stakes.—Duke of Westminster's Ossory (T. Cannon), 3 yrs. 9 st. Nine started.

Ascot Stakes.—Mr. J. Jameson's Dan Dancer (Allsop), 4 yrs., 6 st. 7 lbs. Ten started.

Gold Vase.—Mr. W. Blake's Exmoor (J. Watts), 5 yrs., 9 st. 4 lbs. Five started.

Ascot Derby.—Prince Soltykoff's Sheen (J. Woodburn), 3 yrs., 8 st. 3 lbs. Six started.

Royal Hunt Cup.—Captain Machell's Shillelagh (Chaloner), 3 yrs., 6 st. 3 lbs. Twenty-two started.

Coronation Stakes.—Lord Calthorpe's Seabreeze (Robinson), 3 yrs., 9 st. 3 lbs. Eight started.

Gold Cup.—Mr. H. M'Calmont's Timothy (Robinson), 4 yrs., 9 st. Five started.

Rous Memorial Stakes.—Mr. H. T. Fenwicke's Phil (T. Cannon), 4 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. Eight started.

New Stakes.—Duke of Portland's Donovan (F. Barrett), 2 yrs., 9 st. 3 lbs. Eight started.

St. James's Palace Stakes. { Duke of Westminster's Ossory (Cannon), 3 yrs., 9 st.
{ Duke of St. Alban's Galore, 3 yrs., 9 st.

Two started.

Wokingham Stakes.—Sir W. Throckmorton's Annamite (Bradbury), 4 yrs., 6 st. 12 lbs. Twenty started.

Alexandra Plate.—Captain Machell's Timothy (Robinson), 9 st. 5 lbs. Three started.

— The German Emperor, Frederick III., King of Prussia, died at 11.15 A.M. at Potsdam, after a reign of ninety-nine days, and was succeeded by his son, under the title of Wilhelm II.

16. Lord Wolseley unveiled in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, in the presence of a large number of officers and journalists, a memorial tablet erected to the war correspondents who had lost their lives in the Soudan campaign.

— Mr. Thomas Sinclair (G.L.) returned for the Ayr Burghs by 2,841 votes against Hon. Evelyn Ashley (U. L.), who polled 2,268 votes.

— Two new steamers, trying their engines on the measured mile in the Clyde, came into collision, and one of them, the *Princess of Wales*, sank almost immediately in thirty fathoms of water, and causing the loss of three lives.

18. The funeral of the Emperor Frederick celebrated with as little pomp as possible in the Friedenskirche at Potsdam.

18. Funeral services held in the principal European capitals, and Court and other mourning adopted in most countries.

— News reached Simla that an exploring party beyond the British frontier had been attacked by the Aliwals in Afghan territory, and Major Battye and Captain Urnston had been killed.

19. In the House of Commons the Government defeated by 248 to 218 on an amendment to the Local Government Bill, moved by Mr. J. Morley, transferring the management of the police to the joint management of the County Council and Quarter Sessions, and depriving the latter of the exclusive appointment of chief constables. The division was taken without any previous debate.

20. Mr. Dillon's appeal against the sentence of six months' imprisonment pronounced at the Drogheda Petty Sessions confirmed by the County Court Judge, and Mr. Dillon was subsequently conveyed to prison.

— Serious floods reported from various parts of Mexico, the State of Guanajuata especially suffering. The river Tolinan overflowed its banks at several spots, doing enormous damage to life and property, upwards of 1,200 lives having been reported as lost.

— The correspondents of two French newspapers, the *Gaulois* and the *Matin*, expelled from Berlin in consequence of articles in their papers reflecting on military and court affairs.

21. A meeting of the Conservative members of the House of Commons, summoned by Lord Salisbury, was held at the Foreign Office to consider the Local Government Bill, and to discuss the position of public affairs.

— The remains of the composer Beethoven, who died in 1827, removed from the suburban cemetery of Währing, in view of their re-interment in the Central Cemetery in Vienna, two days later, when an imposing ceremony was celebrated. A quarrel arose in connection with the exhumation between the authorities and certain scientific persons who desired to take certain measurements, which resulted in the skull being nearly broken in two and two of the teeth abstracted.

22. A meeting of the Liberal Unionists, held under the presidency of Lord Hartington, to consult as to the policy to be adopted with regard to the local option clauses of the Local Government Bill.

— The Crown Prince of Sweden, whilst staying with the Crown Princess at a hotel at Franzensbad, robbed of trinkets and jewellery to the value of 20,000 frs., by a thief who managed to obtain access to the Prince's rooms.

23. The French Cabinet decided that present circumstances did not permit the return to France of the Duc d'Angoulême, in accordance with the petition presented by the Institut de France.

The twenty-six yearlings bred for the Queen in the Bushey Park paddocks realised upwards of 120,000 guineas, or an average of nearly 500 guineas, almost the highest ever obtained.

25. The German Reichstag, sporting summer school, was opened with great state and ceremony by the Emperor William II. in person.

After eight ballottings, lasting over several days, the Republican Convention, assembled at Chicago, nominated General Harrison, of Ohio, as the

party candidate for Presidency. Subsequently Mr. Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

26. In the House of Commons, the Vote of Censure moved by Mr. J. Molloy with respect to the Government of Ireland rejected by 368 to 275 votes.

27. In the House of Commons, the second reading of the Channel Tunnel Bill, moved by Sir Edward Watkin and supported by Mr. Gladstone, rejected by 309 against 167.

— The Pope issued an encyclical letter, "De Libertate humanâ," in which he proclaimed that the Church had always done much in defence of civil and political liberty, that it was not the enemy of Democracy, and rejected no form of civil government.

28. The fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's Coronation passed off without any special ceremonies, the Court mourning for the late Emperor Frederick having caused the abandonment or postponement of the projected fêtes.

— Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria formally remitted the sentence of four years' imprisonment passed on Major Popoff for malversation of army funds.

— The Duke of Marlborough married at the City Hall, New York, by the Mayor, to Mrs. Lilian W. Hammersley.

29. The seat for the Isle of Thanet, vacant by the death of Mr. King-Harman, carried by Right Hon. James Lowther (C.) by 3,547 votes against Hon. E. Knatchbull-Hugessen (G.L.) who polled 2,889 votes.

— An action for libel brought by a jockey (C. Wood) against the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette*, tried before the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury, and after lasting upwards of a week resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff with one farthing damages.

— A meeting of Conservative agents from all parts of the country held at the Constitutional Club to consider a new scheme of party organisation for election purposes.

30. The Civil List Pensions for the year ending this day were as follows :— Mrs. Mary L. Neild, in consideration of the death of her husband, Major Neild, R.M., from the effects of a wound received while on duty at Charles-town, 100*l.*; Miss Frances, Miss Blanche, and Miss Amy Tulloch, in consideration of the distinguished services of their late father, Principal Tulloch, of St. Andrew's University, in connection with theology, philosophy, and literature, 25*l.* each; Mrs. Jessie Jefferies, in consideration of the literary attainments of her late husband, Mr. Richard Jefferies, 100*l.*; Sir John Steell, in consideration of his merits as a sculptor, 100*l.*; Mrs. Mary Hutchinson, in consideration of the services of her late husband, Mr. Thomas J. Hutchinson, M.D., of her Majesty's Consular service (in this case there was no mention of destitute condition), 20*l.*; Miss Mary, Miss Rose Jane, and Miss Amy Leech, in consideration of the eminence of their brother, the late Mr. John Leech, as an artist, 10*l.* each; Mrs. Kate Pinkett, in recognition of the services of her late husband as Crown Solicitor, Chief Justice, and Acting Governor of Sierra Leone, 50*l.*; Mrs. Isabella Sarah McClatchie, in consideration of the long and valuable services of her late brother, Sir Henry Parkes, 75*l.*; the Rev. F. O. Morris, in recognition of his merits as a natu-

ralist, 100*l.*; Miss Constance Frederica Gordon Cumming, in consideration of her merits as an author, 50*l.*; Mrs. Eugenia Moira, in recognition of the eminence of her late husband as a miniature painter, 25*l.*; Mrs. Ceiriog Hughes, in recognition of the merits of her late husband, Mr. J. C. Hughes, as a Welsh poet, 50*l.*; Miss Laura Liebe Barnes, in consideration of the merits of her late father, the Rev. W. Barnes, as an author and linguist, 50*l.*; Mrs. Spencer Baynes, in consideration of the eminence of her late husband, Professor T. S. Baynes, as an author and scholar, 75*l.*; Mr. William Kitchen Parker, F.R.S., in recognition of his services to science as an investigator, 100*l.*; Mrs. Barbara Seldon, in consideration of the services of her late husband, Mr. Samuel Seldon, Principal of the Statistical Department of her Majesty's Customs, 100*l.*; Mrs. Balfour Stewart, in recognition of the services rendered to science by her late husband, Professor Balfour Stewart, 50*l.*; Mr. John Bell, in recognition of his merits as a sculptor, 50*l.*

80. The Marine Biological Museum, established at Plymouth chiefly through the liberality of scientific men, formally opened by Professor Flower.

— In consequence of the threatening attitude of Dinizulu, who had attacked native chiefs living under British protection in Zululand, all available troops in Natal and at the Cape ordered to proceed to the disaffected district.

— The majority of the bishops attending the Pan-Anglican Synod assembled at Canterbury, where a solemn service was held, presided over by the Archbishop.

JULY.

2. King Milan of Serbia applied to the Synod for a judicial separation from the Queen on the ground of insuperable aversion to her. The Queen declared in a telegram to the Metropolitan her refusal to consent.

— Twenty thousand survivors of the battle of Gettysburg (including several thousand Confederates) celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the struggle by cordial fraternisation on the field, and the unveiling of numerous monuments intended to mark the position of the various regiments engaged.

3. The third Lambeth Conference, or Pan-Anglican Synod, attended by upwards of 150 bishops of the Church of England and of the bodies in communion therewith, assembled for a special service at Lambeth Palace, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the opening address.

4. A meeting of the Unionist peers held at Lord Derby's town residence to discuss a scheme of largely extended organisation throughout the country and to inaugurate a fund in connection therewith.

5. The Oxford and Cambridge cricket match, after repeated adjournments and interruptions caused by the bad weather, for the third time in the history of these matches, ended in a draw. The following was the state of the score:—

CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. H. J. Mordaunt, c and b Croome	14	c Forster, b Croome	7
Mr. E. Crawley, b Cochrane	0	b Fowler	1
Mr. G. Kemp, b Cochrane	8	c Simpson, b Croome	9
Mr. F. Thomas, b Cochrane	36	b Fowler	18
Mr. E. M. Butler, b Cochrane	37	c Forster, b Cochrane	26
Mr. C. D. Buxton, c Simpson, b Forster	3	b Cochrane	30
Mr. R. C. Gosling, not out	29	not out	18
Mr. S. M. J. Woods, c Rashleigh, b Cochrane	12	b Fowler	7
Mr. F. G. J. Ford, c Philipson, b Cochrane	2	c Fowler, b Croome	8
Mr. F. Meyrick-Jones, b Fowler	16	c Nepean, b Forster	36
Mr. C. E. M'Gregor, b Fowler	3	l-b-w, b Cochrane	9
Byes, 2; l-b, 3; w, 4; n-b, 2	11	Byes, 4; l-b, 2	6
Total	171	Total	170

OXFORD.

First Innings.

Mr. E. T. B. Simpson, st M'Gregor, b Ford	2
Mr. F. H. Gresson, c and b Woods	30
Hon. F. J. N. Thesiger, b Buxton	26
Mr. W. Rashleigh, b Woods	12
Lord George Scott, c Mordaunt, b Woods	32
Mr. H. W. Forster, b Woods	1
Mr. E. A. Nepean, b Woods	1
Mr. A. C. Croome, b Mordaunt	2
Mr. H. Philipson, c Crawley, b Woods	10
Mr. A. H. Cochrane, b Mordaunt	1
Mr. G. Fowler, not out	0
Byes, 6; l-b, 1	7
Total	124

Oxford had thus 218 runs to make in their second innings. In their first innings, Mr. Woods (an Australian) took 6 wickets for 48 runs.

5. The action brought by Mr. F. H. O'Donnell against the *Times* for alleged libels contained in the articles on Parnellism and Crime, after three days' hearing before the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury, terminated somewhat abruptly in a verdict for the defendants, Mr. O'Donnell declining to enter the witness-box in support of his own case.

— In consequence of Messrs. Bryant & May requiring their workwomen to manipulate the matchwood in a new way, a strike at once followed the dismissal of a girl. Upwards of 1,200 women came out, thereby paralysing the work of manufactory.

6. The final heats of the principal events at Henley Regatta decided as follows:—

	min. sec.
Grand Challenge Cup. Thames Rowing Club	7 1 1 length.
Ladies' Challenge Plate. Lady Margaret Boat Club (Cambridge)	7 18 2 lengths.
Stewards' Challenge Cup. Trinity Hall (Cambridge)	— { Brasenose fouled a pile
Silver Goblet. Messrs. Symon and Buch	— { McLean and Muttiebury upset.
Thames Challenge Cup. Lady Margaret Boat Club (Cambridge)	— 4 lengths.

6. Copies of a letter by the Comte de Paris, addressed to 75,000 recently elected mayors, seized at the residence of M. Dufeuille, Director of the Orleanist Press in Paris.

7. A revolution which had broken out in Hayti culminated in the destruction by the rioters of the principal public buildings and the flight of the President, General Salomon, and his ministers, who took refuge on board the foreign ships of war at Port-au-Prince.

— At the weekly meeting or "conversazione" held in Trafalgar Square, numerous efforts were made by the leaders to address the crowds, and ten persons were ultimately taken in charge by the police, but subsequently released on bail.

— The New Zealand steamship *Kaikoura* reached Plymouth, having made the voyage from Wellington, New Zealand, in 36 days 11 hrs. 14 min., being the fastest passage between those ports on record.

8. A largely attended demonstration made in Hyde Park against Mr. Stevenson's Sunday Closing Bill, an identical resolution being carried at various platforms.

9. The reports of the German doctors on the course of the late Emperor Frederick's illness and its treatment issued from the Imperial Printing Office. The first indication of the nature of the Emperor's malady was observed on March 6, 1887, when the vocal chord was examined and operated on by Professor Gerhardt. The German doctors on May 18 agreed that the disease was cancer, and would have operated on May 20 but for the interposition of Sir Morell Mackenzie, who held the symptoms to be reconcilable with other forms of disease. The reports were generally regarded as displays of partisan feeling rather than of scientific research.

— The meeting of the National Rifle Association opened at Wimbledon.

10. Strawberry Hill, at one time the residence of Sir Horace Walpole, and more recently of the Countess of Waldegrave and Lord Carlingford, offered for sale together with the adjoining land. The largest offer was 15,000*l.*, whilst the reserve price had been set at 80,000*l.*

— A revolt broke out in the province of Bantam (Dutch East Indies), the insurgents killing the European inhabitants and plundering the town of Telegon.

11. Two squadrons, composed of all the ships in commission on home service, reported ready for sea exactly one week after the order for naval mobilisation had been issued. Orders for a three weeks' cruise combined with warlike manœuvres were at once given.

— Bitterly cold weather prevailed over the whole of the United Kingdom, Valentia alone reporting a temperature about 55°. Snow fell in several parts of England and Scotland. In New England and other parts of the Northern States, very severe weather also occurred, and heavy falls of snow were reported in various places. Throughout Europe the temperature was generally low and the rain general. Greece alone suffered from extreme heat and drought. In Southern Hungary a hailstorm killed twenty people and many were severely wounded. The harvest and many buildings were entirely destroyed. For miles the country presented the appearance of an ice-field.

12. In the House of Commons, Mr. W. H. Smith offered Mr. Parnell, instead of a Select Committee, a commission composed wholly or mainly of judges, to inquire into the charges made against certain members in the case of *O'Donnell v. Walter*.

— In the French Chamber of Deputies, General Boulanger submitted a resolution asking the President to dissolve Parliament. A heated discussion ensued, and on the motion of M. Floquet the proposal was almost unanimously rejected, whereupon General Boulanger gave in his resignation as Deputy.

— The Prussian police, acting under orders from Berlin, gave forcible support to the King of Servia's demand for the withdrawal of his son from the tutelage of his mother, with whom the child, aged twelve, had been living at Wiesbaden. The police having surrounded the palace in which the Queen was residing, removed the boy, who was at once despatched to Belgrade.

13. A duel between General Boulanger and M. Floquet, the French Prime Minister, arising out of words spoken in the Chamber, took place at Neuilly. General Boulanger was slightly wounded in the leg, and severely in the throat. M. Floquet received a slight touch on the right wrist.

— A terrible accident occurred at the entrance of the shaft of the De Beers Mine, at Kimberley, South Africa, where a fire broke out causing a collapse of the woodwork. Seven hundred miners were entombed, but all with the exception of about 200, of whom 25 were Europeans, were extricated.

— The Emperor William left Potsdam soon after midnight for Kiel, where he embarked in the royal yacht to pay a visit to the Emperor of Russia at Cronstadt.

— The "Old Times" coach performed the journey between London and Brighton and back in 7 hours 50 minutes, the wager being 1,000*l.* to 500*l.* that it could not be done in eight hours. The horses were changed sixteen times, but the halts never but once exceeded one minute.

14. The Eton and Harrow match terminated in a great victory for the latter school. The following was the score :—

HARROW.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. A. C. MacLaren, c Ward, b Studd . . .	0	b Studd	4
Mr. W. E. Greaves, c Tollemache, b Studd . . .	4	b Studd	0
Mr. H. W. Watson, c and b Pechell	1	b Studd	26
Mr. R. B. Hoare, b Studd	4	b Jones	108
Mr. F. S. Jackson, b Studd	21	b Studd	59
Mr. J. A. MacLaren, st Hodgson, b Pechell . . .	2	b Studd	0
Mr. W. J. F. Giffard, run out	3	b Studd	2
Mr. C. E. Gilroy, b Bathurst	24	c Goad, b Studd	16
Mr. G. W. Roffey, b Studd	12	c. Bathurst b Studd	0
Mr. R. D. Cheales, not out	6	b Jones	3
Mr. N. Ramsay, c and b Studd	0	not out	5
L-b	8	B 8, l-b 2, w 1	11
Total	80	Total	234

ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Hon. M. G. Tollemache, c Roffey, b Jackson	0	b Jackson	1
Mr. R. T. Jones, b Hoare	1	b Jackson	0
Mr. W. S. Gosling, l-b-w, b Jackson	3	b Jackson	9
Mr. Yate-Lee, c Gilroy, b Jackson	37	b Jackson	0
Mr. H. W. Studd, b Jackson	10	b Hoare	1
Mr. H. Bromley-Davenport, l-b-w, b J. MacLaren	8	c Jackson, b Hoare	1
Hon. R. A. Ward, c Roffey, b Jackson	12	b Jackson	0
Mr. F. E. Goad, b Jackson	11	b Hoare	22
Mr. F. R. H. Bathurst, b Ramsay	6	st Roffey, b Hoare	0
Mr. E. T. Hodgson, l-b-w, b Ramsay	7	b Gilroy	14
Mr. C. A. K. Pechell, not out	10	not out	2
Byes	1	Byes 1, l-b 1	2
Total	106	Total	52

14. A railway accident took place on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, by which four women lost their lives and many persons were seriously injured. The accident arose from a goods train on a siding striking the passenger train at a point near Hyde Junction.

— The French National Fête passed off without any disturbance. Its principal feature was the attendance of 1,500 provincial mayors, to whom the Government gave a banquet in the 1889 Exhibition buildings.

16. The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) moved for leave to bring in a Bill for a commission to inquire into the charges raised against certain members of Parliament and others in the recent trial of O'Donnell *v.* Walter.

— The "Wingfield Sculls" won by Mr. Guy Nickalls, of Magdalen College, Oxford, defeating Mr. J. C. Gairdner, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

— The Lawn Tennis Championship won (three sets to love) by Mr. Ernest Renshaw, winner of the All Comers' Singles, defeating Mr. H. F. Lawford, the holder of the title.

— In the French Chamber, Monsignor Freppel brought forward a motion for the repression of duelling, which, after a short debate, was rejected by a show of hands.

17. A dynamite plot discovered in Chicago, having for object the blowing up simultaneously of the houses of two judges, of a police officer, the Board of Trade, Court House, and several newspaper offices. The plot was revealed by an associate on the very day of its projected execution.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales went to Holloway to open the new buildings of the Great Northern Central Hospital, costing 23,000*l.*

18. The Prince of Wales formally installed, at the gateway of St. John's Priory, Clerkenwell, Grand Prior of the English Langue of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and Prince Albert Victor admitted a Knight of Justice of the Order.

— An eruption took place at Wakamatsu, in the Bandaisan volcanic region of Japan, about fifty leagues from Yokohama. Upwards of 400 persons lost

their lives, including 100 visitors to the thermal springs, and the country for many miles was rendered desolate by the falling stones, mud torrents, and general disruption.

19. Major Barttelot, who had left Stanley Falls, on the Congo, with a relief expedition to discover Mr. Stanley's whereabouts, shot by his Arab carriers.

— The meeting of the German and Russian Emperors took place at Peterhof, the Czar going in his yacht to Cronstadt to welcome the Emperor.

— The foundation stone of the monument to commemorate the destruction of the Spanish Armada laid on the Hoe by the Mayor of Plymouth, who at the same time inaugurated the fêtes by which the Tercentenary of the event was celebrated.

— A water-spout or "cloud-burst" broke over Wheeling, Virginia, U.S.A., causing the loss of seventy lives, and doing much damage to property, many houses and bridges being carried away by the flood.

20. Mr. Conybeare, M.P. for the Camborne division of Cornwall, suspended for one month for a letter published in the *Star*, reflecting upon the conduct of the Speaker.

— Dr. James Ridley, the surgeon of Tullamore Gaol, committed suicide. His death was attributed by the Nationalists to his remorse at the death of Mr. Mandeville, by the Unionists to the persecutions of the Nationalists.

21. M. Waddington, the French Ambassador, laid the foundation stone of a new French hospital to be erected in Shaftesbury Avenue.

— The principal matches and prizes awarded at the last meeting of the National Rifle Association, held on Wimbledon Common, were as follows:—

MATCHES.

Matches	Yards	Highest possible score	Total Scores
Auxiliary Officers } (any rifle) .	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ Auxiliary Officers 1,485
Regular " " }			{ Regular " 1,366
Humphrey Challenge Cup (any rifle) }	Do.	900	{ Oxford University 625
			{ Cambridge " 569
Elcho Shield (any rifle) }	Do.	1,800	{ Ireland . . 1,652
			{ England . . 1,642
Vizianagram Cup (Martini-Henry) }	500	200	{ Scotland . . 1,568
National Challenge Trophy (Martini-Henry) }	200, 500, 600	2,100	{ Commons . . 145
			{ Lords . . 191
United Services (Martini-Henry) }	Do.	840	{ Scotland . . 1,774
			{ England . . 1,756
Kolapore Cup (Martini-Henry) }	Do.	840	{ Volunteers . . 724
Chancellor's Plate (Martini-Henry) }	Do.	840	{ Royal Marines . 683
			{ Mother Country . 687
Ashburton Shield (Martini-Hy.) }	200, 500	560	{ Canada . . 674
China Cup (Martini-Henry) }	500	500	{ Cambridge . . 645
Mullens (Martini-Henry) }	Disappng. target	—	{ Oxford . . 626
Mappin's Cup (Martini-Henry) }	400, 500 (run.)	—	{ Clifton . . 433
Lloyd Lindsay (carbine) }	500, 600 (riding)	—	{ Cheltenham . . 433
			{ Lancashire . . 443
			{ 1st V.B. Liver- pool . . hits 62
			{ Hon. Artillery . 188
			{ Dorset Yeomanry . 109

PRIZES.

Prize	Yards	Highest possible score	Scores
Albert Jewel (any rifle) .	1,000	75	{ Quart.-Mast. Arrowsmith, 2nd Gloucester Engi- neers 71
Alexandra (Martini-Hy.)	500, 600	70	{ Col.-Sergt. Vicars, 13th Middlesex 64
Alfred (Martini-Henry) .	200 (standing)	35	{ Priv. Jory, Guernsey Militia Daily Telegraph Cup } 33
(Martini-Henry) .	500	35	{ Captain Morrison, 1st Sutherland 35
Martin Cup (Martini- Henry) .	600	35	{ Capt. Timmins, 3rd V.B. Cheshire 34
Windmill (Martini-Hy.)	200, 500	70	{ Corp. Elkington, 1st London St. George's Vase (Mar- tini-Henry) 68
Queen's Prize (Martini- Henry)—1st stage .	200, 500, 600	105	{ Col.-Sergt. Ford, 3rd Stafford 34
" 2nd stage .	{ 1st stage } 500, 600	230	{ Bronze medal, Lieut. Barrett, 5th V.B. A. and S. Highlanders 96
" 3rd stage .	{ 1st and 2nd stages } 800, 900	330	{ Silver medal, Lance-Corp. Noakes, 1st Berks (after tie with three others) 201
Prince of Wales's Prize (Martini-Henry) .	200, 600	110	{ Gold medal, Priv. Fulton, Queen's Westminster (13th Middlesex) 280
Olympic (Martini-Henry)	600	50	{ Col.-Sergt. Smith, 3rd West Surrey 101
All Comers' Aggregate .	—	—	{ Priv. Wattleworth, 2nd V.B. Liverpool 45
Volunteers' " .	—	—	{ Priv. Ward, 4th V.B. Devon 186
Grand " .	—	—	{ Capt. Arnell, 5th Hants 157
			{ Gold cross, Lieut. Barrett, 2nd V. B. A. and S. Highlanders 337

22. In the Ardèche and Dordogne, where General Boulanger simultaneously offered himself for election as Deputy, he was wholly unsuccessful. In the former he polled 24,000 against 41,000 given to the Opportunist candidate; and in the latter only 4,645 votes against 47,650 votes given to the Bonapartist, and 41,524 to the Republican candidate.

23. At the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Championship Meeting, Ernest and W. Renshaw (winners of the All Comers' Doubles), beat the Hon. P. B. Lyon and H. W. Wilberforce, holders, by three sets to two.

— The ninth centenary of the introduction of Christianity into Russia celebrated with great pomp and ceremony at Kieff; the Procurator-General of the Holy Synod and the Archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem being amongst the celebrants. At St. Petersburg the ceremonies, which were attended by the Czar and Czarina, were still more magnificent.

24. "War declared" between the rival fleets under Admirals Baird and Tryon. One fleet of the latter, representing the Power intending to attack England, was supposed to be sealed up in the impregnable harbour of Bantry Bay, whilst the fleet of Admiral Fitzroy was similarly blockaded in Lough Swilly by Admiral Rowley. The steam cruiser *Iris*, belonging to Admiral Tryon's squadron, succeeded in breaking through the blockade on the first night.

25. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone celebrated their golden wedding, entering this day upon the fiftieth year of their married life, and received a variety of presents from their friends and admirers.

— Prince Albert Victor unveiled, on the College Green at Bristol, the Jubilee statue of the Queen sculptured by Mr. J. E. Boehm, R.A.

26. The German Emperor, after an unexpectedly long stay at Peterhof,

arrived at Stockholm, where he was enthusiastically received. After a short stay he proceeded to Copenhagen, where he spent two days.

26. A German named Clotten, an agent for patent food, charged at the Liverpool police court with sending a letter threatening to murder Mr. Gladstone in consequence of the loss of a pamphlet on infant training sent by him to Mrs. Gladstone.

27. The Eclipse Stakes at Sandown Park, value 10,000*l.*, won by the favourite, the Duke of Westminster's Orbit, 8 yrs., 8 st. 12lb. (T. Cannon). Ossory, belonging to the same owner, was second. Thirteen started.

28. At the Alexandra Palace, Mr. Baldwin made a balloon ascent to the height of about 1,000 ft. He then dropped with a parachute of new construction, and alighted without the least accident in a field adjoining the grounds of the Palace.

— The closing service of the third Lambeth Conference, attended by about 150 bishops, held in St. Paul's Cathedral, the sermon being preached by the Archbishop of York.

— The inquest on Mr. Mandeville, who died six months subsequent to his release from Tullamore Prison, closed after a protracted inquiry. The jury brought in a verdict reflecting on the "brutal and unjustifiable treatment" to which political prisoners were subjected.

30. After a long continuance of cold and wet weather, a terrific storm of rain burst over various parts of England, especially in the southern and eastern suburbs of London. Traffic was completely stopped for some hours in the neighbourhood of Croydon, the rails being submerged for a distance of nearly three miles. Limehouse and the low-lying districts also suffered severely.

31. Cheyney Court Mansion, near Ledbury, an old house of great architectural beauty, with all its contents, totally destroyed by fire.

— A serious accident marred the historical procession to celebrate the centenary of the birth of King Ludwig I. Eight elephants, which formed part of the procession, frightened by a steam-car representing a dragon snorting fire, broke loose and charged into the crowd, and upset a stand filled with people. They were finally captured with the assistance of cavalry in the arcades of the theatre. Only four persons were killed, but many were very seriously injured.

AUGUST.

1. One of the pillars of the Cathedral at Seville suddenly gave way, causing a portion of the roof of the nave to fall in, and destroying the organ.

— The Melbourne International Exhibition, the largest display of the kind hitherto attempted in the Colonies, opened by the Governor.

2. Serious floods occurred in most parts of the Home Counties owing to the continuous rains. The district which most suffered was a part of Essex between Ilford and Chadwell Heath, where the rising water extinguished the fires of the engines on the railway. St. Mary's Church, Ilford, was flooded up to the chancel rails. Romford market-place was six feet under water, and 4,000 beer barrels, full and empty, were washed away from the premises of Messrs. Ind, Coope, & Co.

8. At the Goodwood meeting the principal events were decided as follows :—

- The Stewards' Cup.—Mr. Cannon's Tib, 5 yrs., 6 st. 7 lb. (Blake). Twenty-one started.
- The Sussex Stakes.—Mr. Manton's Zanzibar, 3 yrs., 8 st. 2 lb. (G. Barrett). Six started.
- The Chesterfield Cup.—Sir F. Johnstone's Candlemas, 5 yrs., 7 st. 5 lb. (G. Barrett.) Eight started.
- The Goodwood Cup.—Lord Falmouth's Rada, 3 yrs., 7 st. 4 lbs. (T. Loates). Four started.
- The Rous Memorial Stakes.—Sir R. Jardine's Sweet Briar, 2 yrs., 8 st. 4 lb. (J. Osborne). Nine started.
- The Goodwood Stakes.—Mr. Taylor's Stourhead, aged, 7 st. 11 lbs. (Barrett). Twelve started.
- The Visitors' Plate.—Lord Hartington's Isosceles, 4 yrs., 8 st. 1 lb. (S. Loates). Seven started.

— In Paris a large number of hairdressers' assistants, cooks, and others, numbering over 1,000, met at the Bourse du Travail, to advocate the suppression of registry offices. After a number of violent speeches, a march to Les Halles was decided upon. On their way they were met by the police, by whom, after a short skirmish, the rioters were dispersed.

— In New York a serious fire arose out of the upsetting of a benzine lamp. The house, which was almost inaccessible on account of the narrowness of the streets, was chiefly tenanted by Polish Jews working as tailors, of whom twenty were burnt to death.

4. The first University established in Siberia opened at Tomsk.

— Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Chester, translated to the see of Oxford, vacated by the resignation of Dr. Mackarness.

5. A destructive volcanic eruption occurred at the island of Vulcano, one of the Lipari group, off the coast of Sicily.

— Extensive floods, due to the heavy and continuous rainfalls, reported from various parts of Germany. In the neighbourhood of Königsberg the railways were interrupted, in Northern Bohemia many factories were flooded, and in Upper Austria incalculable damage was done to crops and herds.

— At Paris the Communist General Eudès, whilst addressing a number of men on strike, was suddenly seized with apoplexy and fell down dead.

6. The London and North-Western Railway having a fortnight previously reduced the journey from London to Edinburgh from nine to eight and a half hours, further reduced the time to eight hours (as performed by the Great Northern Railway), running the entire distance from Euston to Crewe, 150 miles, without stopping, in three hours and five minutes.

— Half the ships in Bantry Bay having managed to escape during the night, the blockade of that harbour and of Lough Swilly was immediately raised. The escaped ships bombarded and took nominal possession of the chief towns along the West Coast of Scotland, sailed through the Pentland Firth, seizing Aberdeen, threatening Edinburgh, and "destroying" the Forth Bridge, whilst Liverpool was captured and held to an enormous ransom.

— A disastrous collision occurred on the South-Western Railway shortly after midnight, by which five persons lost their lives, and several others—nearly all returning to London on Bank Holiday—were severely injured. A light engine running on the wrong line ran into a passenger train coming in the contrary direction, close to Hampton Wick Station.

7. John Jackson, the murderer of the warder Webb, hanged in Strangeways Gaol, Manchester.

— Larry Donovan, who had obtained notoriety by diving from great heights, lost his life in jumping from the Charing Cross foot-bridge. He was seen to rise once after the leap, but after swimming a short distance he sank, and was not seen again alive.

8. At the Mansion House dinner to the Ministry, Lord Salisbury declared all the omens in Europe more pacific than at any previous time since his Government was formed.

— Disturbances reported from various parts of France. In Paris the funeral of General Eudès gave occasion to an Anarchist outbreak, in the course of which M. Rochefort was severely handled by the mob. At Amiens a serious riot, arising out of the strike among the velvet weavers, was not checked until the soldiers charged and wounded many people. At Lille the weavers, at Lyons the glass workers, and in Paris the stone-masons and waiters, all decided to strike for higher wages and shorter hours.

— After long and wearisome debate the Bill for the Commission of Inquiry was finally read a third time by 162 to 46, the Parnellite members refusing to vote.

9. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 2½ to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at 10,958,160*l.*, or 89 per cent. of their liabilities.

— Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Miss Agneta Ramsay, daughter of Sir James Ramsay, Bart., of Banff, Perthshire, who had been placed alone in the first class of the Classical Tripos in the previous year.

— The Chief Commissioner of Works intimated to the National Rifle Association his inability to grant the use of Richmond Park to the Volunteers for their annual meeting.

10. Maxwell, *alias* Brooks, *alias* Lennox, who had been convicted more than two years previously of the murder of Mr. Preller at a hotel in Chicago, executed at St. Louis.

— A steam tug conveying 200 excursionists from Cromer to Yarmouth suddenly showed signs of sinking. Perfect order was, however, maintained, and all the passengers were brought to shore. The steamer shortly afterwards broke in two.

— A race between four members of the Polytechnic Cycling Club and the Brighton coach to Brighton and back resulted in the success of the cyclists, who completed the double journey in 6 hrs. 19 min. 2·5 sec., thus beating the coach record by 13 min. 40 3·5 sec. One machine only was used as compared with sixty-four horses.

11. The first through train from Paris to Constantinople, *via* Vienna, started from the French capital. By this route the journey from London to Constantinople is reduced to seventy-six hours, of which the part between Vienna and Constantinople, 1,270 miles, occupies forty hours.

— As the Crimes and Allegations Bill was passing through its last stages in the House of Lords, Mr. Parnell lodged notice of an action for libel against the *Times* newspaper, to be tried in Scotland, and claiming 50,000*l.* damages.

13. Count von Moltke released at his own request from his functions as Chief of the General Staff of the German Army, and appointed President of the National Defence Commission. Count von Waldersee, Quartermaster-General of the Army, appointed to be Chief of the General Staff.

— Parliament adjourned to Nov. 6 for an Autumn Session after the Queen's assent to the Crimes and Allegations Bill and other measures had been announced.

— A serious fire devastated the commercial quarter of the town of Cayenne, French Guiana, causing damage estimated at ten millions of francs.

14. The revolution in Hayti terminated in the flight of the President, who was forced to take refuge on board an English frigate at Port-au-Prince.

— A serious outbreak of yellow fever occurred at Jacksonville, Florida, U.S.A., and the most stringent measures taken to prevent the spread of the epidemic.

— A terrible collision took place off Sable Island between two steamships, the *Geiser* and *Thingwalla*, both belonging to a Danish line, running between Copenhagen and New York. No lives were lost on board the *Thingwalla*, but 72 of the passengers and 83 of the crew of the *Geiser*, which was sunk, were lost.

15. The Foreign Office notified that in recognition of the efforts of Joseph Wiggins, an English mate engaged in the Archangel trade, to open up trade into Central Siberia, the Russian Government had granted a five years' concession for the free entry of certain classes of merchandise up the Yenisei and Obi rivers. In 1874 Mr. Wiggins fitted out a small steam yacht and penetrated through the Straits of Kara to the mouth of the Obi and the estuary of the Yenisei. In 1876 he fitted up a steamer and ascended the Yenisei for 1,000 miles, and after further experiences, a company called the "Phoenix Merchant Adventurers" in 1887 started a steamer of 400 tons, under the command of Mr. Wiggins, and reached Yeniseisk, a town 2,000 miles up the river, on Oct. 7, 1887, in safety.

— A heavy thunderstorm passed over Eastern Ontario and Quebec, destroying a number of houses and barns, and hundreds of horses and cattle. Many persons were killed by the lightning, and a church and hotel set on fire.

16. The evictions on the estate of Mr. James Byrne at Burkestown, Co. Wexford, opposed by the tenants and their friends with great energy. For eight hours two hundred policemen were kept at bay. It was only when the houses took fire that resistance ceased.

— The Emperor William, after assisting at the unveiling at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder of a monument to Prince Frederick Charles, made a speech in which he declared that "eighteen army corps and 42 millions of inhabitants would rather be left upon the field than see one stone of Alsace-Lorraine taken from them."

17. The jury empanelled to inquire into the causes of Dr. Ridley's suicide, after an investigation of twelve days, found that he was labouring under temporary insanity, produced by the apprehension of disclosures at the inquiry into Mr. Mandeville's death.

17. The strike of the Paris navvies, after lasting twenty-five days, came to an end, the funds of the men being exhausted.

18. Mr. John Morley opened the Recess campaign by addressing a large meeting of Liberals at Nocton Park, near Lincoln, when he dwelt especially on the administration of the Coercion Act by the Government in Ireland.

— A National Co-operative Festival of Flowers and Labour opened at the Crystal Palace, nearly the whole centre transept being filled with exhibits of co-operative production and home industries.

19. General Boulanger simultaneously elected Deputy in the Departments of the Somme, Charente-Inférieure, and the Nord. At Amiens and Lille disturbances took place which necessitated the intervention of the military.

20. Mr. Gladstone presented by a number of working men of Burslem with a handsome vase in the Wedgwood style, as an expression of admiration and gratitude. Mr. Gladstone in his speech compared the treatment of Irish political prisoners with that of the Italian politicians imprisoned by King Bomba of Naples.

— F. M. Casey, charged with stealing bonds to the value of more than 10,000*l.* on Oct. 28, 1887, arrested in London, after having baffled the police for months. The story of the broker's clerk who had been robbed of the bonds in mid-day in the most crowded part of the city of London had hitherto been received with incredulity.

— An International Congress on Inland Navigation assembled at Frankfort-on-Main to study the question how far it was practicable to make waterways capable of carrying up ocean-going vessels to great inland cities.

21. Signor Crispi, the Italian Premier, arrived at Friedrichsruhe on a visit to Prince Bismarck.

— The United States Senate, by a majority of three (twenty-seven to thirty), on a strict party vote, refused to ratify the Fisheries Treaty.

22. During a thick fog the steamer *City of Chester*, from San Francisco, came into collision with the steamer *Oceanic*, from Yokohama, off Fort Point, inside the Golden Gate. The *City of Chester* sank almost immediately, and thirteen of her passengers were drowned.

— The Queen, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice, arrived at Blythswood, near Renfrew, the seat of Sir Archibald Campbell, from Osborne. In the afternoon she visited Glasgow, and opened the new municipal buildings. On the following day she paid a State visit to the Glasgow Exhibition, and also visited Paisley on the fourth centenary of its existence as a borough.

23. At the annual show of the Hawarden Horticultural Society, Mr. Gladstone urged upon those present the advantages of spade husbandry, fruit-growing, and poultry-rearing.

— President Cleveland addressed a message to the United States Senate recommending a retaliatory policy as the logical expression of the refusal by that body to ratify the Fisheries Treaty.

— A great fire occurred at Orenburg, by which more than 1,000 houses, inhabited chiefly by factory operatives, were burned to the ground, and 10,000 persons rendered homeless.

24. A Parliamentary paper issued showing the use made of the "Closure." In the session of 1887 the leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) moved the

Closure thirty-two times, and five private members once each. In 1888 it was moved by Mr. W. H. Smith eighteen times, and by private members thirty-five times.

24. A Roman amphitheatre of considerable dimensions and in good preservation discovered by Professor Hauser at Deutsch-Altenburg, on the Danube, between Vienna and Presburg.

25. The *Great Eastern* steamship, after a chequered but unprosperous career of thirty years, beached at New Ferry, on the Cheshire shore of the Mersey, preparatory to being broken up.

26. Steinwaerde, a portion of the city of Hamburg, on the south side of the Elbe, almost destroyed by a fire which raged unchecked for many hours. Six persons lost their lives, and property estimated at several millions of marks destroyed.

— The Lord Mayor of London (Mr. de Keyser), accompanied by the Sheriffs, visited his birthplace, Termonde, in Flanders, where a magnificent reception was given to him by the municipal authorities.

27. Mr. Simmons, the aeronaut, who had made 495 ascents, while descending in a balloon near Witham, in Essex, met with an accident which resulted fatally. He had with two other gentlemen ascended from the Olympia grounds, at Kensington, at 4 P.M. An hour later, when attempting to descend for the night, the grappling-irons having firmly caught, the balloon suddenly burst when about fifty feet from the ground and became detached from the car, which fell heavily to the ground and was crushed to pieces. Mr. Simmons was alone fatally injured, one of the others escaping with a broken leg and the other without serious harm.

— Mr. Walsh, editor of the *Wexford People* newspaper, Mr. J. S. Redmond, M.P., and Mr. W. H. Redmond, M.P., arrested at Wexford for taking part in an illegal meeting in a proclaimed district.

29. A woman, whose name was subsequently discovered to be Mary Ann Nicholls, found brutally murdered in Thomas Street, Whitechapel, within 800 yards of the spot where two other women had at short intervals been found murdered under apparently similar circumstances.

— At Lorenço Marques, the Portuguese settlement on the East Coast of Africa, the white soldiers of the garrison suddenly mutinied against their officers. After holding the barracks and town for two days they were forced to capitulate.

— At the York meeting the Great Ebor Handicap won by Mr. M. Sanderson's Nappa, 4 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. (Snowden). Thirteen started.

30. A fire, which at one time threatened to assume serious proportions, broke out in one of the spirit warehouses of the London Docks, and a large building about 200 yards was completely destroyed. Almost simultaneously a fire broke out at the Ratcliff Dry Dock, Stepney, where several buildings were gutted, and the rigging of the ships in dry dock burnt.

— The closing meeting of the Conference on Sugar Bounties held at the Foreign Office, and the convention signed by all the plenipotentiaries excepting those of France, Sweden, and Denmark.

31. "County cricket," of which fifty-four matches were played, closed for the season, showing Surrey to be entitled to the first place, having won

twelve out of fourteen matches (one lost and one drawn). Kent followed next with seven victories, Yorkshire with six, and Gloucestershire five. Sussex only won one match out of twelve. Mr. W. G. Grace (Gloucestershire) made 902 runs in twenty-four innings (215 in one match), and Lohman (Surrey) took 142 wickets.

81. The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Eisteddfod, to be held at Wrexham, sent a request to Mr. Gladstone not to attend any public meeting there except those held in the Eisteddfod Pavilion, Mr. Gladstone having been announced as a speaker at a political meeting on the same day.

SEPTEMBER.

1. A serious earthquake, which was felt throughout both islands, occurred in New Zealand. At Christchurch the cathedral spire was damaged, and many other buildings. The shock was also severe at Nelson and Westport.

2. A disastrous fire broke out in Baltimore, by which seven large buildings were totally destroyed, and seven firemen killed by the falling ruins.

3. The twenty-first Trade Union Congress commenced its sittings at Bradford, Mr. George Shipton presiding.

— The Supreme Court of Victoria gave its decision in a test-case brought by a Chinese immigrant against the Government for damages for not allowing him to land in Victoria.

— Princess Sophie of Germany, daughter of Empress Frederick, formally betrothed at Potsdam to the Duke of Sparta, Crown Prince of Greece.

— The "Small Arms Committee" reported in favour of the "Lee" magazine rifle for use by the infantry of the British Army.

4. Mr. Gladstone at Wrexham attended the annual Eisteddfod and a meeting of Welsh Liberals. At the latter he reverted to the treatment of political prisoners in Naples, and raised a parallel between the measure of Home Rule accorded by Austria and England to other nationalities within their limits.

— Disastrous floods reported from various parts of Upper Austria and Bohemia, where bridges, buildings, and cattle were destroyed in large numbers.

— In a cyclone which passed over the island of Cuba a Spanish gunboat foundered, and nine persons, including the captain, were drowned. Fifty persons were killed at Sague; the village of Pueblo Nueva was totally destroyed; and in Porto Rico the rivers overflowed their banks, doing enormous damage to property, estimated at 200,000*l.*, and the loss of 147 lives.

5. The British Association met at Bath, and the inaugural address delivered by Sir Frederick Bramwell on the value of science to civil engineering and on the importance of the "next-to-nothings."

— A frightful accident occurred near Dijon, where an express train from Paris ran off the metals, and almost simultaneously the night mail from Italy crashed into the Paris train, killing eight passengers and injuring about forty more.

— The Senate at Washington vetoed by 32 votes to 0 on a Bill passed by the House of Representatives, making it illegal for Chinese labourers to

return to the United States after having left the country. The voting not showing a quorum, a call of the Senate was ordered.

6. A severe earthquake, accompanied by high wind and dust storms, occasioned much damage in the city of Mexico and in the province.

— Riots broke out at Canton on the arrival of news that the American Government had attempted to alter the immigration treaty originally agreed to. The house of the American Minister was attacked and its inmates threatened.

7. Rev. J. F. Jayne, vicar of Leeds, appointed Bishop of Chester, in succession to Dr. Stubbs, translated to Oxford.

— At Allasac, near Limoges, a serious affray took place between the troops and a number of navvies on strike. The navvies, about 500 in all, placed 40 women in their front rank and charged the soldiers, who fell back, and the navvies practically became master of the village. The news of their success having reached Limoges, about 1,000 men and 200 women assembled with the intention of destroying tools at various places along the line of works. Their route was, however, barred by cavalry, and after a series of skirmishes in which six women were wounded, the troops were withdrawn to avoid further bloodshed.

8. Another woman named Stevens found murdered and horribly mutilated in Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, within half a mile of the house where Nicholls had been found about a week previously.

— The Retaliation Bill passed the American House of Representatives by 174 to 4 votes, after a scene of uproar and confusion, in the course of which one speaker described England as "a cold, clammy devil-fish among the nations."

— A large portion of the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond, comprising the new pavilion and banqueting hall, destroyed by fire.

9. The Duke and Duchess Maximilian of Bavaria celebrated at the Tegernsee, near Munich, their "diamond" wedding, or fiftieth anniversary, at which all their children were present.

— Violent earthquake shocks felt at Vostitza, near Patras, in the Peloponnesus, causing great destruction of property and the loss of several lives.

10. At San Francisco two blocks of buildings in the main street destroyed by fire, including several foundries and factories, throwing upwards of 2,000 hands out of employ.

— The Engadine visited by heavy falls of rain, causing inundations in many places; the village of St. Moritz was almost completely under water, and landslips and falls of rock numerous.

11. The marriage of the Duke of Aosta with his niece, the Princess Marie Letitia Bonaparte, celebrated at Turin in the presence of the King of Italy and a large gathering of royal and noble personages. The city of Turin gave a splendid fête on the occasion, of which an historical cavalcade with tourneys and a fête of flowers were introduced.

— At Doncaster, the Great Yorkshire Handicap won by the Duke of Beaufort's Button Park, 5 yrs., 7 st. 8 lbs. (G. Barrett). Thirteen ran.

— The Prince of Wales, after spending a few days in Vienna, left for Hungary, to be present at the military manœuvres at Bellovar.

12. The river Adige, after inundating the Campo Trentino to the depth of three feet and doing almost incalculable damage to life and property, began to subside. Lustenau, in the Rhine Valley, was almost completely submerged.

— At Doncaster, the St. Leger Stakes won by Lord Calthorpe's filly *Sea Breeze* (W. Robinson), defeating the favourite (Ayrshire) and a field of sixteen starters. It was the fastest St. Leger on record, having been run in 8 min. 11½ secs.

— At the reception of the Croatian nobles and officials at Belovar the Emperor of Austria marked his displeasure of Bishop Strossmayer's attitude towards Russia by a public reprimand, and subsequently refused to receive his explanations.

13. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 3 to 4 per cent. in consequence of the sudden despatch of 600,000*l.* in bank notes to Russia, the reserve standing at 12,695,644*l.*, or 44 per cent. of the liabilities, and the total amount of coin and bullion at 20,769,584*l.*

— A collision took place in Port Luz (Grand Canary) between the Italian steamship *Sud America* and a French steamer *La France* as they were entering the harbour. Eighty-one passengers and six of the crew of the Italian ship were drowned.

14. The P. and O. steamship *Nepaul*, shortly after leaving Marseilles, struck upon the shelving rocks of Ratoneau Island. No lives were lost, but the captain, overcome by the shock, was seized in a fit and died instantaneously.

16. The Bulgarian Minister of Finance, M. Natchevitch, shot at and seriously wounded by a discharged official named Kisseleff at a railway station on the Rustchuk line.

— A young man named Charles Percy, attempting the shooting of Niagara Rapids in a small boat, was capsized after having got over about half a mile. He, however, succeeded in reaching the Devil's Point, three miles distant, by swimming, and was brought to shore, landed in safety, but terribly dashed about.

17. The Royal Commission on "Parnellism and Crime" met for the first time, under the presidency of Sir James Hannen, at the Law Courts, to hear applications by counsel, and to settle the general course of procedure.

— A serious fire broke out in the petroleum stores of Johnstone, Miller, & Co., at Cardiff, destroying quite an acre of warehouses and sheds, in addition to a neighbouring landing stage, two jetties, with their hoisting machinery on the banks of the river Ely.

— The Scotch express on the London and North-Western, whilst travelling at the rate of sixty miles an hour between Wigan and Warrington, nearly met with a serious accident owing to the breaking of the axle of a fish van. The two wheels when released rolled away clear of the train, and the van ran on for nearly a mile without leaving the lines.

18. Mr. Dillon, M.P., unconditionally released from Dundalk Gaol on the ground of ill-health.

— A military riot, in the course of which forty soldiers were more or less injured, broke out in the Royal Barracks, Dublin, among the men of the various regiments quartered there.

18. The Geological Congress, under the presidency of Professor Prestwich, opened in London.

19. Mr. Chamberlain addressed a crowded meeting at the Liberal Unionist Conference at Bradford, and dwelt on the causes of the rupture of the Liberal party.

— A "Beauty Show" (*concours de beauté*) opened at Spa, in Belgium. Out of 350 original competitors, only twenty appeared in the Exhibition Hall, the majority having been rejected by the Committee. The first prize was ultimately awarded to a French Creole from Guadeloupe.

20. A great fire broke out in Eagle Street, Brisbane, by which a number of warehouses, and property valued at 400,000*l.*, were destroyed.

— The Bishop of Southwark, in the absence of Cardinal Manning, opened a Roman Catholic College at Tooting.

21. The workmen on the Eifel Tower, building in Paris, after a short strike, returned to work on the understanding that their wages were to be raised in proportion with the height of the tower.

— Suakim regularly invested by the rebel dervishes, about 2,000 strong, who dug trenches, mounted guns, and threw shells into the town.

— A strict quarantine enforced against the towns along the Mississippi from Louisville to New Orleans, in consequence of the alarming spread of yellow fever in that district.

22. At Manchester, the Lancashire Plate of 11,000*l.*, the richest stakes ever run for, won by Lord Calthorpe's Sea Breeze, 9 yrs., 9 st. 9 lbs. (W. Robinson), defeating a field of twenty-four starters, and three-quarters of a length in advance of the second horse (Ayrshire). Length of course, seven furlongs; time, 1 min. 29.5 secs.

— The final match of the Australian cricketers resulted in the defeat of the Surrey (champion) eleven by thirty-four runs. The Australians during the season played forty matches, of which they won nineteen, lost seventeen, and four were drawn.

— The remains of the German composer Franz Schubert exhumed from the Währing Cemetery, where they had been buried in 1828, and transferred with much ceremony to the Vienna Central Cemetery.

24. The Thibet troops who were endeavouring to stop Colonel Graham's advance by the Jalapla Pass totally routed and their camp captured.

— The sale of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, containing extracts from the diary of the Emperor Frederick, stopped by the police, and the prosecution of the editor and of the writer of the articles announced.

25. News reached Berlin that a rising against the German immigrants had taken place all along that portion of the Zanzibar coast over which Germany had assumed a protectorate.

— A conference of the Liberal Unionists held at Nottingham, under the presidency of the Duke of St. Albans, at which Mr. Chamberlain was the chief speaker.

— The Supreme Court of Madrid confirmed on appeal the decision of a provincial tribunal condemning a Spanish Protestant to five days' imprisonment for remaining covered when meeting a religious procession.

27. A fire broke out in a wooden tenement building at Cronstadt, and spread so rapidly that sixteen inmates lost their lives.

— At the Rhode Island State Fair, in Narraganset Park, Mr. E. T. Davis and Miss Margaret Buckley were married in the Balloon "Commonwealth," by the Rev. E. D. Hall, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As soon as the ceremony was completed, the guy ropes were cut and the married pair sailed off. An hour later they descended in a cedar swamp, and were dragged for nearly two miles through the water, but were finally able to descend in safety.

29. Another revolutionary outbreak took place at Port-au-Prince (Hayti), in the course of which General Télémaque and 400 of his followers were killed whilst attacking the Palais National.

— The Aldgate Street Post Office entered by burglars, who carried off upwards of 50*l.* in coin, and stamps to the value of 350*l.*

80. Two more frightful murders—one accompanied by mutilation—perpetrated in Whitechapel, and in close proximity to the previous outrages. The victims in both cases were women. The murderer left no clue as to his identity, although the evidence showed that both murders, which took place within an hour of each other, were committed by the same person.

OCTOBER.

1. Mr. A. J. Balfour addressed a large meeting at Glasgow, and dealt with the various charges brought against his administration of the law in Ireland.

— Snow fell in various parts of Scotland and England, and throughout Europe the weather suddenly became cold.

2. The mangled remains of a woman, without head, arms, or legs, discovered by the workmen in the foundations of the new Metropolitan Police head-quarters in course of erection on the Thames Embankment.

— The Prince of Wales left Pesth for Hungary and Transylvania, intending to journey on to Roumania to enjoy bear-shooting and other sports in the forests of those countries.

— The Church Congress opened at Manchester, the presidential address being delivered by the Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Moorhouse).

3. The German Emperor arrived from Munich at Vienna, where he was received most enthusiastically by the people, and entertained with great splendour by the Austrian Court.

— The French Government issued a decree regulating the conditions under which foreigners would be allowed to reside in France, and imposing strict rules of registration.

— The amount of the "Parnell Fund" raised by voluntary subscriptions to meet the expenses incident on the proceedings before the Commission, stated to exceed 6,000*l.*

— The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 4 to 5 per cent. in anticipation of a drain of notes to Russia, and of bullion to South America. The reserve stood at 10,302,000*l.*, or only 33½ per cent. of the liabilities.

— Serious floods occurred in various parts of Switzerland and France,

the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Fribourg, and the country round Lyons and Annecy, suffering much damage. In many places the railways were either destroyed by landslips or rendered useless by being overflowed.

5. The expedition under General McQueen against the turbulent tribes of the Black Mountain on the North-West frontier of India succeeded in carrying the crest of the mountain after a sharp skirmish, in which the enemy were driven back at the point of the bayonet.

6. The Dundee Theatre Royal, originally erected in 1810, destroyed by fire shortly after the close of the performance. For some years it had been used as a music hall.

— The Nile, which had been exceptionally low throughout the summer, fell thirty inches during the week, a level lower than any recorded or remembered for more than 100 years.

— During the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of a Polish Cathedral Church at Reading, Pennsylvania, a platform fell in, injuring upwards of 100 persons: 23 fatally.

8. The Goldsmiths' Company announced its intention to purchase the buildings of the Royal Naval School at New Cross for a Technical and Recreative Institute, and to provide the necessary endowment for its maintenance. The value of the gift was estimated at 85,000*l*.

— The "Salt Union," a company with a capital of three millions, having for object the purchase of all salt mines and works in the United Kingdom, registered as a limited liability company.

9. At Newmarket the Cesarewitch Stakes won by M. P. Aumont's *Ténébreuse*, 4 yrs., 8 st. 12 lbs. (T. Cannon). Twenty-one started.

— The British Government paid a final instalment of 20,000*l*. to the owners, &c., of the steamship *Ville de Paris*, which was sunk by a collision with H.M.S. *Sultan* in the Tagus.

10. The Middle Park Plate won by the Duke of Portland's *Donovan*, 9 st. 3 lbs. (F. Barrett). Thirteen started.

— A terrible accident took place on the Lehigh Railway, Pennsylvania, by which several cars of a Catholic excursion train were wrecked. Fifty-seven persons were killed, and upwards of a hundred seriously injured.

— H.M.S. *Victory*, after an expenditure of 10,000*l*., pronounced water-tight, and replaced at her accustomed moorings in Portsmouth Harbour.

— The Czar and Czarina reached Tiflis, and commenced their projected tour in the Caucasus.

11. The Berlin semi-official newspapers gave notice that reproductions or translations of the Emperor Frederick's Diary, as published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, would render the publishers punishable by law. A complete translation was forthwith issued in England.

— The Champion Stakes at Newmarket won by Sir F. Johnstone's *Friar's Balsam*, 8 yrs., 8 st. 5 lbs. (G. Barrett), defeating the favourite, *Mr. Vyner's Minting* (5 yrs.), and four others.

— The German Emperor reached Rome, where he was most enthusiastically received by the populace, and with great state ceremonial by the King of Italy.

12. The German Emperor paid a state visit to the Pope, by whom he was received at the Vatican with marked honour. An absolutely private interview at which no one was present followed, lasting half an hour.

— At Quincy, Illinois, about 5,000 persons were assembled to witness the "Bombardment of London," as given by a travelling circus. The grand stand suddenly gave way, and upwards of 150 persons were injured, some seriously.

— Sir Morell Mackenzie's work on the last days of the Emperor Frederick appeared, charging the German doctors with ignorance and cruelty in their treatment of the patient. The German translation was at once seized by the police, and 98,000 copies confiscated.

13. The Winchester County Bench refused to convict, on the prosecution of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, four parishioners of Bishopstoke for nutting in the unenclosed woods of Fair Oak.

14. A bronze statue of Shakespeare, presented by Mr. William Knighton to the city of Paris, and erected in the Champs Elysées, unveiled with some ceremony, the French Academy, the Théâtre Français, and the Municipality being represented.

15. Hamburg, one of the oldest Hanseatic towns, ceased to be a free port and was incorporated in the Zollverein.

— The German Emperor, accompanied by the Italian Royal Family, started for Naples, where a most enthusiastic reception awaited them.

— Two youths, named Gower and Dobell, having confessed to an officer of the Salvation Army, were charged at Tunbridge Wells with the murder of an engineer named Laurence. They subsequently made a voluntary confession of a long string of crimes, including incendiarism, burglary, &c., of which the authors had remained undiscovered.

16. Two serious fires occurred in London, one in a lodging-house in Little Suffolk Street, Borough, where one person was burned to death and four seriously injured; and the other at the saw mills of Messrs. Esdaile, in the City Road, where a large quantity of property was destroyed.

— The statue of General Gordon, by Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, A.R.A., unveiled in Trafalgar Square by Mr. Plunket, Chief Commissioner of Works, in the presence of a few friends of the General.

— A large tank steamer, the *Ville de Calais*, employed in the petroleum trade, blew up in the Calais docks. Four persons were blown to atoms, and throughout the town the wreck of glass and breakable objects was almost universal.

18. A fire, which might have proved serious, was discovered at Dunraven Castle, Lady Dunraven's bedroom being found in flames when she retired to it. An alarm was quickly given, and the fire was soon extinguished.

— "Professor" Baldwin surpassed his previous performances by dropping from his balloon after it had attained a height of 9,100 feet. After a drop estimated at about three-quarters of a mile, his parachute opened and he alighted safely. The ascent occupied 1 min. 7 sec., the jump or drop 6½ sec. (estimated at 784 feet), and the descent after the parachute had opened 2 min. 24 sec.

— Dr. Tatham delivered the Harveian Oration at the Royal College of

Physicians, choosing for his subject "Micro-organisms, and their connection with diseases."

19. The German Emperor, having returned from Naples to Rome, brought his visit to the King of Italy to a close, and left for Germany, meeting an imposing popular demonstration in his honour along his line of route.

— The shield bearing the German arms affixed to the German Consulate at Havre removed and found in the gutter. The French authorities at once hastened to apologise for the insult.

20. Señor Canovas del Castillo and several members of the Conservative party made the objects of a hostile demonstration at Saragossa.

— A terrible railway accident happened to an excursion train returning from Naples filled with excursionists. Between Grassano and Taranto a huge block of earth fell from the side of the mountain a few seconds only before the train, running at full speed, dashed into the mass. Only two out of the fourteen coaches forming the train escaped, and nineteen persons were taken out dead and about fifty were more or less seriously injured.

22. Fires broke out simultaneously in five different spots at Fontainebleau, and in one case very serious damage was done.

— The first sitting of the Parnell Commission for regular business was held in the Probate Court of the Palace of Justice, when the Attorney-General opened the case for the *Times*.

— The Earl of Dufferin created, on his resignation of the Indian Viceroyalty, Marquess of Dufferin and Ava and Earl of Ava, the Indian title having been taken at the Queen's express wish.

23. Another fire broke out in one of the most crowded parts of the City, Redcross Street, in the warehouse of a brick and timber merchant. A large number of the surrounding buildings took fire, and upwards of fourteen houses in all were seriously damaged.

— The Cambridgeshire Stakes at Newmarket won by Mr. W. J. Leigh's Veracity, 4 yrs., 7 st. 4 lbs. (Calder), defeating the favourite and a field of nineteen starters.

— The steamship *Labrador*, which had left the Tyne in the middle of July, with the object of opening up the oversea trade with Siberia, returned to Newcastle; but having lost the best of the season in consequence of the delay in sending a shallow draught boat to replace the *Phoenix*, she was unable to get farther than Ugor or Petts Straits.

24. The Metropolitan of Servia issued, in answer to a petition from his Majesty, a decree dissolving the marriage between King Milan and Queen Nathalie of Servia.

— In consequence of the rise in the price of coals, a general demand was made by the miners for an average rise of 10 per cent. in their wages. In some districts this was conceded, but in South and Western Yorkshire and in Derbyshire, it being refused, about 30,000 men came out on strike. The colliery owners of the Midlands, not finding their action supported by the Lancashire and Northumberland masters, agreed to come to terms with their men, and work was resumed at an average rise of 5 per cent. on the previous rates.

A British Protectorate proclaimed over British North Borneo, Brunei,

and Sarawak, comprising a stretch of about 2,000 miles of coast and about 70,000 square miles of territory.

26. The polling at Merthyr Tydvil resulted in the election of Mr. Pritchard Morgan by 7,149 votes against 4,956 given to Mr. Ffoulkes Griffiths, the selected candidate of the Liberal Associations. Both candidates were supporters of Mr. Gladstone.

— Lord Sackville, the British Minister at Washington, having replied privately to a Mr. Murchison, of Pomona, California, asking for advice with reference to the approaching Presidential election, the reply was published, and at once drew forth a cry, especially from the Republican papers, that it was interference in the political affairs of the country.

— The Pope, in an interview accorded to the representative of the *Daily Telegraph*, expressed his dissatisfaction at the results of his interview with the German Emperor.

27. The German Emperor, on the reception of a congratulatory address from the municipal body, expressed in strong language his disapproval of the discussion of his private and family affairs by the Berlin Press.

— A collision occurred between the navvies of the Red River Railway and the *employés* of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in consequence of the attempt on the part of the former to lay a line across that of the Pacific Company, and by this means to obtain an access of their own to the United States railway system.

29. The town of Huenfeld, near Cassel (Hesse), almost entirely destroyed by fire; all the principal public buildings, except the churches, and more than 200 houses, having been reduced to ashes.

— The representatives of all the Powers met at the Porte and signed the Suez Canal Convention.

— The German Emperor, after laying the foundation of the building to commemorate the entrance of Hamburg into the Zollverein, left for Friedrichsruhe on a visit to Prince Bismarck.

— The Czar's train, whilst travelling between Taranovka and Borki in the Caucasus ran off the rails whilst passing through a deep gorge; several of the carriages followed and were completely wrecked, more than twenty persons being killed and many severely injured. Of the Imperial family, who were lunching at the time, none were seriously hurt, although the dining saloon was wrecked. The Czar was slightly injured on the foot, and the Czarina on the hand, but they were nevertheless able to assist the most severely wounded.

31. Mr. Vizetelly fined 100*l.* at the Central Criminal Court for publishing English translations of M. Zola's novels.

— A fire broke out at the Palace of the Quirinal in the furniture store, and at one time threatened to be serious. After an hour's exertions it was brought under control.

— Lord Sackville received his passports from Mr. Secretary Bayard, although previous intimation had been conveyed from Lord Salisbury to the Washington Government that the English Minister would at once return home on private business, and would not return to his post.

— The German Emperor laid the foundation stone of the new Imperial Law Courts at Leipzig in the presence of the King of Saxony.

NOVEMBER.

1. The municipal elections throughout the country showed a slight increase in the number of Liberal candidates returned. The principal gains of the Conservatives were at Birmingham, West Hartlepool, Leeds, Hereford, Derby, Bristol, and Northampton; and those of the Liberals at Guildford, Devonport, Plymouth, Bradford, and Nottingham.

— The Athens Exhibition opened in state by the King of the Hellenes, accompanied by the members of the royal family.

2. The Queen having conferred a knighthood upon the Lord Mayor (Alderman De Keyser), the members of the Common Council presented the Lady Mayoress with a diamond bracelet and earrings in recognition of her husband's mayoralty; and the members of his ward presented him with a full-length portrait of himself.

3. An explosion of fire-damp in the Campagnac coalfield of Aveyron occasioned the death of forty miners.

— About 8 p.m. tens of thousands of sheep folded in the district round Reading from Wallingford to Twyford were seized with sudden fright, and, jumping their hurdles, escaped in every direction, and were found by the shepherds on the following morning under hedges and in the roads panting and terror-stricken. No explanation was given beyond the suggestion of a slight earthquake which was not otherwise perceptible.

— Savernake House and Park, the seat of the Marquess of Ailesbury, sold for 700,000*l.* to Sir Edward Guinness, Bart., but difficulties subsequently arose in consequence of the trustees being unwilling to render themselves responsible for the investment of so large a sum, and the sale was dropped.

4. The Newcastle steamer *Saxmundham* run down by the Norwegian sailing ship *Nor* off St. Catherine's Point, in the English Channel. Both vessels almost immediately foundered, and, although some of the crew were rescued by the boats of the *Saxmundham*, twenty-two lives were lost.

5. Mr. Gladstone arrived at Birmingham, and was presented at the Town Hall with an address from the Liberal Association.

— At Brixham was laid the foundation stone of the pedestal of a statue of William of Orange on the 200th anniversary of his landing in Torbay.

— The Venerable G. H. Sumner appointed Bishop Suffragan of Guildford, in the diocese of Winchester.

— Durham College, for scientific training and technical education, opened at Newcastle-on-Tyne by the Princess Louise.

6. The election for the Presidency of the United States resulted in the return of General Harrison, the Republican candidate by 239 votes, against 162 given to President Cleveland (Democrat), who offered himself for a second term of office.

— Parliament reassembled after the adjournment. Previous to the commencement of public business, Lord Cranbrook unveiled in the central hall of the Houses of Parliament a statue of the Earl of Iddesleigh.

— The water reservoir at Montreux (Switzerland), for the service of the electric railway, burst without warning, sweeping away a number of houses and their sleeping occupants and interrupting the railway traffic. The accident was caused by the man in charge of the reservoir failing to hear through

the telephone the first two words of the message, "Ne mettez plus d'eau," and consequently turning on more water.

7. Two registry offices for men waiters in Paris simultaneously blown up by dynamite bombs. Great damage was done to the surrounding property, and several persons were slightly injured.

— The Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the administration of the Metropolitan Board of Works reported that with slight exceptions there was no evidence that corruption or malpractice affected the greater part of the Board's works.

— Mr. Gladstone brought his stay at Birmingham to a close by attending a meeting of the National Liberal Association in Bingley Hall, where he spoke for nearly two hours to an audience of upwards of 17,000 persons. He was most impressively received, and most enthusiastically welcomed by the audience.

8. Sir Charles Warren resigned the post of Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, to which he had been appointed in 1886.

— The Liverpool Autumn Cup won by Mr. W. Winn's Lady Rosebery, 3 yrs., 6 st. 3 lb. (W. Wood). Twelve started.

— Mr. Gladstone on leaving Birmingham travelled by train to West Bromwich, meeting with cordial receptions at the stations where the train stopped. At West Bromwich, having received several addresses and made reply, he drove through the "Black Country," by way of Swan Village, Bilston, Sedgely, to Womborne, receiving all along the route an enthusiastic ovation from the working classes who thronged the whole eleven miles of his route.

9. The usual procession of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to the Law Courts was shorn of much of its pageantry; but in place of the ordinary attractions 3,000 poor people were given dinner at the cost of the newly inducted officials.

— At the Guildhall banquet in the evening Lord Salisbury spoke chiefly on foreign politics, the state of which necessitated our keeping our forces in a state of preparedness.

— Another (the seventh) murder, accompanied by mutilation, perpetrated in Whitechapel, within a hundred yards of the scene of the murder of Mrs. Chapman. The victim in the present instance was a young woman named Mary Jane Kelly.

— A large portion of a block of buildings in Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, fell down whilst being rebuilt, and four workmen were killed, and seventeen others injured.

— Riotous demonstrations against Señor Canovas and the Conservatives took place in the streets of Madrid, students, working men, and the middle classes taking part.

— News reached Christiania that Mr. Sverdrup and Dr. Nansen had traversed Greenland from the east coast to Godthaab in the west, occupying forty-six days, on snow-shoes. The highest land traversed was about 10,000 feet above sea level.

— The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Athens, in answer to Queen Nathalie's appeal against the arbitrary sentence of divorce pronounced against her, replied through Archbishop Theodosius that they were unable to interfere with the decree of an independent Church.

12. The Queensland Government forwarded to the Colonial Office a strong protest against the appointment of Sir H. A. Blake to be Governor of that colony, and he was consequently transferred.'

— The Royal Society's medals of the year awarded as follows: The Copley medal to Professor Huxley, for his services to biology and morphology; the Rumford medal to Professor Tacchini, for his researches in solar physics; the Davy medal to Mr. Crookes, for his researches in electricity; the Royal medals to Baron Ferd. von Müller, an Australian botanist; and Professor Osborne Reynolds, of Owens College, for his researches in mathematical and experimental physics.

13. Mr. Douglas Pyne, M.P. for Waterford, whilst crossing from Dublin to Holyhead, either fell or jumped overboard and was drowned. Mr. Pyne was well known for his beleaguering in his castle for some weeks, and his subsequent escape from the besiegers and final arrest at the House of Commons.

— A serious explosion of fire-damp took place at Dour, in Belgium, by which twenty miners lost their lives.

14. The Pasteur Institution in Paris, for the treatment of hydrophobia, opened with great ceremony by the President of the Republic, attended by a large gathering of scientific men of all parties.

— Two men who had been in penal servitude since 1879 for a burglary and attempted murder at Edlingham Vicarage, Northumberland, unconditionally set at liberty. The accused (named Brannigan and Murphy) were convicted on unsupported circumstantial evidence. Two wholly unsuspected persons having at length avowed their guilt, the unfortunate prisoners were released after nine years' imprisonment.

15. In the French Chamber of Deputies, on the discussion whether certain members should attend at Nîmes to give evidence in a libel case on a member of their body, a stormy scene arose, and M. de Cassagnac received four challenges for language used in the course of the proceedings, and gave one.

— Winter set in severely in Eastern Europe. The Sea of Azof reported frozen over as far as Petruska and sixty-three grain vessels caught by the ice and detained. The Danube, as high up as Vienna, was filled with floating ice, and a man found frozen to death in the suburbs.

16. The election at Dewsbury, consequent on the retirement of Sir J. Simon (Gladstonian), resulted in the return of Mr. Mark Oldroyd (Gladstonian) by 6,071 votes, against 8,969 polled by Mr. Arnold Forster (Liberal Unionist).

— A gale of great violence swept over the North of England and portions of Scotland and Ireland. At Jarrow and Hebburn-on-Tyne many buildings were unroofed; a portion of the spire of St. Nicholas' Church, Durham, was blown away; the works on the Forth Bridge were seriously damaged, and many vessels were wrecked on the Irish and Scotch coasts.

17. Cardinal Lavigerie forwarded through Cardinal Manning, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the sum of 50,000 frs., out of the fund of 300,000 frs. given him by Pope Leo XIII. for his anti-slavery mission.

— An alarming fire broke out in the camp of the Viceroy of India at Patiala: his daughter Lady Helen Blackwood's tent was destroyed. The Viceroy was on his farewell tour through the North-West Provinces.

17. The physicians at Victoria, Vancouver's Island, took counsel with Sir Andrew Clark in London as to the condition and treatment of their patient, Lord Ennismore. The consultation lasted nearly three hours.

18. The Cunard steamer *Umbria* arrived at Queenstown from New York in six days three hours—the fastest passage on record.

— The Empress Frederick of Germany (Princess Royal of England) arrived at Port Victoria from Flushing, and was met by the Queen, who had arrived from Windsor, whither the royal party returned at once.

20. Mr. Gladstone's amendment on the motion for leave to bring in a bill to extend the "Ashbourne" Act defeated by 332 to 248.

— A gang of poachers, numbering forty, during the night came into collision with the keepers and watchmen on the Duke of Portland's preserves round Welbeck. In the course of the struggle nearly every poacher was injured. Eleven of the gang were ultimately secured.

21. A petroleum ship lying in Bathurst Basin, Bristol Docks, exploded, and seventy tons of naphtha took fire. Three men were burnt to death and a fourth escaped frightfully injured. The explosion blew in all the windows of the Bristol Hospital, besides scattering damage far and wide.

— A fire broke out at the Queen's Road Station, Peckham, on the L. B. & S. C. R., about 3 A.M., and the up main platform and all the offices on that side were destroyed.

— Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., fined 500*l.* for contempt of court in commenting in a very grave manner on the proceedings of the Parnell Commission.

— General Boulanger appeared before the Judicial Chambers of the Tribunal of Seine in answer to a summons from Madame Boulanger praying for a divorce.

22. The Emperor William opened the German Reichstag in the White Hall of the Royal Schloss, and in his speech expressed his hope for the maintenance of peace in Europe, and for co-operation with England in suppressing slavery in Central Africa.

— An American aeronaut named Vandegrift having ascended from Columbus, Ohio, in a balloon to a height of about half-a-mile, the balloon burst. With great presence of mind the man cut the cord of the parachute and tried to get clear of the rapidly falling balloon. After a few seconds the parachute was carried off by the wind and began to fall slowly, but unfortunately it fell on the swollen waters of the Chotahoochee River, and in spite of all efforts of the bystanders Vandegrift was swept away and drowned.

23. The Navy Estimates of the German Empire, presented to the Reichsrath, contained a demand for a vote for the building of twenty-eight new battle ships, to be charged in the ensuing five years' budgets :—

4 ironclads of the newest construction . . .	37,200,000 marks.
9 ironclads for coast defences . . .	31,500,000 „
7 protected cruiser corvettes . . .	38,500,000 „
4 unprotected cruisers . . .	6,400,000 „
2 despatch boats (<i>avisos</i>) . . .	2,000,000 „
2 torpedo-division boats . . .	— „
28 ships, costing 5,840,000 <i>l.</i> , or . . .	116,800,000 „

23. Rumours of an intended *coup d'état* against General Boulanger and his principal supporters sedulously circulated in Paris.

24. A storm, only second to the blizzard of the previous March, swept over the entire Atlantic seaboard of the United States. Railway and telegraphic communication were interrupted in many districts, and numerous wrecks occurred along the coast.

— The sculling race between Teemer and O'Connor took place on the Potomac River, near Washington, over a course of a mile and a half and return. O'Connor took the lead from start to finish, winning by ten lengths in 20 min. 38 sec.

26. An alleged outrage of the privilege of Parliament committed by a constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who from the Lobby sent for Mr. Sheehy, M.P., from the House, and when the latter came out the constable asked him to "step outside" in order to be served with a writ. Mr. Sheehy reported the matter to the House, and after a prolonged discussion a Committee of Inquiry was appointed and met at once.

— The London School Board election resulted in the return of thirty-two supporters and twenty-three opponents of the "Retrenchment" or old policy of the Board.

27. M. Wilson attended the Chamber of Deputies for the first time since his trial. His colleagues of all shades held aloof from him, and eventually one of them proposed the temporary suspension of the sitting, which was carried by a large majority. On the House resuming, M. Wilson was found at his place, and the business of the day proceeded.

— Mr. James Monro, C.B., formerly Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, and afterwards Assistant Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, appointed Chief Commissioner in succession to Sir Charles Warren, K.C.B., resigned.

28. The Straithes life-boat, stationed about ten miles north of Whitby, which had started to assist a number of fishermen caught in the storm, was capsized by a tremendous sea, but only one man out of the crew of thirteen was drowned.

— In the Italian Senate the motion for granting the suffrage to women, though opposed by the Premier, Signor Crispi, was only rejected by a small majority.

29. Mr. Gainsford-Bruce, Q.C. (C.), elected for the Holborn Division of Finsbury by 4,898 votes against Earl Compton (G.L.), who polled 3,488.

— General Sir Henry Norman, Governor of Jamaica, appointed Governor of Queensland in the place of Sir H. A. Blake, against whose nomination the colonists had raised a protest.

— In Devonshire and other parts of the country, owing to the extraordinary mildness of the season, wild strawberries, quite ripe, were being found in great profusion, whilst violets, primroses, and other spring flowers were plentiful in many districts.

30. Lord Salisbury attended a Conservative demonstration at Edinburgh. In his chief speech he urged upon his hearers that the question to be fought out in the future was how this country was to maintain its political and mercantile position among the nations of the earth.

— The inhabitants of the town of Karawassara, near Missolonghi,

anxious to testify their appreciation of a visit paid to them by the Empress of Austria, placed at her disposition a seat in the Greek Chamber of Deputies for their town which had just fallen vacant.

80. The Provost of Dundee received notice that the Queen had assented to the elevation of that borough to the rank of a city.

— Temple Bar, removed from Fleet Street, erected after a long delay at the entrance to the park at Theobalds, near Cheshunt, the seat of Sir Henry Meux.

DECEMBER.

1. George Littlewood, the English competitor, won the walking championship of the world and about 1,000*l.* in a six days' "go-as-you-please" contest at New York, in which he scored 623 miles 1,320 yards, or two miles more than the best record (Albert's), and finished, moreover, two hours before the appointed time (midnight).

2. The Baudin manifestation, including a procession from the Hôtel de Ville to the Cemetery of Montmartre, awaited by the French public with much anxiety, passed off without any breach of the peace. The students on the return of the procession raised anti-Boulangist cries, and a few scuffles ensued, which were promptly quelled by the police.

— The fortieth anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Francis Joseph celebrated with great loyalty and enthusiasm throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In accordance with the Emperor's wish all pompous festivities had been abandoned, and upwards of thirty millions of florins distributed amongst the poor of the Empire.

3. By order of the Queen in Council the town of Birmingham raised to the dignity of a city.

— The first annual congress of the "National Association for the Advancement of Art" met at Liverpool, and Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy, delivered the inaugural address on the Sense of Art amongst Englishmen.

4. In the House of Commons Lord R. Churchill moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the proposed despatch of an inadequate force to relieve Suakim. After a short debate, the Government having consented to await further information, the motion, which was supported by the Opposition, was rejected by 233 to 191 votes.

— At the first meeting of the new London School Board the Rev. Mr. Diggle was re-elected chairman, and Professor Gladstone, representing the minority, was elected vice-chairman in the place of Sir R. Temple.

5. At a General Assembly of the Royal Academy Mr. J. B. Burgess, Associate, was elected to be a Royal Academician.

— The blockade of the African coast by the united fleets of Germany, France, and England completed by the arrival of the Italian ship *Dogali*.

— According to a corroborative return issued by the Meteorological Department the day's mean temperature in London exceeded that of Naples by 5°, Monaco by 7°, Laghonat in Algeria by 9°, Constantinople by 11°.

Bordeaux by 12°, Marseilles by 14°, Rome by 16°, Madrid by 17°, and Paris by 19°.

5. The Hindoo Lingam god, which had belonged to Bad Shah Bahador Shah, the last King of Delhi, sold by auction at Messrs. Phillips's for 2,450*l*. The "god" consisted of a cat's-eye standing upright in a topaz, and mounted on a pyramidal base studded with diamonds and other precious stones.

6. The Committee of the National Rifle Association appointed to inquire into a site for the annual meetings in the place of Wimbledon recommended the selection of Brookwood, near Woking, as the most eligible spot, and offering more advantages than Compton Downs or Cannock Chase, the other sites suggested.

7. As the transfer boat *Maryland* was conveying part of the train from Washington to Boston, across the Hudson River, the ferry took fire, and all the cars were destroyed, but no lives were lost.

8. The Marquess of Lansdowne, the new Viceroy of India, arrived at Calcutta.

— At Birmingham, Alabama, U.S., a large body of the citizens repaired to the gaol, demanding that a suspected murderer therein be given up to them to be lynched. The governor refused, and the mob began to attack the prison, whereupon the officers were ordered to fire, and a Gatling gun was brought into position and about twenty of the mob were killed. The sheriff who ordered the men to fire was placed under arrest, and the town occupied for some days by the State Militia.

— Shobdon Hall, Herefordshire, the seat of Lord Bateman, narrowly escaped destruction by fire. Very considerable damage was, however, done to the building.

9. Captain Driant, General Boulanger's son-in-law, placed under arrest for thirty days for publishing, without permission, a pamphlet on military and political matters.

— General Cluseret, a prominent man in the Paris Commune, and for many years proscribed, elected as Deputy for the department of the Var.

10. The Lord Mayor received in private a deputation of six delegates of the unemployed classes, who demanded that the Government, the Corporation, and vestries should start useful works which would give continuous employment.

— In consequence of a reconnaissance of the Arab position round Suakim General Grenfell telegraphed to England for further reinforcements, which were ordered at once to be despatched from Cairo.

— At Hohenwerth, Bavaria, a young woman, Bertha Baumgarten, known as a lion tamer, was strangled and nearly torn to pieces by a Bengal tiger, which sprang upon her as she seemed to lose nerve and presence of mind.

11. Samuel Crowther, a bootmaker, aged 71, and a cripple, hanged at Worcester Gaol for the murder of John Willis under particularly brutal circumstances.

— A serious fire broke out in the pottery works of Messrs. Doulton, Lambeth, and one block of buildings containing the "handling room" and several kilns were destroyed.

11. Lord Hartington resigned his membership of the National Liberal Club in consequence of its growing identification with the policy of Mr. Gladstone.

12. Two American theatres, the Grand Opera House at Chicago and the Academy of Music at Oswego (where Mrs. Langtry was playing), partially destroyed by fire, but without loss of life in either case.

— Mr. John Morley addressed a meeting of the Finsbury Liberals, and gave the sketch of a policy which he hoped would bring back the metropolitan electors to the Liberal camp.

— The Emperor William decided to abandon criminal proceedings against the *Freisinnige Zeitung* for reprinting portions of the Diary of the Emperor Frederick.

13. The Prince of Wales replaced in the vault of St. George's Chapel containing the coffin of Charles I. certain relics which had been removed seventy-years previously, and had recently come into the Prince's possession.

— Osman Digna, commanding the Arabs besieging Suakim, communicated to General Grenfell a letter, stating that Emin Pasha and a white man had surrendered to the Mahdi. No direct news of the former nor of Mr. H. M. Stanley had been received for more than eighteen months.

— M. de Lesseps' attempt to issue a fresh series of 1,000,000 bonds, to "finish the Panama Canal," failed to attract subscribers for more than 200,000 bonds. The proposal was consequently withdrawn, and the Government having appointed a committee to administer the affairs of the company, M. de Lesseps resigned his dictatorship. Great anxiety prevailed as to the attitude of the shareholders who had supported the undertaking.

14. At Maidstone the vacancy caused by the death of Major Ross, Conservative, filled by Mr. F. W. Cornwallis (Conservative), who polled 2,050 votes against 1,865 given to Mr. J. Barker (Gladstonian).

— Application made to the judge of the Parnell Commission for attachments for contempt against Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., for comments in *United Ireland*, and against the Warden of Merton College, Oxford (Hon. George Brodrick), for a speech referring to Mr. Davitt.

— The ruined remains of Kirkstall Abbey, near Leeds, together with the Abbey-house and twelve acres of land, sold for 13,500*l.* to Colonel North and others, who intimated their intention of preserving the place for the public.

15. Mr. Gladstone drove by way of Whitechapel and Mile End Road to Limehouse Town Hall, where he addressed the Liberal electors on the political situation.

— The Bill brought in by the French Ministry to suspend for three months the payments for which the Panama Canal Company was legally liable rejected by a large majority.

17. Miss Chaddie Stirling, of the Salvation Army, released on bail, pending appeal, after fifty-nine days' imprisonment in the Château of Chillon.

18. The vacancy at Colchester caused by the death of Colonel Trotter (Conservative) filled by the election of Lord Brooke (Conservative) by 2,126 votes against 1,687 given to Sir Brampton Gurdon (Gladstonian Liberal).

18. The *London Gazette* contained the announcement of the resignations of the Prince of Wales as Captain-General, of the Duke of Portland as Lieut.-Colonel, and of the Adjutant of the Honourable Artillery Company. The guns and rifles of this most ancient body, dating from 1537, of Volunteers were summarily removed to the Tower of London.

— Lord Charles Beresford unveiled the memorial window erected in the Church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to the memory and in honour of Admiral Blake.

19. Mr. Gladstone, on leaving London for Naples, was received by a number of his friends and former colleagues at the Charing Cross station. Before leaving England he replied to an address from the unemployed, expressing sympathy with their position, but holding out no hopes of taking up their case in Parliament.

20. A woman strangled in Poplar by some one who had passed a cord round her neck and twisted it. She had belonged to the same class as the victims of the Whitechapel murders, and was recognised as having been intoxicated a short time before the discovery of her murder.

— The British and Egyptian troops, under General Grenfell, at Suakim made an attack on the Arab positions, which were carried after a short but determined resistance. The Arabs lost severely in the fight and subsequent pursuit. Only one English officer was wounded, and very few casualties occurred among either the native or British troops.

— At the Hants Assizes, Robert Husband, aged eleven, was tried for the murder of a child, aged eight years, but was acquitted; and on returning to his home in Havant was cordially welcomed by a large crowd.

— Lord Salisbury, at Scarborough, opened the new Constitutional Club and made a series of political speeches.

21. The election at Stockton-on-Tees resulted in the return of Sir Horace Davey (G.L.) by 3,889 votes against 3,494 given Mr. Wrightson (C.).

— The Prince of Wales unveiled the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, by Mr. Boehm, R.A., erected at Hyde Park Corner.

— News received from Stanley Falls that on August 25 Stanley was at Bonalya, on the Aruwimi, and had left Emin Pasha eighty-two days previously in perfect health.

22. The House of Commons, having completed its business about 5 P.M., the House of Lords assembled at 11 P.M. and passed the Appropriation Bill through all its stages.

— Mr. Gladstone arrived at Naples, where he was met by a public ovation from the students of the University, the Municipality, and English residents, many of whom accompanied him with torches on his ride to Posilippo.

— The Haytian Government, on the peremptory summons of the United States war vessels, delivered up the ship *American Republic*, detained by the authorities. The United States Government claimed in addition \$2,000,000 as an indemnity, which the Haytian Government promised to pay.

24. The third session of the twelfth Parliament prorogued by Royal Commission.

— The steamer *Kate Adams*, plying between Memphis and Arkansas

City, caught fire near Commerce (Missouri), and burnt so rapidly that out of a total of 200 persons on board upwards of thirty were burnt to death.

24. On the Mississippi, near Plaquemines (Louisiana), the steamer *John H. Hama*, laden with cotton, caught fire, and at least thirty passengers were burnt or drowned.

25. The Czar and the Pope, for the first time on record, interchanged Christmas greetings.

26. After preliminary meetings at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, the Indian Native Congress assembled at Allahabad. A hall capable of holding 8,000 people had been erected in the park, and over 1,000 delegates from all parts of India, including many Mohammedans, attended.

— The Belgian Senate adopted the Government Bill passed by the House of Representatives making the Flemish language obligatory in all legal proceedings in the Flemish provinces.

28. Prado, the man who, after a long trial, was found guilty of murdering his mistress and robbing her of her jewels and bonds, executed outside the prison of La Roquette, in Paris.

29. Monmouth and several places adjacent to the Wye visited by serious inundations, the river having overflowed in consequence of heavy rains.

— A boy named John Gill, aged nine years, who was missing for some days from his home near Bradford, Yorkshire, found horribly mutilated in a yard near his parents' house.

— A succession of earthquakes at San José (Costa Rica) destroyed a number of public buildings and caused the loss of eight lives.

31. London and the suburbs enveloped for the whole day in a dense fog; traffic was almost suspended in the streets and greatly impeded on the railways. By a collision on the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, near Loughborough Junction station, eleven persons were injured.

— The Knole, Boscombe, near Bournemouth, temporarily tenanted by the Austrian Ambassador (Count Deym), entered by burglars, who carried off jewellery to the value of nearly 4,000*l*.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1888.

LITERATURE.

THE most remarkable contribution to the histories of the year is the continuation of Professor Thorold Rogers's **History of Agriculture and Prices in England from 1259 to 1793** (Clarendon Press.) It is twenty-two years ago since Mr. Rogers issued the first volume of his great work, and even the fifth and sixth volumes do not bring the history to an end. They show all Professor Rogers's mastery of detail, and the same full knowledge of the political and social history of the times which they deal with; but now and then there occur polemical passages which show that Mr. Rogers the historian cannot always be dissociated from Mr. Rogers the politician. "It was," says Mr. Rogers, "the purpose of the magistrates to grind the wages of labour below the level of bare subsistence," but this is a statement which must be taken with modifications. Mr. Rogers condemns heartily the unjust labour laws, and also the errors of the English poor-law. The wage-tables quoted show that the wages of labour were at many times extremely low. Like their predecessors, these two volumes are full of information illustrative of the social conditions of life in England. Another useful book on economics is the first volume of Mr. W. J. Ashley's **English Economic History** (Rivingtons), none the less useful that it is so unpretentious in form and style. In this volume Mr. Ashley confines himself to the Middle Ages, and only covers the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century; but in the small space which he allows himself he is able to deal adequately with such difficult questions as the manorial system, and the rise and organisation of the merchant and craft guilds, and also with other and broader subjects, which he gathers together under the heading "Economical Theories and Legislation." Dr. J. F. Bright has so far completed his **History of England** (Rivingtons), with a volume covering the period of Queen Victoria's reign, and entitled the "Growth of Democracy." The first chapter deals with the ministry of Lord Melbourne, and after that Mr. Bright goes on to relate clearly and concisely the events of the ministries of Sir Robert Peel, of Lord John Russell, and of other political leaders, which follow. Of course Mr. Bright is obliged to touch on many matters political. He devotes a good deal of space to the history of Ireland, and has to review the political career of Palmerston, Gladstone, and Disraeli, but his statements are always cool and cautious, and as far as possible free from bias, even when dealing with such difficult questions as the Irish Land Act and the High Church movement.

As usual, the facts are to be depended on, and the style, if compressed, is readable. Another period of English history is comprised in Mr. Denton's book on **England in the 15th Century** (Bell), which is a study of the social and economic state of England throughout the later Middle Ages. Practically it is not limited to the 15th century. The first part is taken up with a long introduction, which sketches the progress of English civilisation down to the time of Edward I. and its subsequent decline, with judgment and fulness. Mr. Denton amply supports his statements with illustration, statistics, and quotations from legal authorities, but perhaps he a little overestimates the difficulties and poverty of the poorest class of Englishmen at that time. The series published by Messrs. Macmillan under the title of **Twelve English Statesmen** has added four useful books to English history. Mrs. J. R. Green has written a brilliant little monograph on **Henry II.**, distinguished by extraordinary width of knowledge and familiarity with the period. The chapter on the "Angevin Empire" is a masterly account of English foreign policy at the time, and the chapters on the "Government of Ireland" and the "First Reforms" deal ably with the social state of the country, and with Henry's first attempt to build up the great legal and judicial system to which he owes his fame. Mrs. Green deals equally fully with the Church struggle, with the conquest of Ireland, and with the behaviour of the Barons. Her aim all through is to show Henry as a statesman, and she has carried out her aim with singular success. Professor Creighton has contributed a volume on **Cardinal Wolsey**, which, after Mr. Brewer's work, cannot profess to be original, but which deals moderately and sufficiently with Wolsey's career, and estimates the greatness of his aims as a diplomatist, and which, while scarcely remarkable, gives the impression of being very fair. Mr. F. Harrison's **Oliver Cromwell** is perhaps more interesting, and, though it cannot give us much new knowledge, arranges and sifts existing knowledge well. Mr. Harrison has avoided the mistake which Carlyle made, of being misled by the Squire forgeries, and throughout he is in sympathy with his hero almost as much as Carlyle; while on controverted questions, like that of the alleged Irish massacre, he is temperate and judicial. Mr. Traill, too, has been not unsuccessful in dealing with **William III.** He also endeavours to lay stress on William's statesmanship, and he does so in vivid colours and with effect. Of course he has a good deal to do with Macaulay, and Macaulay's exaggerations he criticises freely. Mr. Traill's information cannot be expected to be new, and there are doubtless errors in it, but the summary of the concluding pages shows good judgment and taste. Another famous soldier of those days has had his life chronicled by Colonel Malleson. Messrs. Chapman and Hall have published a short biography of **Prince Eugene of Savoy**. Colonel Malleson is well qualified to be a judge of Eugene's soldiership, and the plans which are used to illustrate the military movements help to make civilians understand. The bulk of the volume is made up of the events of the War of the Spanish Succession, but three chapters are devoted to the campaign of 1716 against the Turks and to the latter years of Prince Eugene's life. The same period of history is dealt with in Colonel Parnell's **War of the Succession in Spain** (Bell), but Colonel Parnell confines himself to Spain. The events of the war in that country lack the interest which attaches to the exploits of Marlborough and Eugene, and although Mr. Parnell has in Peterborough a romantic hero of his own, he does not hesitate to condemn Peterborough heartily and to style him a "contemptible impostor." Possibly his bias against the English general is carried a little too far, but after

Peterborough's disappearance the value of the work rises, and the account of the siege of Gibraltar and of the fight off Malaga, as well as the useful appendix on the "Memoirs of Captain Carleton," are full of interest.

Frederick the Great (Longmans) was a greater soldier still, and needs more than one volume for his biography. Professor Tuttle, of Cornell University, has published two volumes which are designed to be the second and third in a series begun some time since by a work entitled the "History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great." "By themselves," says their author, "they form the first half of what it is hoped will be a complete account, descriptive and historical, of the reign of the third King of Prussia." Mr. Tuttle's faith in Carlyle has been shaken by Mr. Froude, and by his own residence in Berlin, and, moreover, he argues reasonably that a new literature on this subject has grown up since the days of Carlyle. The first volume includes the two Silesian wars, and the second contains a sketch of Prussian philosophers and Prussian diplomacy, and ends with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.

The History of Portugal (S. Low) also has been told this year by Mr. E. McMurdo. Mr. McMurdo claims to have written the first English History of Portugal, and acknowledges the debt which he owes to Miss Monterio, who has helped him in the work of translation from Portuguese records. The volume brings the history of Portugal from 1097 down to 1279, that is, down to the death of Alphonso, a date which the author regards as the "commencement of Portugal as a nation." Mr. McMurdo is, of course, chiefly occupied with the records of wars, alliances, and princes, but he devotes three chapters to considering the state of society and the growth of social and political freedom. Another peninsula has its historian this year in Mr. Evelyn Abbott, who has published the first part of a **History of Greece** (Rivingtons). In this volume Mr. Abbott is chiefly occupied with the beginnings of Greek history, with the evidence as to its earliest inhabitants, the immigrations and legendary history, the Homeric poems, and the birth of Sparta, of Athens, and of other famed Greek cities. But before he ends he brings his history down to the days of Solon, and of Pisistratus and Clisthenes, and devotes a chapter to the Greek settlements in the East. The series called **The Story of the Nations** (Fisher Unwin) includes this year the history of **Holland**, written by Prof. Thorold Rogers, pleasantly, but of course with no pretence to detail. The sketch is brief and clear, especially those parts which deal with the history of the House of Burgundy, the great struggle with Spain, and the relations and rivalries of Dutch and English trade in the 17th century. Mr. Gillman undertakes to tell the history of **The Saracens** from the earliest times down to the fall of Baghdad; but unfortunately he is not a specialist in oriental history, and though his book is careful and his list of authorities long, his work will not raise the series to which it belongs to a very high level of historical scholarship. Still it is brightly written. It contains a very full, perhaps too full, account of the life of Mohammed, and rather a hurried sketch of six centuries of the Khalifate. Still all the volumes in this series, if sketchy, are attractive, and the woodcuts are useful, but it is perhaps a little doubtful how far they will take rank with permanent histories. There are three books of local history to be mentioned, two of which belong to the series called **Historic Towns** (Longmans). Mr. Montagu Burrows writes about **The Cinque Ports**, and gives us a readable little book with useful maps. The interest of the Cinque Ports dates of course from early days, and to these early days the author rightly devotes the greater part of his book.

The decline of the Ports may be said to begin during the great French war. Mr. Cutts sketches the history of **Colchester**, and claims in doing so to have "made free use of every accessible source of information known" to him. Colchester was the earliest of the historic towns of England, and no less than seven chapters of the book are devoted to its history before Norman times. The twelfth chapter contains an interesting picture of the town about the year 1800. Colchester's share in history closes practically with the Civil Wars. Mr. Tomlinson's history of Doncaster, **Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the present Time** (Tomlinson), is a complete and scholarly work. The information as to Roman times is valuable and sufficient, but the importance of the book consists in the use which its author has made of the Corporation's account books and the extracts given from them, which throw a great deal of light on a variety of questions, and notably on the treatment of the wandering poor, on the performance of religious plays in churches in the 16th century, and on the glaring corruption of later days. When he comes to modern times, Mr. Tomlinson shows that he has not forgotten that to many ill-informed minds Doncaster is chiefly famous for its races. Scottish history is represented by the second volume of Mr. Skelton's work, **Maitland of Lethington** (Blackwood). The period covered is the period from the return of Murray in 1561 to the death of Maitland in 1578. The life of Maitland is thus completed, and Mr. Skelton reserves for a further volume the letters of his hero. The opening chapters, which deal chiefly with the relations subsisting between Maitland on the one hand, and Knox and Cecil on the other, are full of interest; and later on Mr. Skelton gives a full chapter to the difficult question of the casket letters, coming to the conclusion that the letters cannot be accepted as evidence by the historian. Maitland's death followed very rapidly after the death of the great Scotch preacher and the accession of his own bitter enemy, Morton, to power. The figure which is the heroine of Mr. Skelton's book reappears in Mr. Hossack's little volume upon **Mary Stewart** (Blackwood). This book, though left unfinished at the author's death, supplies a real want in the literature about the famous Scotch Queen. It professes to be "a brief statement of the principal charges which have been brought against her, together with answers to the same." Mr. Hossack sketches the general story of Mary's life, from her coming to Scotland to about the middle of her period of imprisonment in England. On all disputed points he appeals to the judgment and not to the sentiment of his readers. On one point, which is perhaps the most important—that of Mary's alleged complicity in the death of Darnley—Mr. Hossack has done a good deal to discredit the theory of Mary's guilt. Two remarkable women of a very different type have their biographies written this year in **The Eminent Women Series** (Allen). Miss Charlotte Yonge writes on **Hannah More**, and Mr. Ingram on **Elizabeth Barrett Browning**. Miss Yonge gives a pleasing account of her heroine, and especially of her poetry and literary life, but Miss Yonge is equally interesting when she comes to deal with Hannah More's opposition to the French Revolution, with the famous paper upon "Village Politics," which delighted the King and refuted Tom Paine, and with the "Cheap Repository Tracts" which followed. Mr. Ingram has endeavoured to dispose, in his heroine's favour, of the "mystery which," he says, "has hitherto shrouded her." He complains that more of Mrs. Browning's correspondence has not been published. The sketch of Mrs. Browning is a pleasant one, and an adequate critical estimate of her work, especially in the chapter on "**Aurora**

Leigh," is given. Yet another series for chronicling notable English people is the **Statesmen Series**, published by Messrs. Allen. To this six volumes have been contributed this year. Mr. Lloyd Sanders writes upon **Palmerston**, and gives a fair and not too partial estimate of the minister's foreign policy and of the character of the man, which makes one feel how much the methods and conduct of English Liberalism have changed in the last generation. Mr. F. C. Montague chronicles the life of **Peel**, and complains that his hero's speeches have never been properly collected, and that his memoirs are disappointing. The most precious of all authorities for Peel's life, his own letters, still remain unavailable for historical purposes. An English politician of an older date, **Bolingbroke**, finds a biographer in Mr. Arthur Hassall. Mr. Hassall's sketch is interesting and thorough, but he is not able to devote much space to Bolingbroke's philosophy, and of course, like all these other volumes, the history cannot be more than slight. Mr. Hassall gives something less than half his book to the most interesting period of Bolingbroke's life, the years of the reign of Queen Anne. Colonel Malletson writes on **Metternich**, and estimates very fairly the influence which the great diplomatist exercised in Europe for nearly fifty years. He is perhaps not wrong in describing Metternich as the despot who stepped into Napoleon's shoes, and who ruled Europe in Napoleon's place for three-and-thirty years.

Mr. Kebbel's life of **Beaconsfield** brings us nearer to political controversy. Mr. Kebbel's book only professes to be a sketch until the final narrative of his hero's life appears. It is, of course, a record of Disraeli's political character, and only one of the chapters is devoted to his literary achievements. In the midst of the controversy upon all Irish questions, Mr. J. A. Hamilton has contrived to write a life of **O'Connell** which is, on the whole, singularly fair, and which draws very vigorously the picture of the Irish leader. This little sketch is equally bright whether it deals with O'Connell's career as a famous counsel, or as a parliamentary tactician, or as an extra-parliamentary agitator. Another writer, Mr. Fitzpatrick, has edited the **Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell** (Murray). These two volumes show us a man of wonderful vigour, of large sympathies, of deep affection and religious feeling, and of a good deal of sense; but as letters they are not very remarkable, and taken alone, apart from O'Connell's wonderful vitality, eloquence, and physical gifts, they would never lead one to imagine that their author was such a striking figure among the men of his day. The letters deal very fully with O'Connell's life, and Mr. Fitzpatrick has allowed O'Connell to tell his own story as far as possible all through—from the early days when, living at a boarding-house in Chiswick, he kept terms at Lincoln's Inn, during the long stirring times of the Nationalist agitation which followed, and down to the last years of mental decline and bodily failure. They give abundant proof of O'Connell's humour and personal charm, of his effusive loyalty and of the disappointment and sadness of his later days. Of course Irish history is represented by other works besides these books about O'Connell. Mr. Pellew has written a book called **In Castle and Cabin** (Putnam), which has the rare merit of drawing no conclusions, and desiring to serve no side. It is simply a record of the opinions, hopes, stories and fears of a great number of officials, landlords, agents, farmers, priests, tradesmen, labourers, lawyers and others, whom he met and talked with during a four months' tour in Ireland in 1887. Mr. Pellew went armed with introductions to Home Rulers and Unionists alike; he is an American, he visited

both camps freely, and he tells concisely, and without gloss or varnish, what he heard.

In the life of **John Mitchell** (Kegan Paul) Mr. William Dillon has written what he conceives to be the life of the "most gifted Irishman of his generation." Even if we take another view, we shall admit that the book is full of interest. John Mitchell is famous as being the greatest Irish irreconcilable of the century. Born in 1815, the son of a Scotch Presbyterian minister, he became a banker's clerk in Derry and an attorney at Banbridge, and gradually a prominent revolutionist. He was among the keenest supporters of the *Nation*, and of the "Young Ireland" party which it represented. In 1848 he started the *United Irishman*. All other work had been abandoned for journalism and politics. Mr. Dillon tells well the story of Mitchell's trial, and of the events which lead up to it, and makes a good use of his hero's gaol-journal and letters, but the whole story, and especially that part of it which relates to Mitchell's later years in America, and his return to Ireland in 1875 and fruitless election for Tipperary, leave one with the conclusion that Mitchell's life was little else than a failure. Mr. J. T. Ball's book on **Irish Legislative Systems** (Longmans) endeavours to supply a narrative which shall trace the succession of legislative systems operative in Ireland, and their peculiarities prior to the parliamentary union with Great Britain. Its chief interest perhaps will be found in the chapters which deal with the Irish Parliament from the year 1780 down to the time of the Union. Two chapters at the end are given to reviewing the debates on the Union in the Irish Parliament. But the most important contribution to Irish history this year has been a book edited by Mr. James Bryce, and entitled **Two Centuries of Irish History** (Kegan Paul). The volume contains contributions from several authors. The history of Ireland from the treaty of Limerick down to the establishment of legislative independence is dealt with by Dr. Sullivan; thence to the Union by Mr. Sigerson; thence down to the insurrectionary movement of 1848 by Lord E. Fitzmaurice and Mr. Thursfield; and the last chapter is by Mr. G. P. MacDonnell. Each writer is alone responsible for his facts and for the views which he puts forth. The writers are all well informed and their work thoroughly good; but, unfortunately, the result of compressing five separate essays into one volume has been that the sense of a consecutive whole is lost, and that each part is too much condensed to give opportunities for detailed historical research. Mr. Bryce's introduction is perhaps the most interesting and brilliant part of the book, and forms a sixth essay by itself. Still, although the parts are rather disconnected, there is ample information, and good information too, on many little-known points of Irish history.

Another book bearing on political topics is Colonel Maurice's review of **The Balance of Military Power in Europe** (Blackwood). The author reviews in turn the strength of the different Powers, comparing Russia and England, then Germany, France and Belgium, then Germany, Russia and Austria, and then Italy and Turkey. He lays stress on the necessity, the paramount necessity in the case of England, of having the national forces ready for instant action; urges the adequate garrisoning of harbours, of ports, and coaling stations; and insists that the forces sent out from England should be complete little armies by themselves. To some extent the book is controversial, and an answer to Sir Charles Dilke, who in the opposite opinion underestimates England's "amphibious strength." Sir Charles's book on **The British Army** (Chapman & Hall) is a book of larger propor-

tions, and perhaps generally of more solid qualities. The author has given utterance to the vague feeling of anxiety existing about our national armaments. He points out in an introductory chapter that we have neither true localisation nor a real system of reserves, that our army is behind the armies of other great Powers in equipment and incapable of rapid mobilisation, and that our fleet is not strong enough for the innumerable duties which in the event of war it would have to perform. Sir Charles Dilke points out our failings ruthlessly, but in other parts, especially in the chapter on "Practical Approximations to the Ideal," he suggests ways of remedying the faults that exist. The minimum of what we ought to have is, in his view, power to defend ourselves in India, to protect our coaling stations, and, if wanted, to send two army corps abroad for the purposes of any expedition that may be desired. A book which is partly history is **The Coming of the Great Queen** (Harrison), by which name Major E. C. Browne relates the recent acquisition of Burmah. The first eighty-three pages of the book comprise a sketch of Burmese history from early times down to about twenty years ago, which is not perhaps of original value; but the rest of the volume, which comprises the author's personal experiences, and which includes the proceedings which led to the annexation, and some interesting passages on the Burmese women and the chances of trade, is of more importance. The results of another annexation, or of something very like it, will be found in Canon Isaac Taylor's book, called **Leaves from an Egyptian Note Book** (Kegan Paul). Perhaps the author is inclined to overestimate the merits of the Egyptians. One feels that there is rather too much enthusiasm about it. But, allowing for that, the account of Egyptian life is full of interest, especially the chapter on polygamy, the passages which deal with the author's views of Islamism as a religion, and those parts in which we find the Egyptians admitting that the results of British occupation have so far been beneficial to themselves.

The **Dictionary of National Biography** (Smith & Elder) takes us on from history to biography, four volumes—from the 13th to the 16th—having again appeared this year. These volumes end the letter C, begin and finish the letter D, and open the letter E with accounts of Eadmer, Edric, and other Saxon celebrities. Among the most important articles are those on Darwin, Defoe and De Quincey, on Dickens, and on Dryden—all by Mr. Leslie Stephen; articles on the two Cromwells—Oliver and Thomas—by Mr. Firth and Mr. J. Gairdner respectively; articles on Cranmer, on Sir Humphry Davy, on Drake, on Disraeli, and on Croker, and many other papers on the Douglasses and Dundases, and others less famed than they. The life of a man who did a good deal to make English history will be found in Mr. Hugh Elliot's book on **The Earl of Godolphin** (Longmans). It is a work based on careful examination of unpublished documents, and this new material Mr. Elliot has used with judgment. Godolphin certainly deserves to be remembered among the memorable figures of the reign of Anne, although he was no orator, and was never so brilliant as to startle the world. Moreover, Godolphin's fame really consists in his singular financial ability, which he used in supplying the sinews of war for Marlborough's ruinous and triumphant campaigns. People, in admiration of the soldier's victories abroad, have forgotten the statesman who quietly provided the funds at home. "Patient, industrious, clear-headed, and prudent, he rose to eminence," says Mr. Elliot, "by the resolute exercise of qualities which are uncommon, and which are in fact possessed by few." Another important biography of an English statesman is Mr. Lane-Poole's **Life of Stratford-Canning** (Long-

mans). The greater part of the first volume consists of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's memoirs, but these memoirs are helped out and elucidated by a good many letters and by a great deal of admirable matter that is Mr. Poole's. Next to these memoirs, Mr. Poole has relied mostly on his hero's correspondence with the Foreign Secretary, including private letters as well as official despatches; and other valuable sources of information have been found in the instructions written by Lord Stratford for the Dragomans at Constantinople, together with their replies, in his correspondence with his colleagues and friends, and in personal reminiscences of the great Elchi, contributed by such men as Mr. Kinglake, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Mr. Gladstone. The first volume, which closes with the settlement of the Greek question, ends the first period of Lord Stratford's life. The second volume deals with the more momentous, and perhaps more famous episodes in his history, and its central incident is, of course, the Crimean War. When nearly eighty, the veteran diplomatist began to write his autobiography, and after an interruption resumed it at the age of ninety-two. A very different type of English politician is dealt with in Mr. Fitzgerald's *Life of Wilkes* (Ward & Downey). The two volumes are intended to be eulogistic, but it seems very doubtful how far Mr. Fitzgerald has made adequate use of the sources of information at his disposal. An endeavour has been made to make the volumes piquant, and sometimes this is furthered by the introduction of allusions to contemporary politics, which do not, however, enhance the historical value of the book. The first volume deals with the earlier portion of Wilkes's career, and touches on the well-known questions of the "General Warrant" and the "Essay on Woman." It ends with Wilkes's imprisonment. The second volume deals with the parliamentary and constitutional struggle and the days of Wilkes's civic greatness, but it cannot be said that Mr. Fitzgerald has contributed much to the history of the times.

Among the biographies of more recent notabilities, first in interest this year is the *Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster* (Chapman & Hall). Mr. Wemyss Reid has done his task well, often with great judgment, and always with very keen sympathy. The first volume deals, of course, with the earlier period of Mr. Forster's life, and is full of passages of interest relating both to his career as a boy, his business life as a young man, his political and religious work, and also to lighter matters, such as his visit to Paris in 1848, and his criticisms of contemporary writers and statesmen, especially of Carlyle and Mr. Gladstone. Beyond that also, during the whole time that he is dealing with Mr. Forster's life as a politician, and with his great work when in the service of the Liberal party, and with his action in the first Gladstonian Ministry, notably, of course, in framing the Education Act of 1870, Mr. Reid is at his best, and no one could do the work better; but after 1880 he enters on a period that is full of controversy as yet unsettled, and often bitter, and consequently after that year the biography assumes, almost necessarily, very much the tone of a political pamphlet written in defence of the man who played so marked a part in those difficult times. Another book about Gordon has been published this year, viz. his *Letters to His Sister* (Macmillan). The correspondence is of a private, often of an intimate nature, much of it taken up with the expression of religious opinion, and it reveals its author in the same kindly, fine light in which he already stands before the public view. There is also a good deal in the letters about political and military matters dealing with various parts of Gordon's career, several passages touching on the Soudan and on Gordon's views about the slave trade. But only some eight pages bear upon the history

of the last months at Khartoum, and the contents of those pages add little or nothing to the knowledge contained in the public journals. On the whole, it cannot be said that this volume gives us much fresh information as to its subject.

The **Correspondence of Henry Taylor** (Longmans), which Professor Dowden has edited, forms a valuable supplement to what we already know of Sir Henry Taylor. It carries the reader almost down to the time of the writer's death, and shows that up to the last he was in close touch with old friends and old interests. The letters, however, go over very much the same period as that which has been already covered by the autobiography; some two-thirds of them are written by Taylor himself, and a good many of the remainder are written by such intimate friends as Sir James Stephen, Mr. Aubrey de Vere, and Miss Fenwick, and by even more famous personages, such as Lord Grey, Tennyson, Wordsworth, and Macaulay. Another charming book of letters is that which contains the **Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir W. Temple** (Griffith & Farran). These have been very well edited by Mr. E. A. Parry, and produced in a volume, which, for style and finish, is all that can be desired. The letters are written between the years 1652-54, and cease a year before their author's marriage with Sir William Temple. The years were mainly spent by Dorothy Osborne in her father's country-house in Bedfordshire, but notwithstanding she shows herself full of interest in the politics and literary movements of the time. Her family was Royalist, but Henry Cromwell was among her suitors. One only wishes one had the answers to the letters too, and generally that other young ladies would write such pleasant love-letters to-day. A pleasant book of **Reminiscences** (Kegan Paul) has been written by Mr. **Rogers**, whom all the world knows to be the Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. Mr. Rogers tells very briskly the events of his life, of his early years in the Church as curate at Fulham, and as incumbent in the dreary, miserable parish of St. Thomas, Charterhouse—a living with a miserable income, in a neighbourhood with a population composed almost entirely of costermongers. From this Mr. Rogers passes on to tell, always with the same cheerful, racy good humour, of his efforts as an educationist down in the heart of London, and of the success of his schools. Mr. Rogers shows himself able to tell stories in print as well as he does in private. The **Autobiography of Mr. W. P. Frith**, of which an additional volume has been published (Bentley), continues to be a readable book. There are plenty of fresh stories about Mr. Frith's friends, sitters, and patrons, about artists and the Academy, and about well-known persons of every kind. Mr. Frith has also a good deal to say of interest with regard to the Presidents of the Academy, including Sir Charles Eastlake and Sir Frederick Leighton; but, as a whole, the volume is not equal to its predecessors. Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft's **On and Off the Stage** (Bentley) is another book full of stories and full of entertaining gossip. Perhaps the most interesting parts of it are Mrs. Bancroft's reminiscences as to her early life and her experiences as an infant prodigy. Mr. Bancroft's career before his marriage is more prosaic. After the date of the marriage the book is written chiefly by Mr. Bancroft, subject to constant interpolations by Mrs. Bancroft. The method is interesting from a matrimonial point of view, but rather confusing to the reader. Of course a good deal is said about Mrs. Bancroft's early triumphs at the Strand Theatre, but most of the book is devoted to the chronicle of the management of the Prince of Wales's from 1865 to 1879; and, after all, these are the years when Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft most strongly established their claim to popular favour. If one may pass from

actors to professors, there are two or three books about professors to be chronicled. First of all there is Mrs. Oliphant's **Life of John Tulloch** (Blackwood). The authoress has done much to present in a very pleasant shape a career which is, in its incidents, often devoid of public interest. Professor Tulloch, however, was a man of a great variety of gifts and of very wide sympathies, as the excellent quotations from his diaries and letters show. Mrs. Oliphant does not attempt to express very clearly the theological views of the Principal, perhaps realising that the Principal himself was never very explicit on that point. The book helps one to realise that a theological scholarship in Scotland is not always a lucrative appointment, and it may have been this fact which partly induced Principal Tulloch to engage in an attempt, which did not turn out very fortunate, to revise and edit *Fraser's Magazine*. The life owes a good deal to the grace with which Mrs. Oliphant tells it. Mr. Knight's account of **Principal Shairp** (Murray) has a career not very dissimilar for its subject. Mr. Knight has tried to make Principal Shairp speak for himself, and has helped this out by collecting reminiscences from some of those friends who knew him best. The result, however, is scarcely very happy, for it produces a want of order in the arrangement. The sketch of Shairp's life as a boy at Glasgow University, later on at Balliol, and at Rugby, and later still in his post of Professor of Latin at St. Andrew's, has many passages of interest. His work at St. Andrew's, combined as it was with the pleasant professorship of poetry at Oxford, seems admirably to have suited the man. A very charming little memoir of another Scotch professor will be found prefixed to the two volumes entitled **Papers on Fleeming Jenkin** (Longmans). Mr. Louis Stevenson has written about his friend with all his own singular grace, not fearing to paint the man as he was, with his foibles, and even with his faults, and yet all the while making one love him the more for them. The papers contain a good many chapters of vigorous and often masterly criticism, especially on Mrs. Siddons and other dramatic subjects, and other essays on scientific and economical topics. The chapter on Trade-Unions and on Technical Education perhaps show the writer at his best. In the same way, the **Works of T. H. Green** (Longmans) have been edited by Mr. R. L. Nettleship. These three volumes are a collection of manuscript and lecture notes left by Professor Green, together with scattered writings already printed, and so much of memoir as the events of the Professor's life allowed. This work, carefully and admirably accomplished, has now been completed, and the picture it gives of Mr. Green's mind, especially of his deep interest in philosophy and of his sense of what philosophy meant, and of its importance and value to men, is one of very great interest to all who have admitted Mr. Green's singular ability and followed Mr. Green's views. One little essay 'On the Force of Circumstances,' written when Green was only twenty-two, shows perhaps more than any other part of his writings how soon he became absorbed in those doctrines to the spreading of which he devoted his life. Other Oxford figures of an older date will be found in the **Lives of Twelve Good Men** (Murray), which Dean Burgon wrote just before his death. These volumes are best when they speak of men whom their author personally knew, and the sketches they contain are vigorous and fresh. The longest biography is that of H. J. Rose, the standard-bearer of the Tractarian movement, but it is not the most interesting. Those of Dr. Routh, the centenary President of Magdalen, and of Provost Hawkins of Oriel are perhaps the two best; the others deal with such men as Charles Marriott, once vicar of St. Mary's, Samuel Wilberforce, Richard Greswell, Provost Cotton of

Worcester, Dean Mansel of St. Paul's, Coxe, the Bodleian Librarian, Bishop Jacobson, Eden, and Charles Higgins.

A very different biography is that of **Sir Richard F. Burton** (Sampson Low). Mr. Hitchman, with the help of Lady Burton and of his hero's diaries, has done justice to his subject. Born in 1821, Sir Richard Burton has had a restless and remarkable career. He has been a traveller all his life from boyhood, and since 1842 he has been a member of the Indian army. It is about the year 1850, or a little later, that his brilliant career as a traveller and explorer begins. The chapters which deal with his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and his tours in Western Africa, America, Syria and Iceland, are well written, so also is the account of his expedition with Speke, and of his later achievements when in the consular service. **The Life of Major-General Sir C. Macgregor** (Blackwood) has been edited by his widow, and that, too, has a good deal to do with India and with travel. As in duty bound, Lady Macgregor has begun her book with an account of the Clan Macgregor, but very soon after that she plunges into history, and the first volume deals with the Sepoy revolt of 1856-57, with the Indian mutiny which followed, and with campaigns in China, India, and Abyssinia. The greater part of the second volume is taken up with matters relating to Afghan policy and Afghan wars, and both are full of instances of the vigour, ability, and gallantry of their hero. Another Indian soldier's life is that of **Reynell Taylor** (Kegan Paul). Reynell Taylor was one of the men whom Henry Lawrence selected for the work of civilising the Punjab. His soldier's life began in 1848, when he was only twenty-one, in India. Later on he exchanged the work of fighting for that of political organisation, and from that time forward he became enrolled among Henry Lawrence's subalterns. From that time the record is full of missions and expeditions. During the mutiny, Taylor was Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, and in 1862 he was removed to Peshawur as Commissioner. Thenceforward the best of his energies were devoted to the service of the Punjab. In February 1886 Taylor followed his old friend Lord Lawrence to the grave. **The Personal Memoirs of General Sheridan** (Chatto & Windus) is a big book, and treats of a more famous soldier than either of the two Indian officers just mentioned. General Sheridan's mounted troops are connected with many famous episodes in the great American Civil War, and to him and his vigour in command was largely due the success of the Federal cavalry. Not the least interesting part of the book for European readers is General Sheridan's account and criticism of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, of which he was to a large extent an eye-witness. To a military student the book will be full of interest.

Four books have been contributed to the series **Great Writers** (Scott). Mr. Austin Dobson has written a life of **Goldsmith**. He gives a well-arranged narrative of Goldsmith's life and much good criticism on Goldsmith's literary work. The years 1757 to 1774 were the busiest years of Goldsmith's life, and he got through a great deal of work in those years. Mr. Dobson's estimate of the "Deserted Village" and of Goldsmith's poetry generally, his criticisms of Goldsmith's essays, of the comedies "She Stoops to Conquer" and the "Good-natured Man," and his remarks upon the "Vicar of Wakefield," are throughout satisfactory criticism. Mr. Kebbel tells the life of **Crabbe**, and appreciates the distinct literary position of his hero. Some of Mr. Kebbel's criticisms, notably those on Cowper, may call for dissent, but, generally speaking, his monograph is worthy of the subject. Mr. Gosse writes about **Congreve**, and finds it difficult to give a very clear

picture of the man's life. His criticism of the plays, however, if sometimes too favourable, is sympathetic, though the comparison with Molière will be thought perhaps a little strained. Mr. Hanney's life of **Smollett** is fully up to the level of the rest of the series. His knowledge of the time and the care with which he has studied the subject have made his monograph really valuable. Perhaps, though it seems ungrateful to say so, it is a little overweighted with knowledge and facts. Mr. Allardyce has edited, in two handsome volumes, the letters of **Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe** (Blackwood). As in all biographies of Scotchmen, there is a good deal of pedigree, but it is Sharpe's life in Edinburgh, where for many years he lived, quietly devoting himself to literature, and regarded by many as the Scottish Walpole, which forms the interest of the book. Among his correspondents was Lady Charlotte Bury, herself an authoress, and among his friends, whom he knew at Oxford, was Walter Scott, whose *Border Minstrelsy* he afterwards compiled. The **Life of Lord Westbury** (Bentley) is a more important biography. Mr. Nash, the writer, though not personally a friend of Lord Westbury's, knows many who were, and has had access to family papers and information. On the whole the book is impartial, if apologetic. Of Lord Westbury's private life there is not much, perhaps because there was not much, to tell; the bulk of the book is, of course, composed of the Chancellor's legal career, of his rapid rise at the Bar, of his parliamentary successes and encounters with Mr. Gladstone, and of his conduct and celebrity as a Judge.

Passing to another learned profession, we have the life of **Christopher Wordsworth** (Rivingtons). Miss Wordsworth has combined to write this with Canon Overton, and the life is an interesting one. For fifty years Bishop Wordsworth threw himself into almost every theological controversy which agitated the English Church. The early years of the Bishop are illustrated briefly from his mother's letters and the recollections of his contemporaries at Winchester. A good account is given of his brilliant career at Trinity College, Cambridge, of the travels which followed, and of his administration at Harrow, which began in 1836. Every one knows that Bishop Wordsworth was not a success at Harrow, and in 1844 he accepted a canonry at Westminster. From that time forward he devoted himself actively to the interests of theology and of the Church. We have a picture of his life at Westminster, and as a country clergyman afterwards at Stamford, and after that again the history of his episcopacy at Lincoln. As a personal portrait the Bishop's figure is very well drawn. The life of another Bishop is told in Sir G. Cox's **Life of John William Colenso** (Ridgway). Unfortunately the biography is a little ponderous, but it does justice to the missionary work of the Bishop of Natal, to his celebrated theological criticism, which drew down upon him such severe charges of heresy, and to the exertions on behalf of native tribes and individuals—the most famous of whom was Cetewayo—which distinguished the latter part of his career. Mr. Grier has written a memoir of **John Allen** (Rivingtons), who was for some time vicar of Prees and Archdeacon of Shropshire, which will interest a good many people. Archdeacon Allen's life at Cambridge is rendered remarkable by his intimacy with Thackeray, which has led some to think that he served as the original of Major Dobbin. From Cambridge he passed to the work of school inspection, and thence to parochial and ecclesiastical labours. There is a good deal about Archdeacon Allen's views on theological and social questions and something about his relations with public men. But the book is well done.

Three little books have been contributed to the series called **Epochs of**

Church History (Longmans). One treats of England and the English Church in the Middle Ages. It is intended to illustrate the relations of the English Church with the Papacy, and with the English State down to the time of Wyclif. Mr. William Hunt is the author, and it is an interesting little book and well written. It covers, perhaps, the most interesting period in the history of the English Church. Another of these volumes, written by Ugo Balzani, is devoted to the struggles between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen. Of course the work is confined within a small compass, and only purposes to be a general sketch of the history. In a larger work the author hopes to deal with the period in more detail. Another volume contains the history of Cambridge University, written by Mr. J. B. Mullinger. The author is a lecturer in history at St. John's College, Cambridge, and qualified to deal with his subject adequately and sympathetically. Mr. Mullinger is also the author of a larger history of the University down to the times of Charles I., but does not disdain to touch on such incidental topics as the architectural development of Cambridge. Mr. Gore has written a book called **The Church and the Ministry** (Rivingtons), which is more properly theological. It professes to be "an apology for the principle of the Apostolic Succession." Mr. Gore has endeavoured to make good, by inquiry and argument, illustrated from the Fathers and early theologians, the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, and then to trace the extent to which, in Church history, this doctrine has been adopted and acted on. Of course the book is full of quotations from ancient authors, and is confined to the early period of Church history, but its aims are not entirely archæological.

The Bibbert Lectures for 1886 (Williams & Norgate) have been published after some delay. Professor Rhys has endeavoured in these lectures to trace the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by Celtic heathendom, and he pleads that such a study has required a great deal of time and research. The first lecture deals with the Gaulish religion, and after that the author goes on to speak of the religion of the Celts of Britain and Ireland. On the great problem of Druidism, Professor Rhys has not any very adequate suggestion to give us. Perhaps the most interesting lectures are the third and fourth, which deal with the matter of the Culture Hero of the Celts. Among the sermons published this year, prominent in interest are, of course, **Canon Liddon's Advent Sermons** (Rivingtons.) These two volumes are "devoted to the two great truths which the Church of Christ proposes for our consideration during Advent—our Lord's first coming among men . . . and His second coming . . . to judge the living and the dead." There is no attempt to arrange the sermons on any other principle than that of the order in which they were preached, but, of course, they are full often of striking eloquence. Mr. E. C. Hawkins, the vicar of St. Bride's, in Fleet Street, has also published a volume of sermons. They are called **Spirit and Form** (Longmans), and are written from a very different standpoint from Canon Liddon's. Many, however, will prefer the tone and position adopted by Mr. Hawkins, while they will find little to choose in the clear ability with which both positions are maintained. **Some Urgent Questions in Christian Lights** (Rivingtons) is a selection from Sunday afternoon lectures given at St. Philip's, Regent Street, by men like Dr. Jessop, Dr. Percival, Mr. Harry Jones, Mr. Barnett, and others. Those on "The New Theology," by Mr. Hawkins, on "Positivism," by Mr. Page Roberts, and on "Christian Citizenship" and on "The Place of Woman in the Work of the World" are, perhaps, among the most striking. All the lectures are distinguished by width of tone, and some

by even higher qualities. In this connection we may mention, perhaps, although it is totally different in every way, Mr. Laurence Oliphant's **Scientific Religion** (Blackwood); a larger title which Mr. Oliphant gives his work is "the higher possibilities of life and practice through the operation of natural forces." The present book is practically a supplement to a previous volume called "Symprenta," and it tries to give to the peculiar tenets put forth in that volume a setting of traditional doctrine and of more or less scientific phraseology. Mr. Oliphant believes that the "religion of the future will be founded on personal revelation and personal experience." He realises that the true worth of religion consists in its capacity to organise human life on a better and higher scheme than heretofore. Among books of more general miscellaneous interest there is a volume called **Partial Portraits** (Macmillan), by Henry James. Mr. James's book is mainly eulogistic, but it gives a pleasant picture, if a transitory one, of many notable literary figures, among others, of Mr. R. L. Stevenson, of Eugène de Maupassant, of Ivan Tourguenief, of Emerson, of Alphonse Daudet, and others. Mr. James is, as usual, analytical, and writes brightly, and his portraits are drawings which are well worth looking at for a time. **The Badminton Library** has this year produced volumes upon **Cricket** and upon **Boating** (Longmans). The volume on boating is written by Mr. Woodgate, and the Head Master at Eton has written a chapter about rowing at Eton. The volume on Cricket is edited by Mr. A. G. Steel and Mr. R. H. Lyttelton, names which in themselves say all that is needed to the cricketer's mind. Moreover, there are contributions in it from Mr. A. Lang, Mr. W. G. Grace, and others. Mr. Besant's **Fifty Years Ago** (Chatto & Windus) is a pleasant book, which, perhaps, will not live long, but it is readable while it exists. It professes to be a picture of life, manners, and events as they were fifty years ago; but it is rather a bundle of scraps, and though it touches on many interesting subjects, such as the "journals of 1837," and has to do with many eminent folks, such as the "wits" of that day, Mr. Besant is not always very accurate in what he has to say. Two or three books which are about foreign countries, and which are not exactly books of travel, may be mentioned here. One of them is a charming volume called **Child Life in Japan** (Griffith & Farran). This is a picture-book, and nothing else, and often a nonsense picture-book too. A good account of the pictures accompanies them in the text. **Ex Voto** (Trübner) is a little book, written by Mr. Samuel Butler, about the Sacro Monte, or New Jerusalem, at Varallo-Sesia. More properly, perhaps, this book ought to be mentioned among the books which deal with art, for art is of course its subject. Mr. Butler confines himself, however, to considering the most remarkable features of the Sacro Monte as it exists at present, and hopes thereby to stimulate further study on the part of others. The book is well supplied with illustrations. Another book on an artistic subject is the **Handbook on the Italian Schools in the Dresden Gallery** (Allen). The title, which is a long one, sufficiently describes what the book professes to be. It is a useful and complete catalogue, with illustrations, and does not try to be more. Mrs. Oliphant's **Makers of Venice** (Macmillan) is a more important book, and equally full of interest to all those who wish to visit the art-treasures of Italy. It is part history, part description, and part criticism too. The first part of the book gives an account of the famous Venetian doges, the second portion treats of such picturesque figures as Marco Polo and Carmagnola, the third portion is devoted to a description of the Venetian School of Painting, and the last part of the book is taken up with a history of the men of letters whom Venice

has produced. All those who know Mrs. Oliphant will know that it is sure to be a charming book. Three other volumes of miscellaneous interest we must mention here before we go on to speak of the books of travel. One of these is a great big volume, giving in splendid style, and on very large pages, an account of the **Orders of Chivalry** (Allen). It is distinguished by profuse illustrations, and compiled by Mr. Lawrence Archer. Another book, nearly as large, and perhaps equally confined in its interest, is the **Bibliography of Egypt and the Soudan** (Trübner). This volume, compiled by Prince Ibrahim-Hilmy, comprises a catalogue of the printed books, periodical writings, papers of learned societies, and other publications and documents bearing on the subject, from the earliest times to the year 1885. Last of these three books, and very much superior in value, is the first volume of the **New English Dictionary** (Clarendon Press), which has been completed this year, and which has been published together with the beginning of Volume II. The first volume is a large quarto of over 1,200 pages, but its size is not unwieldy, its appearance is handsome, and its interior is full of learning.

Among the books of travel this year, one of the most interesting is Professor Drummond's account of **Tropical Africa** (Hodder & Stoughton). It is a vivid picture of the country it deals with. Professor Drummond followed in the footsteps of Livingstone up the Shire to Lake Nyassa, and, generally speaking, the region which he traversed is a region made known to us by English missionaries in the past. Of description, and of good description, there is naturally much, and the author has something worth hearing to say about the possibilities of developing the trade of Central Africa and of the character of the inhabitants. For naturalists, the most interesting part of the book will be the chapters on the white ant. **The Long White Mountain** (Longmans) relates the story of an expedition into a less known country. But Mr. James's work is not only a book of travel; half of it is made up by an account of the history and customs of Manchuria, the Chinese dependency which he visited, and it is only the latter half of his book which he devotes to describing his travels to Mukden, the capital, through the towns of Sansing and Ninguta and Kirin, and above all to the Long White Mountain, with its romantic pool upon the summit. Perhaps the book is rather overweighted with researches, but the chapters on the people and on the administration of the country are good. Mr. E. W. Payton's travels **Round about New Zealand** (Chapman & Hall) are the "result of a diary kept during three or four years of wandering in New Zealand," and consequently show a more adequate knowledge of the country he speaks of than is always the case with travellers' books. The author started from Melbourne early in 1888, and gradually visited all the towns and chief places and even the outlying parts of the country. He describes them and their people, their ceremonies and sports, and comments on their prospects pleasantly enough. Moreover, he throws in sufficient historical information to make one feel that one is getting instruction as well as being amused. In Mr. Peyton's book illustrations are an acceptable incident, but in the large volume which Sir R. Temple has called **Palestine Illustrated** (Allen) they form the leading feature. The purpose of the book is to reproduce some thirty-two oil paintings of scenes in the Holy Land, representing such places as Ajalon, Gethsemane, Bethlehem, Jacob's Well, Mizpah, and other scenes very familiar in Bible history. A record of the author's journey, explaining the coloured illustrations, accompanies the sketches. Many of the pictures are attractive, but it is difficult to reproduce them and their colours satisfactorily in print. A different part of the world

is described in Mr. W. A. Paton's voyage **Down the Islands** (Kegan Paul), and it is pleasant to find in it a more cheerful view of the West Indies than we have had in travellers' books of late. Mr. Paton left New York at very short notice to journey among the Caribbees, and he tells with spirit and skill how he visited the various islands, St. Kitts, Antigua, Dominica, Martinique, Barbadoes, Granada, and others too, now and then mingling just sufficient history with his tales and descriptions, and helping the story out with good illustrations from time to time. The same country fills a part of Mr. Gifford Palgrave's book of travels called **Ulysses** (Macmillan), which is as full of interest as its author's name would lead one to expect. Mr. Palgrave begins with an account of some parts of the Turkish Empire, and laments the decay of the old landmarks in these lands. On Georgia he has some curious notes to give us as to the state of the country, both in the present and in the past, and thence he passes to the West Indies, to the Philippines, and to other lands, including Japan, China, and Paraguay. Of all the places visited, Mr. Palgrave liked the Philippines and their people best. Western China and the prospects of its commerce form the subject of a volume which its author, Mr. A. J. Little, has entitled **Through the Yangtse Gorges** (Sampson Low). The writer's object is to urge the feasibility of opening up to steamers the reaches of the river between Tchang in Hupeh and Chungking, the commercial capital of Szech'uen. Mr. Little's description of the rapids and whirlpools of the river rather make one wonder how this is to be done. The account of the great river, its dangers and its vagaries, is vigorously given, and the information in the book is generally entertaining and of interest.

At the head of the works of science published this year stands Professor Prestwich's great treatise upon **Geology, Chemical, Physical, and Stratigraphical** (Clarendon Press). It is a thorough and brilliant digest of the many facts and theories which are included in the term "geology," distinguished by marked moderation of view and skilful weighing of rival opinions. The author's purpose is generally to interpret most of the received facts of geology according to the views of the non-uniformitarian school, without adopting an extreme position in any way. The first volume treats of matters chemical and physical, the second of matters stratigraphical and physical, and in the second volume most space is given to the consideration of the tertiary and quaternary group of the sedimentary series. The volumes are admirable in finish and style, while the plates of fossils contributed by Miss G. Woodward, and the numerous and excellent maps and woodcuts, make the work singularly complete. A much humbler but a pleasant little book is Mr. T. F. Thistleton Dyer's **Folklore of Plants** (Chatto & Windus). It is a summary of the folklore which "has clustered round the vegetable kingdom," and has some charming chapters, which it needs no science to appreciate, on plants in witchcraft and in fairy lore, on the meaning of the names of plants and their language, and on the numerous customs and traditions and romances which have grown up about them. A book more strictly scientific is Mr. Grant Allen's theory of dynamics, which he sets forth under the title of **Force and Energy** (Longmans). Mr. Grant Allen apologises at some length for the heretical nature of his theory, and offers it only as a suggestion. The treatise is the outcome of a good deal of previous speculation and thought about the subject, and Mr. Allen's theory has already been embodied in outline in Mr. Clodd's work, which is referred to below. Mr. Allen separates the abstract or analytical part of his treatise from what he calls the "concrete or synthetic;" but all through he is endeavouring to express the 'fundamental

dynamical constitution of the universe as it envisages itself to a particular inquirer." Mr. Clodd's volume, **The Story of Creation** (Longmans), without being in any way a work of great scientific value, is a fairly useful manual of evolution for the world at large. In the first part the writer describes shortly the solar system, the geological formation of the earth, and the other phenomena of the visible universe. In the second part he sets forth the theories which explain the growth and origin of these phenomena, with some of the proofs on which they are based. The concluding chapter is devoted to a discussion of "social evolution." Miss Cobbe's little volume on **The Scientific Spirit of the Age** (Smith & Elder) belongs to no department of science, but is a collection of some half-dozen papers and essays which it is quite worth most people's while to read. Miss Cobbe lifts her voice to plead against the scientific spirit carried too far; she urges us, not without eloquence, to educate our emotions; and in other papers she discusses with a good deal of originality the power of development latent in the Jewish faith, and the relative inconveniences of living in and out of town. But a much more important book, which may perhaps be mentioned here, is Mr. T. Case's **Physical Realism** (Longmans), which is the work of a scholar who knows how to think. Physical Realism Mr. Case describes as "an analytical philosophy from the physical objects of science to the physical data of sense." He divides his book into two parts. The first is headed "General Proof of Physical Realism," and contains an able chapter on "Idealism and Realism." The second part is headed "Physiological Idealism," and treats successively of Descartes, of Locke, of Berkeley and his theory of vision, of Hume, and of Kant. Whatever his views may be, Mr. Case writes with frequent good sense.

In the field of art Mr. P. Hamerton has written a pleasant book upon **Imagination in Landscape Painting** (Seeley). He begins by inquiring whether the landscape-painter's imagination is really of a special kind, and that question he answers in the negative. Imagination in this respect he considers to involve, first, the power of recalling images of absent things, then the power of representing such images in painting, and, lastly, that of grouping or composing them into pictorial wholes; and in explaining his view Mr. Hamerton is clear and bright. Other considerations of a kindred nature, such as an inquiry into the effect of the imagination on our impressions of landscape and similar topics, carry the discussion on. It is good writing, and the illustrations are equal to the theories put forth. In his **Memoir of Peter de Wint** (Macmillan) Mr. Armstrong gives a pleasant narrative of the vicissitudes of the painter's life—based, so far as its private portions go, directly on memorials contributed by the painter's grand-daughter—and a very appreciative estimate of his art. Mr. Armstrong places De Wint with Constable and David Cox, a judgment which other critics may dispute, and on other points of criticism it is open to the world to take another view than his; but where the story of De Wint's life is in question, his early struggles and imprudent marriage, and his subsequent fame and prosperity in Gower Street, all will agree that Mr. Armstrong's narrative is a pleasant one to read. The illustrations are good, if a little awkward in shape. **The Inns of Old Southwark** (Longmans) is a charming book to dip into, both as regards Mr. P. Norman's pictures and as regards Mr. W. Rendle's letterpress. There is a good deal of historical interest and of out-of-the-way local tradition and general knowledge scattered through the text. Lady Dilke's book on **Art in the Modern State** (Chapman & Hall) is of a different sort. It is confined to

France, and its object is to help the reader to understand the "various conditions of life in France during the 'Grand Siècle,'" because it is only by understanding the social polity in France in the seventeenth century that, in Lady Dilke's view, it is possible to understand that period of European art. In pursuance of this view Lady Dilke begins her book by explaining the system of Richelieu and Colbert, and it is only after this preparation that we are led on to the history of the royal academies of architecture and of painting and sculpture, and gradually to the art of Le Brun and of Puget and of Jacques Callot, of the Gobelins and the Savonnerie.

This is the age of writers of graceful verse, and there are several little volumes of this class to be mentioned. Sir Edwin Arnold has published a volume of **Selected Poems** (Trübner), from which he has excluded all his poems which are Oriental in subject. Some of these, indeed, on Havelock, and others, are distinctly "national" in character. Among the longer pieces, the "Lament of Adonis," the "Feast of Belshazzar"—might not some call this almost Oriental?—and the "Wreck of the *Northern Belle*" are perhaps most noteworthy. Miss M. Veley's **Poems** (Smith & Elder) form a pleasant little volume, rather mournful in tone, and are introduced by a preface by Mr. Leslie Stephen. The chief poem in the book, the "Marriage of Shadows," is a little unreal and bewildering; but others, such as the "Japanese Fan," the "Dream of Life and Death," the "Level Land," and, above all, the concluding poem, "One of the Multitude," are full of sweetness and pathos. Another lady, Miss Mary Robinson, has written a volume of **Songs, Ballads, and a Garden Play** (Fisher Unwin), which is often strong. The three poems, "Tuberoses," have a note of "high seriousness" in them, and there is real melody in the chant entitled "Antiphon to the Holy Spirit," which closes the series of "Songs of the Inner Life." But the "romantic ballads" are the best part of Miss Robinson's work, and the spirit and charm of some of these poems, and especially of those entitled "The King of Hungary's Daughter" and "The Tower of St. Maur," deserve no little praise. Mr. Rennell Rodd has published some more verses in a little book called **The Unknown Madonna and other Poems** (Stott), which, if often slight, have the tones of a real poet in them. The most ambitious piece, perhaps, though not the most successful, is the poem, "In Excelsis," but the verses on "October" are much better. Mr. Stopford Brooke's new volume of **Poems** (Macmillan) contains a great variety of poems in many different styles. "Six Days" is an original idea, and "Amy's Tale" and "The Lioness" are two other prominent poems in the book. But some of Mr. Brooke's lyrics contain often his most attractive work. Lastly, there are two volumes of poetry to be mentioned, by singers who, if we cannot call them Englishmen, we claim as kinsmen: **Before the Curfew** (Sampson Low), by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and **Heartsease and Rue** (Macmillan), by Mr. Russell Lowell. In Dr. Holmes's poems one cannot but notice constantly recurring the thought of the closing day, but, though now and then, as in the "Lyre of Anacreon," there is a touch of sadness, the tone of the book is contented and even joyous throughout. "The Old Tune" is a tune of the happiness of life, and even in the prefatory poem, "At My Fireside," though the feeling is subdued, there is no complaint or fret. Mr. Lowell's book opens with a threnody called "Agassiz," which has in it passages of great beauty. Many others are full of grace and feeling, and, even if there be none among them that is great, on the other hand there is none that does not share in the delicacy and sweetness of all Mr. Lowell's verse.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

I. THE FINE ARTS.

The National Gallery.—Although the regular grant for the purchase of pictures (5,000*l.*) has been suspended since 1885, the Treasury, under public and Parliamentary pressure, consented to the insertion of 1,224*l.* in the estimates of the year, and this sum was considerably exceeded. The principal acquisitions were "The Massacre of the Innocents," by G. Mocetto (860*l.*); "Christ Preaching in the Temple," by P. Campana (250*l.*); "Stirling Castle," by A. Nasmyth (126*l.*); "A Portrait of a Gentleman," Dutch School (50*l.*); and "The Card Players," by Nicolas Maas (1,875*l.*). By means of the bequests of which the Trustees of the National Gallery have the disposal, the collection was further enriched by the purchase (Clarke Bequest) of a "Lady's Portrait," by Van der Helst, from Colonel Everitt's sale, having been previously in the Fonthill Collection. Three landscapes by J. Constable were bequeathed by the artist's daughter; and a "Man's Portrait," by Franz Hals, a fruit-piece by F. Puyders, and three views of Hyde Park by James Holland, were received from the executrix of the late Mr. Decimus Burton. A portrait of Charles Dickens, by Maclise, was bequeathed by Sir Edward Jodrell, Bart.; and that of Endymion Porter, by W. Dobson, was purchased from the Clarke Bequest.

The question of adding three or four new rooms to accommodate future acquisitions was recognised as urgent by those who took an intelligent interest in the National Gallery. It was urged by these that any return to the former crowded state of the rooms would be little short of a scandal, and that it was of greater importance to provide wall space in view of purchases and bequests than to expend money on alterations of the external façade and elevation, although these had been the subjects of hostile criticism from many quarters, especially from Sir F. Leighton, in his address to the Art Congress held at Liverpool. The question of the amalgamation of the various Art institutions receiving Government grants under one administration was brought forward in the House of Commons (July 9) by Mr. Addison, but the First Lord of the Treasury held out no hope that any such centralisation was practicable.

The National Portrait Gallery.—No steps were taken by the Government during the year to obtain a grant from Parliament for the erection of a suitable gallery. A strongly worded memorial, signed by a large number of persons prominent in art, literature, science, and public life, was presented to the First Lord of the Treasury, urging the claims of the Gallery to a permanent home. Nothing followed, however, on Mr. W. H. Smith's promise to give the matter his earnest consideration. The pictures consequently still remain at the Bethnal Green Museum, altogether out of the reach of those who hitherto have displayed the greatest interest in the collection, and altogether inaccessible to students of history, and others, by whom the opportunities offered by the National Portrait Gallery have been

greatly appreciated since its formation in 1854. The Director and Keeper, Mr. George Scharf, C.B., discovered during the preparation of a new and much enlarged edition of the catalogue that two important portraits had hitherto been incorrectly described. That purchased in 1860 from Mr. Fraser Tytler as a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots is now recognised by Mr. Scharf to be that of her mother, Mary of Lorraine; whilst the portrait hitherto known as that of Sir Randolph Crewe he has now identified as Sir John Bramston, an eminent judge, and painted by Daniel Mytens. The pictures purchased during the year included portraits of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, by Michael Dahl (99*l.* 15*s.*); Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, by H. Howard, R.A. (50*l.* 8*s.*); General Sir Hope Grant, by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A. (150*l.*)

Among the pictures presented and bequeathed were portraits of the Marquess of Carmarthen, by G. Knapton (Lord Chichester); Warren Hastings, by A. W. Devis (Secretary of State for India); Thomas Cheesman, by F. Bartolozzi, R.A. (T. Humphry Ward); G. H. Harlow, by J. Jackson, R.A. (G. Harlow White); Sir Thomas Malet, unknown (Miss Gerard); Adelaide Anne Procter, by Mrs. E. G. Richards (Mrs. Procter); Henry Grattan, by Francis Wheatley, R.A. (executors of Doyne C. Bell); and a copy by L. Acquareone of Guzzardi's portrait of Lord Nelson, in the Imperial Treasury at Constantinople, presented by His Majesty the Sultan—the only case in which the copy of an original picture has been accepted. Mr. J. E. Boehm, R.A., also presented a number of busts, modelled by himself, including those of Charles Darwin, Lord Lawrence, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and a marble bust of Bryan W. Procter (Barry Cornwall), by J. H. Foley, R.A., was bequeathed by Mrs. Procter.

Since the removal of the collection to the Bethnal Green Museum in 1885, on the understanding that the loan was a temporary one, the Trustees have retained at their offices the various acquisitions made in the interval, and it is obvious that this exercise of their undoubted rights renders the necessity of a proper gallery for the entire series of national portraits more than ever imperative.

The British Museum.—In the course of the year Mr. Maunde Thompson, Keeper of the King's Library, was promoted to be Secretary and Principal Librarian on the resignation of Mr. Bond on account of ill-health. The total amount provided by Parliament for the maintenance of this institution showed but little change from previous years, although the sums set apart for purchasers were increased to 17,300*l.* on an aggregate expenditure of 116,000*l.* Two new galleries were opened to the public out of the funds bequeathed by the late Mr. William White. A temporary exhibition of the Chinese and Japanese paintings collected by Mr. William Anderson was arranged in one room, and in the other the Slade Bequest, consisting chiefly of glass, and the very fine collection of Rhodian, Persian, and other potteries brought together under the direction of Mr. Franks, found a place, and were made available for the public. A large number of acquisitions by purchase and presentation were made by the Department of Prints and Drawings. It is not possible to give any detailed list of the various purchases made during the year, but the following are amongst the principal additions to the different departments of the British Museum:—Bronze swords, armlets, &c. (collection of), 160*l.*; a bronze "ciste" decorated with two subjects in incised lines, 280*l.*; a collection of drawings and sketches by John Flaxman, 250*l.*; an Arab instrument for calculating nativities (date 1241), 210*l.*; a collection of Assyrian and Babylonian

tablets, 148*l.* 13*s.*; 40 coins from the Holy Land, 108*l.*; 2 hieroglyphic papyri and wooden figure, 165*l.*; 192 tablets (obtained by Mr. Budge), 115*l.*; 248 tablets (obtained by Mr. Budge), 184*l.*; 84 tablets and 5 cylinders (obtained by Mr. Budge), 80*l.*; 84 tablets, 80*l.*; a collection of part books of musical works, 16th and 17th cent., 90*l.*; a collection of etchings, Modern Belgian School, 108*l.*; 20 Greek coins, 100*l.*; a collection of Greek coins, 127*l.* 8*s.*; marble statue of Diana, 420*l.*; fragment of meteorite, 73*l.*; a collection of mammalian and other remains (1,108 specimens), 309*l.* 13*s.*; 131 fossil specimens, 100*l.*; 485 skins of humming birds, 133*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; an antique Hittite bowl, 100*l.*; collection of charters and rolls of Ramsey Abbey, 200*l.*; two meteorites, 220*l.*; glyptodon and carapace (fossil remains), 200*l.*; a collection of Greek papyri, 650*l.*; papyrus containing fragments of the "Iliad," 850*l.*; a collection of zoological specimens, 140*l.* 5*s.*; a collection of cuneiform tablets found in Upper Egypt, 512*l.*; a Biblical index to the Fathers (16 vols.), 200*l.*; a bronze mirror-case (Greek), 200*l.*; a selection consisting of 844 Oriental coins, 2,539*l.*

South Kensington Museum.—The total amount provided by the State for the various services administered by or in connection with the Science and Art Department fell very little short of half a million sterling. Nearly one half of this sum (213,000*l.*) was voted to meet the increasing requirements of the Schools of Science and Art, the former receiving 89,500*l.* and the latter 38,500*l.* for national scholarships, payments for results, prizes, in addition to a further sum of 10,000*l.* for local exhibitions, scholarships, &c. The amount provided for purchases for the science collections was 2,000*l.*, and for works of art 7,000*l.*, whilst 2,500*l.* was allowed for the reproduction of works of art, 1,000*l.* for completing the historical collections of paintings, and 2,500*l.* for the Art Library. Amongst the art acquisitions of the year, which testify to the zeal of the Art Director to raise the standard of metal work in this country, may be mentioned: 37 pieces of wrought iron, 148*l.*; 3 suits of armour, 240*l.*; a collection of mourning rings, brooches, &c., 367*l.* 10*s.*; a silver nef, 105*l.*; a Chinese velvet hanging, 800*l.*; an old Spanish point altar frontal, 350*l.*; a collection of Japanese sword hilts, 150*l.*; pair of gauntlets (Londesborough sale), 183*l.* 15*s.*; folding steel chair (Londesborough sale), 320*l.* 5*s.*; case of 12 amber-handled knives (Londesborough sale), 126*l.*; fool's bauble in box-wood (Londesborough sale), 105*l.*; a collection of Cyprian jewellery, arms, &c., 100*l.*; two Saracenic vases, 400*l.*; Indian sword and sheath, 200*l.*; Persian dagger and sheath, 200*l.*; a miniature of Peter Oliver in gold-enamelled locket, 150*l.*; a collection of swords, 145*l.*; one ancient Spanish vase, 100*l.*; seven wrought-iron panels, reproductions of Queen Elizabeth's Grill in Westminster Abbey, 105*l.*

For the Edinburgh Museum a fine specimen of sixteenth century oak carving was obtained in the form of a cabinet (170*l.*), and for Dublin a collection of antique engraved gems (100*l.*), and a "steel Morion," beautifully damascened (100*l.*).

The Royal Academy.—The winter exhibition of works by Old Masters contained some fine work of the Spanish School, by Velasquez and Murillo, lent by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Wantage, and of Luiz de Morales, lent by Colonel Molyneux; a selection from the galleries of Sir Richard Wallace, the Earl of Jersey, and others. Amongst English painters, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Romney, Gainsborough, and Morland were well represented, and Vandyck, Teniers, Peter de Hooghe, and Jan Steen among the Dutch. In the place of the usual collection of early Italian paintings and

Turner water-colours a fine collection of Cinque-cento plaquettes, bronzes and Italian medals were brought together, some of which were of remarkable beauty.

The summer exhibition (120th) was more than usually successful, and above the general average of interest. The works of Academicians and Associates exhibited numbered 177, and of non-members 1,900. The number of works rejected—many for want of space—was 7,485, of which, irrespective of those sold previous to exhibition, 284 were sold during its continuance, realising 21,600*l*. The pictures purchased by the Council of the Royal Academy out of the funds of the Chantrey Bequest, and therefore presumably, in accordance with its conditions, the "best pictures of the year," were Mr. Vicat Cole's "Port of London," 2,000*l*.; "St. Martin's-in-the-Fields," by W. Logsdaill, 600*l*.; "Upland and Sky," by Adrian Stokes, 400*l*.; and "A Hopeless Dawn," by F. Bramley. Amongst other noteworthy pictures were Mr. F. Holl's portraits of Earl Spencer, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, and Sir William Jenner; Mr. Herkomer's "Mrs. A. Sassoon," "The Speaker," and "The Master of Trinity;" Mr. Alma Tadema's "Roses of Heliogabalus;" M. Carolus Duran's "M. Pasteur;" Mr. Goodall's "David and Bathsheba;" Mr. Gilbert's statue of the Queen in her robes and crown; and Sir Frederick Leighton's "Captive Andromache."

The Grosvenor Gallery had three exhibitions in the course of the year. That during the winter, illustrative of a century of British Art, 1787–1887, included a variety of interesting works of all sorts by artists from Hogarth's time down to the accession of Queen Victoria. The summer exhibition, exclusively reserved for works of contemporary artists, was scarcely so interesting or distinctive from the exhibition at Burlington House as it had been in previous years. In the autumn an exhibition of pastels by living French and English artists marked a new departure by the recognition of an art which was at one time popular in both countries, but the modern work, with few exceptions, fell short of the excellence achieved by the earlier schools.

The New Gallery, which had been started under the management of Messrs. Comyns Carr and Charles Hallé, on their withdrawal from the Grosvenor Gallery, held its first exhibition in a gallery built with especial reference to the requirements of picture-hanging. The works exhibited were fully worthy of the admirably arranged rooms. Mr. Burne Jones, Mr. W. B. Richmond, Mr. Herkomer, and Sir John Millais sent very distinctive works, of which the public showed a thorough appreciation. In the autumn the Art and Crafts Society, under the management of Mr. Walter Crane, held an interesting exhibition, illustrative of the application of the Fine Arts to Industry. The most important exhibits were cartoons for stained-glass windows, designs for furniture, specimens of book-binding, hangings and carvings, metal work, decorative tiles, &c.

The two Water Colour Societies, the British Artists (under the newly elected president, Mr. Wyke Bayliss), and the Institute of Painters in Oils, held their usual exhibitions, whilst those of private dealers and societies were more numerous than ever.

II. DRAMA.

The dramatic year, if not brilliant, has at all events been one of activity among playwrights. A great many new plays have been presented to the public, a fair proportion being found acceptable; while some few attained to abiding popularity. Mr. Pinero's three-act play, "Sweet Lavender," pro-

duced at Terry's Theatre on March 21, was one of them. It contained just the necessary blending of comedy and pathos to enlist sympathy at once, and, the chief characters being in excellent hands, its success was unequivocal. Miss Norreys, as the heroine, and Miss Maude Millett, played with grace and tenderness, and Mr. Terry as a disreputable barrister was irresistibly comic. More gloomy in tone were "Christina," a four-act drama dealing with the subject of Nihilism, by Messrs. Lynwood and Ambient (Olympic, March 8), and "The Monk's Room," by John Lart, produced at that theatre on April 18, and afterwards transferred to the Globe, where it had a good run. Both pieces, which had been previously tried at *matinées*, owed a good deal to the excellence of the mounting, and still more to the acting of Miss Alma Murray and Mr. Willard, who sustained the leading parts. "The Loadstone," written by Messrs. T. E. Pemberton and W. H. Vernon for Miss Geneviève Ward, produced at the Lyceum on April 7, had not sufficient interest to be quite a success, even in the hands of so capable an actress; while Mr. Gilbert's "Brantingham Hall," a four-act piece produced at the St. James's on Nov. 29, did not meet with the warm reception usually accorded to the work of that distinguished dramatist. On the other hand, Mr. C. Haddon Chambers's four-act drama, "Captain Swift," produced at a *matinée* at the Haymarket on June 20, and placed on the evening bills on Sept. 1, though the plot was a tissue of improbabilities, succeeded in creating an interest which carried it through the remainder of the year. This happy result was no doubt due in a great measure to the admirable acting of the cast, which comprised Mr. Tree in the title-rôle, Lady Monckton, Miss Rose Leclercq, and Mrs. Tree, and Messrs. Macklin, Brookfield, and Kemble. Adelphi melodrama received an addition on July 19 in Messrs. Pettitt and Grundy's "Union Jack," a piece of the old conventional type so long associated with that theatre. It was effectively played by Misses Millward and Helen Forsyth, and Messrs. Terriss, Beveridge and others, the comic parts being assumed by Miss Clara Jecks and Mr. Shine. On its withdrawal, which did not take place till December, it was followed by "The Silver Falls," by Messrs. Pettitt and G. R. Sims, which was so far a new departure that it dispensed with the home colouring to which this class of work has often owed a great deal of its success. The heroine, a Mexican, was very strongly impersonated by Miss Olga Nethersole, and the cast generally was efficient, though Mr. Terriss as the hero was not altogether well suited. Both plays were well mounted, and the scenery was particularly good. To his share in these two successes Mr. Pettitt added a third in "Hands across the Sea," a five-act piece, produced at Manchester in July and transferred to the Princess's on Nov. 10. Though not by any means the best of this dramatist's works, it managed, with the aid of pretty scenery and a competent cast, including Miss Mary Rorke and Messrs. Neville and Pateman, to catch and to hold the taste of the public. A new comedy by Mr. Pinero, entitled "The Weaker Sex," was successfully produced at Manchester in September by Mr. and Mrs. Kendal, efficiently supported by Miss Fanny Brough, Mr. Righton, and others. Among short pieces may be noticed "The Spy," a powerful one-act play by Mr. Cecil Raleigh (Comedy, Sept.), "Hermine," by Mr. Thomas, which served as *lever de rideau* to "Mamma" at the "Court" in September, Mr. Richard Davey's adaptation from Catullus, "Lesbia" (Lyceum, Sept. 17), and a wholesome and sympathetic little piece, called "Darby and Joan," by Messrs. Best and Billingham, produced at Terry's Theatre in February. Messrs. Hamilton and Augustus Harris's "Armada" (Drury Lane, Sept. 22), which constituted

the dramatic contribution towards the celebration of the tercentenary, attained well-deserved popularity as a gorgeous specimen of stage pageantry. Some of the scenes, such as "the game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe," after Mr. Seymour Lucas's picture, and the ball at Greenwich, at which Queen Elizabeth received the news of the sailing of the Spanish Armada, together with the admirable historic dressing, marked the piece out among its kind, notwithstanding the absence of any purely dramatic interest.

Farcical Comedy and Farce were well represented either in original plays or in those borrowed from foreign sources. The chief attraction in "Fascination," an "improbable comedy" by Mr. Buchanan and Harriet Jay (Vaudeville, Jan. 19), was the amusing delineation of a meek parson by Mr. Thomas Thorne. Mr. Mark Melford's "Kleptomania," brought out at the Strand on Sept. 15, having been previously seen at Southsea, achieved a fair success, as did also Mr. Charles Thomas's "The Paper Chase," first at Toole's (July 9), and afterwards at the Royalty, to which theatre it was transferred in August, an amusing part being taken full advantage of by Mr. L. Brough. An extravaganza, entitled "The Treasure," by Messrs. Carton and Cecil Raleigh, also afforded a good deal of fun at the Strand on May 1, and Messrs. Everard and Lestocq's "Uncles and Aunts" was saved by the cast, notwithstanding a somewhat cold reception (Comedy, Aug. 22). Burlesque has not yet altogether recovered its former popularity. Mr. Burnand's "Airey Anne" at the Strand, April 4, was an exceedingly amusing travestie of "Ariane" (see below); but its success was largely dependent on the clever parodies by Misses Atherton and Ayrton and Mr. Edouin of the leading rôles in that play as played by Mr. Neville, Mrs. Bernard Beere, and Mons. Marius. Mr. Hawtrey's "Atalanta," with Mr. A. Dyer's musical accompaniments, won considerable favour at the same theatre on Nov. 17, and Mr. Grossmith's "Real Case of Hide and Seekyll," produced at the Royalty in September, with Miss Leyton and Messrs. L. Brough, Garden, and Soutar, deserves notice as a droll musical burlesque. At the Gaiety, Messrs. Pettitt and Sims scored a success with their two-act burlesque, "Faust up to Date," the music by Meyer Lutz and Martin (Oct. 30).

Among the plays of 1887 which kept the stage during a considerable portion of 1888 may be mentioned "The Bells of Haslemere" at the Adelphi, the burlesque "Frankenstein," brought out at the Gaiety at Christmas, "The Old Guard" at the Avenue, and the highly amusing farce, from Von Moser's "Harun Alraschid," "The Arabian Nights," at the Comedy. Messrs. B. C. Stephenson and Cellier's operetta, "Dorothy," showed extraordinary vitality, having attained at the close of the year the enormous run of 800 performances.

French and German plays furnished in some instances useful material for adaptation. On the re-opening of the Court Theatre under Mrs. John Wood and Mr. Chudleigh on Sept. 24, an amusing and successful version by Mr. Sydney Grundy of the popular Parisian farce "Les Surprises du Divorce" was produced under the name of "Mamma," in which Mrs. John Wood and Mr. Hare made the most of the mirthful incidents, and procured for the piece a prolonged run. "The Don," by Mr. and Mrs. Herman Merivale (Toole's, March 7), was from a German source, and was also very successful, owing in a great measure to the fact that the title-rôle furnished Mr. Toole with one of his most entertaining parts. The whole cast, however, including Misses Kate Phillips, Vanbrugh, Linden, and Thorne, and Messrs. Gardiner, Billington, and Boucicault, was highly efficient. Meilhac's Palais Royal

farce, "Gotte," adapted at the Strand in February by Mr. C. Fawcett as "Katti," owed the favour it obtained chiefly to the acting of Miss Atherton and Mr. W. Edouin. "The Pompadour," a four-act play of more serious character by Messrs. Wills and Sydney Grundy, produced at the Haymarket on March 31, can hardly be classed as an adaptation, though it was to a large extent founded on a German piece by Brachvogel, entitled "Narcisse," which in its turn was borrowed from Diderot. The strong acting of Mr. Beerbohm Tree as Narcisse, of Mr. Brookfield as Voltaire, and of Mrs. B. Tree and Miss Rose Leclercq as the heroine and the Queen respectively, contributed, with the aid of excellent mounting, to the salvation of this play, which was not in itself particularly interesting or sympathetic. Mr. Jocelyn Brandon's adaptation of Alphonse Daudet's "L'Arlésienne" at the Prince of Wales's in January as "The Love that Kills" was interesting mainly on account of the incidental music by Bizet. "A Parisian Romance," a translation of Octave Feuillet's play of the same name produced on Oct. 1 at the Lyceum, was chiefly remarkable for the power displayed by Mr. Mansfield in a rôle of ghastly realism, a worthy pendant to his double impersonation of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in an adaptation of R. L. Stevenson's story, which preceded it at the same theatre on Aug. 4. It is worthy of remark, as showing the versatility of his gifts, that this actor showed much skill in a rôle of a totally opposite character in A. C. Gunter's comedy, "Prince Karl," which came on the stage at the Lyceum on Oct. 19, and was afterwards transferred to the Globe, of which Mr. Mansfield assumed the management in December. Much of the work of popular novelists was seized and appropriated to dramatic purposes. Mr. Rutland Barrington figured as an adapter in a close version of Mr. A. C. Gunter's story, "Mr. Barnes of New York," entitled "To the Death," at the Olympic on March 23, which, though rather a gloomy play, was favourably received. Another rendering by Mr. J. Coleman appeared under the name "Marina" at the Gaiety. Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel, "The Scarlet Letter," formed the basis of two plays, one by "Alic Nelson" at the Olympic on June 5, the other by the Hon. S. Coleridge and Norman Forbes at the Royalty, June 4, the original title being kept in both instances. Mr. Fergus Hume's tale, "The Mystery of a Hansom Cab," was dramatised by the author in collaboration with Mr. Arthur Law at the Princess's in February, and Mr. Rider Haggard's "She" was turned into a five-act drama by Mr. Edward Rose, of which a copyright performance was given at the Haymarket in May. It was afterwards recast by Messrs. Sidney and Graves for Miss Sophie Eyre at the Gaiety.

One of the most successful plays of the year was Mr. Buchanan's very free rendering of Fielding's "Joseph Andrews" at the Vaudeville, March 8, under the name of "Joseph's Sweetheart." The skill of the adapter was more evident in this than even in its forerunner, "Sophia," and the leading parts were in good hands. Mr. Conway as Joseph Andrews was excellent, Mr. T. Thorne was quietly artistic as Parson Adams, while Miss Vane as Lady Booby, and Miss Kate Rorke as Fanny, helped to a large extent in securing for the piece an almost phenomenal run. "Partners," a five-act comedy-drama, founded on a story by Alphonse Daudet and produced at the Haymarket on Jan. 5, though it did not attain quite the same popularity, was another point scored to the credit of Mr. Buchanan. The part of the heroine as played by Miss Marion Terry enlisted the sympathy of the audience, and Mr. B. Tree's impersonation of Borgfeldt was a fine performance. A story by "J. S. Winter," entitled "Bootle's Baby," adapted by

Hugh Moss at the Globe, May 8, under the same name, was very favourably received; and Mr. F. C. Phillips's novel, "The Dean's Daughter," dramatised by the author and Mr. Sydney Grundy, provided a congenial part for Mr. Rutland Barrington when produced under that actor's management at the St. James's on Oct. 18. "Sunset," a pleasing one-act play by J. K. Jerome (Comedy, Feb. 13), was founded on Tennyson's poem, "The Sisters."

It remains to chronicle three other novels, widely differing in character, which leave their mark on the dramatic history of the year:—Mrs. Campbell Praed's "Wedlock," which was dramatised by the authoress in collaboration with Mr. Richard Lee under the name of "Ariane," and produced in four acts at the Opera Comique on Feb. 8; Mrs. Hodgson Burnett's "Little Lord Fauntleroy," which underwent two operations, first by Mr. E. V. Seeborn at the Prince of Wales's, Feb. 13, and afterwards by the authoress herself at Terry's on May 14; and Mr. Hall Caine's "Deemster," dramatised by the author and Mr. W. Barrett as the "Ben-my-Chree." The first-named, a somewhat morbid play, exhibited Mrs. Bernard Beere's talents in a remarkable degree. The second owed its success mainly to the simple beauty of the story, though it should be stated that the exceptional intelligence of Miss Vera Beringer as the child hero enabled the managers to overcome what must always be a prominent difficulty in the way of putting this play on the stage. The "Ben-my-Chree" was produced on May 17 at the Princess's.

Some favourable specimens of opéra-bouffe made their appearance. "Carina," the libretto of which was more or less adapted by the authors, Messrs. Blanchard and Cunningham Bridgman, from the French "Guerre Ouverte," possessed the advantage of music beyond the average quality by Julia Wolff. It was, moreover, well mounted, and the competent caste, including Misses Camille d'Arville and Josephine Findlay, and Messrs. D. Lely, Ward, and Snazelle, secured for it a good run at the Opera Comique, where it appeared on Sept. 27. "Babette," at the Strand, Jan. 26, was from a French source as regards both libretto and music, as was also Mr. "Mostyn Tedde's" comic opera, "Pepita," which came out at Toole's at the end of August with satisfactory results. Mr. Alfred Murray's adaptation of "Les Noces Improvisées," under the name of "Nadgy," with music by Chassaigne, at the Avenue, Nov. 7, was a successful example of low musical comedy. "The Yeomen of the Guard," by Mr. Gilbert and Sir A. Sullivan (Savoy, Oct. 3), is included in this category merely for convenience. Both as regards style and quality it differed *toto cælo* from the works just named, and to some extent constituted a new departure in the long collaboration of the authors. The spirit of burlesque, which has more or less pervaded all their previous efforts, was here conspicuous by its absence, and in its place reigned the spirit of true comedy, in which laughter, though abundant enough, is relieved by many pathetic touches. The cast, including Miss Geraldine Ulmar, Miss Jessie Bond, Miss Rosina Brandram, and Messrs. Grossmith and Courtice Pounds, interpreted the idea with artistic fidelity, and the play will probably rank, musically and dramatically, as one of the finest achievements of its joint authors. Messrs. A. and F. Cellier's operetta, "Mrs. Jarramie's Genie," served as a pleasing *lever de rideau*.

Among the numerous revivals which took place during the year Shakespearean work was by no means neglected. At the Lyceum Miss Mary Anderson retained for a long time the favour which she had won the year before by her double impersonation in the "Winter's Tale;" and although, on her departure, the theatre was devoted during the greater part of it to

other purposes, the year did not close until it had witnessed one of the most striking among recent revivals of the Shakespearian drama in Mr. Irving's "Macbeth." The play was of course put on the stage in an admirable manner, and the rendering was altogether novel and unconventional, in accordance with the characteristic genius of the artist. Miss Ellen Terry was an equally original Lady Macbeth, and the rest of the cast found competent supporters. The incidental music, preludes and overture, were composed by Sir A. Sullivan. At the Globe, in the early part of the year, Mr. Wilson Barrett revived "Hamlet" with Miss Eastlake as Ophelia; and Mr. Lancaster, the proprietor of the new Shaftesbury Theatre, inaugurated the season on Oct. 20 with a splendid revival of "As You Like It." In the latter case, however, the cast, comprising Miss Wallis and Messrs. Forbes Robertson, Mackintosh, A. Stirling, and Farren, though very strong in individual talent, was more or less of a scratch character, and the interpretation suffered somewhat accordingly. "The Taming of the Shrew," brought out at the Gaiety by Augustine Daly's company, was said to be the third revival of the play as originally written, and was therefore very acceptable to those who look upon Shakespeare mainly as an actable writer. The dresses and *mise-en-scène* were very artistic, and Miss Ada Rehan was powerful and sympathetic in the leading part, being well supported in the main by Mr. Drew as Petruchio. Some interesting revivals took place at the St. James's, including "A Scrap of Paper" in January, with Mr. and Mrs. Kendal, Mrs. B. Tree, and Mr. Hare, and "The Wife's Secret," by George Lovell, first played in London in 1848, with the Keans, Mrs. Keeley, and Messrs. Howe and B. Webster. Mrs. Kendal's performance was regarded as one of her finest efforts, and Miss Fanny Brough was pronounced very effective as the *soubrette*. After a short run the play was withdrawn to make way for the "Ironmaster," which in its turn gave place to "The Squire," in which Mr. and Mrs. Kendal, Messrs. Hare, Mackintosh, and Waring took part. In the course of a short season at the Lyceum, Miss Geneviève Ward revived one of her strongest impersonations, Stephanie, in "Forget-me-Not," and Charles Reade's "Nance Oldfield;" and on the return of Mr. Irving and Miss Ellen Terry in April "Faust" was reproduced at the same theatre. At the Olympic "The Ticket-of-Leave Man," Tom Taylor's ever-popular drama, with Mr. Neville in the chief part, reappeared in January and again in September, and was followed by a revival of "The Two Orphans." Mr. Wyndham and Miss Mary Moore received a warm welcome from the Criterion audience in February, in "David Garrick," and Mr. Burnand's "Betsy" showed its vitality in August at that theatre, the late Mr. Hill and Mr. Lytton Sothorn being replaced respectively by Messrs. W. Blakeley and A. Boucicault. Among other pieces revived in the course of the year may be mentioned "A Run of Luck" at Drury Lane, "Nita's First" at the Novelty, "The Silver King" at the Globe, and "Shadows of a Great City" at the Princess's.

French dramatic art was again well represented at the Royalty, where M. Coquelin reappeared at the end of February supported by a company mainly the same as before. The series included representations of Beaumarchais' "Le Mariage de Figaro" on March 12, for the first time in a complete form in this country, and of Emile Augier's "Gabrielle," also a novelty here, though produced at the Comédie Française so far back as 1849. Molière's "L'Étourdi" and "Mlle. de la Seiglière" were revived; while among more recent pieces were Bisson's "Le Député de Bombignac," known to London theatre-goers in its adapted form as "The Candidate,"

Octave Feuillet's "Chamillac," which first appeared at the Comédie Française in 1886, and MM. Bisson and Mars' new comedy, "Les Surprises du Divorce," an English version of which, "Mamma," was afterwards very successful at the Court (see above). The French version was well played throughout, M. Coquelin himself being supremely fine. An autumn season at the same theatre introduced to a London audience MM. Cremieux and Decourcelle's tender pastoral comedy, "L'Abbé Constantin," produced at the Gymnase in 1887. "Le Fils de Famille," known in English as "The Queen's Shilling," was also given, the chief parts being admirably sustained by Mme. Jane May and M. Lafontaine; while "Niniche" and "Tricoche et Cacolet," with Mme. Jane May and MM. Didier and Schey, were welcome items in the *répertoire*. At the close of Mr. Irving's season at the Lyceum, early in July, Mme. Sarah Bernhardt appeared in Sardou's new play, "La Tosca," written expressly for her. The piece was well mounted, and the acting of Mme. Bernhardt, who was supported by MM. Berton and Duminy, members of the original cast, was marvellously fine; but in spite of these advantages the work itself was severely attacked by the critics. The younger Dumas' three-act play, "Francillon," brought out at the Comédie Française in 1887, which was also included in the series, together with the now well-known plays "Fedora" and "La Dame aux Camélias," afforded further opportunities for the exhibition of the French actress's remarkable power.

A performance of "The Blot on the Scutcheon" at the Olympic on March 15, with Mesdames Alma Murray and Alexis Leighton, and Messrs. Fulton, Rodney, Webster, and Foss, in the cast, must be chronicled as one of the most successful ventures of the Browning Society.

A special *matinée* under royal patronage took place at the Haymarket in January for the benefit of the Actors' Benevolent Fund, at which a powerful new piece by Mr. Hamilton Aidé, entitled "Incognito," was introduced, with Miss Geneviève Ward and Mr. Beerbohm Tree in the leading parts, both the work and the rendering being very favourably criticised. This was supplemented by a repetition of "The Balladmonger," Messrs. W. Herries-Pollock and W. Besant's charming version of "Gringoire," originally played at the same theatre in 1887, and now supported by Mr. Beerbohm Tree and a very promising *débutante*, Miss Beatrice Lamb.

III. MUSIC.

Though the musical year has not been marked by the appearance of any new work of phenomenal excellence, it will occupy no mean position as regards the general progress of the art. Dramatic music has suffered a loss, in a national sense, by the disappearance from the London stage of Mr. Carl Rosa's performances of English opera, though of late years he has been accustomed to rely to a large extent on English versions of foreign works. With a very few exceptions his careful and conscientious presentments of English lyric drama have tended to show that it is precisely in this field that the national art is weakest. As if by way of compensation, the season of Italian opera at Covent Garden, under Mr. Augustus Harris, was the most brilliant for many years past. It is true that the *répertoire* was by no means confined to works of Italian origin, and that the artists were not, at any rate the majority of them, Italians. But the policy of the impresario was practi-

cally the same as that of the most distinguished of his predecessors, and the result was to show that the decay in this department of the art has been due more to slovenliness of presentment than to any radical change in the public taste. No attempt was made to attract audiences either by the display of novelties or by the temptation of cheap prices. In Signori Mancinelli and Randegger, Mr. Harris secured two conductors of experience and prestige, each of whom excelled in one or other of the fields over which the programmes ranged, and he placed at their command an orchestra which, though somewhat smaller than usual, was eminently efficient. The chorus was excellent, and varied in strength according to the requirements of the works; and the *misc-en-scène* was always at least as good as has been seen even in the palmiest days of the art. The season consisted of thirty-two subscription nights, and the artists engaged included Mesdames Albani, Valleria, Hastreiter, Fursch-Madi, Ella Russell, Arnoldson, Hauk, and Nordica as sopranis. Madame Scalchi and Madame Trebelli were the leading contraltis, and the tenor parts fell mainly into the hands of Signori Jean de Reszké and Ravelli. The baritones and basses included Mons. Lassalle, Signori del Puente, d'Andrade, Cotogni, Pandolfini, Navarrini, and Edouard de Reszké. Among newcomers may be noticed Mlle. Rolla, who sang the music of Donna Elvira, in "Don Giovanni," in a very satisfactory manner; Madame Melba, an Australian lady, who made good impression as Lucia; and Mlle. McIntyre, a former pupil of Dr. Wyld's Academy of Music, whose rendering of Micaela, in "Carmen," was much commended, and for whom a successful career was predicted. In the course of the season remarkably fine performances of "Figaro," "Lohengrin," "The Huguenots," "Faust," and "Aida" were given, and, although no actual novelty was produced, some interesting revivals took place. Among these may be mentioned "Il Flauto Magico," with Mme. Minnie Hauk as Pamina, and Signor Ravelli as Tamino; "Fra Diavolo," with Mme. Ella Russell and Signor Ravelli; "L'Africaine," with Mme. Nordica as Selika, Mons. Jean de Reszké as Vasco, and Mons. Lassalle as Nelusko; and "Guillaume Tell," in which the exceptional compass of Signor Prévost (a newcomer) admitted of a satisfactory rendering of the tenor music. In Boito's "Mefistofele" the usual practice of doubling the parts of Margherita and Elena was departed from, the rôles being assigned to Mlle. McIntyre and Mlle. Ella Russell respectively. The visit of a Russian National Opera Company to this country in the autumn was a novel and interesting event, and would no doubt have been attended with better success had the managers had more knowledge of the public for whose tastes they were catering. Operations commenced by six concerts at the Albert Hall, at which the music of Rubinstein's "Demon," Glinka's "Life for the Tsar," and Tchaikowsky's "Mazeppa" was given without either acting or scenery, the chorus being dressed in the national costumes. The simultaneous performance of forty-eight ladies on twenty-four pianos was a remarkable, though not altogether pleasing, feature of these concerts. On October 22 the company was transferred to the stage of the Novelty, re-opened by Mrs. Churchill Jodrell, and re-named "The Jodrell Theatre." The choice of Rubinstein's "Demon" was not, however, a wise one, as that opera had already proved a failure when produced at Covent Garden in 1881, notwithstanding that it was then given under the composer's own supervision. It was understood that the financial results of the enterprise were not at all encouraging, a matter for regret, since the company included several competent artists under a conductor who, though presumably an Italian, Signor

Truffi, was equal to his task. The operatic work chosen for the annual performance by the students of the Royal College of Music was, this year, Nicolai's "Merry Wives of Windsor," Dr. Villiers Stanford being the conductor. Without revealing any striking symptoms of dramatic genius, the performance was marked by general intelligence, and the arrangements, under the supervision of Mr. Arthur Cecil, were careful and artistic.

Operetta and Opéra Bouffe have shown increased power to draw audiences profiting perhaps to a certain extent by the decay of serious English opera. Of this class of work, as well as of some items of music incidental to the drama, a more detailed notice will be found under the article headed "Drama."

The Saturday Afternoon Concerts at the Crystal Palace not only maintained the high position they have so long occupied for excellence of performance, but increased the attractions offered to musical connoisseurs by the greater variety and enterprise of the programmes. Dvôrák's symphony, No. 3 in F major, numbered in the programme Op. 76, was produced at the concert on April 7. It was written in 1875, and is therefore earlier than two other works of the kind already presented in England, and affords an interesting example of the national as well as the classical side of the composer's genius. Goldmark's symphony in E flat (Op. 35), introduced on Oct. 20, was a welcome contribution from a composer who, though popular in Germany, is known to English audiences mainly through a previous symphony entitled "A Country Wedding."

Mr. Gadsby's "Festal Symphony in D major (MS.)," the composer' third work of the kind, formed the most attractive feature of the concert on Nov. 3. The title as well as the triumphant character of the music suggested some connection with the Jubilee Year, in which it was composed. The orchestration is very striking, and the reception accorded to the work was most enthusiastic. Among minor novelties may be noticed "The Minstrel's Curse," ballad for tenors and basses with orchestral accompaniment, by F. Corder (March 10); a brilliantly scored rhapsody for orchestra by Chabrier, a composer highly esteemed in Paris, though scarcely known in England, called "España" (Oct. 13); a Benedictus for orchestra, by Dr. A. C. Mackenzie, and an Offertoire for organ, written and played by J. F. Barnett (Oct. 27); five dances for strings, written by Schubert when a mere boy (Nov. 3); a fantasia for violin and orchestra, by Pan Franz Ondricek, on airs from Smetana's opera, "Die verkaufte Braut," played by the adapter (Nov. 24); a "Cortège" for orchestra, Op. 43, by Moszkowski (Dec. 1); and two violin pieces, "A Bord du Danube," and "Danse Slavacque," by Wormser-Marsick, played by Mons. Marsick (Dec. 8). The once famous *basso profundo*, Herr Carl Formes, appeared at Mr. Manns' benefit concert on April 21. The choral works given during the year comprised Mendelssohn's music to "Œdipus at Colonus" (March 10), Grieg's scena for solo voices and female chorus, "At the Convent Gate" (Oct. 27), C. T. Speer's cantata, "The Day Dream," and Hamish McCunn's ballad, "Lord Ullin's Daughter," the last-named being performed for the first time (Feb. 18), Berlioz's "Faust" (April 14), and, for the winding-up of the first half of the thirty-third season on Dec. 15, Dr. Hubert Parry's oratorio, "Judith," produced at the Birmingham Festival, and noticed more fully below.

The London Symphony Concerts, under Herr Henschel, which commenced on Jan. 4, succeeded as a rule in attracting good audiences. The programmes earned general commendation by their interest and variety,

though some of the performances were not so fortunate as to escape hostile criticism. An early overture by Dvůrák, in which the national characteristics of his style predominated, was introduced as a novelty at the opening concert. Brahms, whose music always commands the attention of the connoisseur, contributed an "Orchestral Serenade" in D, Op. 11, one of his earlier and more classical works (Jan. 18); and (Feb. 15) a double concerto for violin and violoncello, produced at Cologne in 1887 with Herren Joachim and Haussmann as executants, and now introduced to the London public by the same artists. Its reception was very favourable, and it was repeated at the following concert. Dr. Bridge's overture, "La Morte d'Arthur," produced at Birmingham in 1885, was played for the first time in London on Jan. 24, on which occasion also Mozart's rarely heard Haffner Serenade and Bizet's Suite, entitled "Roma," found places in the programme, and the rising young Scotch composer, Hamish McCunn, conducted his new orchestral ballad, "The Ship of the Fiend." The concert on March 6, when Mr. Cowen conducted his symphony in F, brought the season to a satisfactory close, and a large audience welcomed the resumption of the series on Nov. 20. Between this date and Christmas the chief features of interest were some light music to a "Ritter Ballet," written by Beethoven in 1790 (Nov. 27), and (Dec. 4) Bach's concerto for two violins in D minor, which was charmingly played by Misses Emily Shinner and G. Morgan, both rising artists.

The seventy-sixth season of the Philharmonic Society, which opened at St. James's Hall on March 15, will rank highly even in so long and distinguished a record, not only from the work produced, but also on account of the interesting personalities brought before the London musical world. Mr. Cowen, to whom the regular conductorship of these concerts has now been entrusted, was engaged to superintend the arrangements for the Centennial Exhibition at Melbourne, and in his absence the last two Philharmonic Concerts were held under the leadership of the famous Norwegian composer, Herr Svendsen. At the second concert, on March 22, the Russian composer Tchaikowsky, whose work is gradually taking hold on the London public, directed two items of his own, viz. "A Suite for Strings" and a "Tema con Variazioni." A symphony in G by Haydn, one of his most independent works, with a beautiful adagio movement, and Svendsen's Norwegian rhapsody, No. 2, figured on the same occasion in the programme as novelties widely differing from one another. Not the least interesting of the series was the third concert, when M. Widor, one of the most original and powerful of living French writers, appeared to conduct his own "Walpurgis Night," a subject to which, although it has already been dealt with by so many masters, the French musician has succeeded in imparting a distinct treatment. The work as well as the composer received an enthusiastic welcome. At the fourth concert, Herr Grieg, the well-known and admired composer of Scandinavian songs and *morceaux* for the piano, delighted both critics and audience by the grace of his playing and the delicate renderings he secured as conductor; and at the fifth, Mme. Sophie Menter, the Viennese pianist, repeated the phenomenal display of executive power which made so great an impression on her first visit some years ago.

The Richter concerts were renewed at St. James's Hall between May 7 and July 9. Increased prominence was given this year to the works of Wagner, apparently with satisfactory results since the subscriptions increased. The original weakness of the orchestra—the indifferent quality of the strings—was now entirely removed, and the renderings were this year almost without

exception of the highest class. Hagen's "Wacht" from the "Götterdämmerung," was a novelty at the opening concert, and at the second the programme comprised, besides extracts from "Tristan und Isolde," and the "Walkürenritt," the finale from the "Götterdämmerung," with Miss Pauline Cramer as Brünnhilde. The last scene of the first act of "Siegfried," in which Mr. Lloyd sang splendidly, was given at the eighth concert, on which occasion the programme included also Bach's Concerto in F. The season wound up on July 9 with a performance of Beethoven's Mass in D, which, though the chorus was not quite strong enough, was on the whole excellent. The soloists were Misses Anna Williams and Lena Little and Messrs. Lloyd and Henschel. The series was said to be as successful financially as it undoubtedly was from an artistic point of view.

The great Spanish violinist, Señor Sarasate, gave four concerts at St. James's Hall during the season, supported by an orchestra under Mr. Cusins, which drew large audiences; and Mr. Villiers Stanford's new concert overture "Queen of the Seas," written for the tercentenary of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, was the most conspicuous feature at the latter of two orchestral concerts given in the winter by Herr Waldemar Meyer. The orchestral concert of the Royal College of Music was given on July 28, under Dr. Villiers Stanford, who procured an excellent rendering of Schubert's Symphony in C; and a new pianoforte concerto by Miss Dora Bright won some approbation at the Summer Concert of the Royal Academy. At Manchester Sir Charles Hallé continued with unabated success his performances of high-class orchestral work.

The head-quarters of chamber music still remain at St. James's Hall, where the thirtieth season of the Popular Concerts was resumed on Jan. 7. The season, though not remarkable for novel events, was not inferior to its forerunners either in the excellence of the renderings or the support afforded by the public. A novelty of the older school was produced at the concerts of Jan. 14 in the shape of Haydn's Quartette in A, Op. 20, No. 6; and on the 16th a new pianoforte trio by Mr. J. A. Dykes, son of a well-known composer, and himself a satisfactory pianist and pupil of Raff and Madame Schumann, was played by Miss F. Davies, Madame Neruda, and Signor Piatti. Both were well received. Signor Piatti introduced (Jan. 28) an adaptation by himself of some studies by Ariosti, a contemporary of Handel, originally written for the *viola d'Amore*. The last concert of the series on March 26 was rendered memorable by the fine performance by Madame Schumann of her husband's "Carnival," and by the inclusion in the programme of Bach's double violin concerto, played by Madame Neruda and Herr Joachim. A very large audience welcomed in November the opening of the thirty-first season, which witnessed the production of one of the most interesting novelties of the year in Brahms' "Gipsy Songs," constructed somewhat on the model of his well-known "Love Song Waltzes." These beautiful compositions for four voices and pianoforte accompaniment were admirably rendered by Mrs. Henschel, Miss Lena Little, and Messrs. Shakespeare and Henschel, with Miss F. Davies at the piano, and the reception was so warm that they were repeated at two subsequent concerts. Chamber concerts were given during the summer by Messrs. Ludwig and Whitehouse, and by Sir Charles Hallé, who introduced a new pianoforte quintett by Dvôrák in A, Op. 81; and in the winter the Heckmann Quartett again exhibited their remarkable *ensemble* in two concerts at Prince's Hall. Pianoforte playing has been strongly represented this year. M. de Pachmann's recital at St. James's

Hall (Jan. 16), when he played Chopin's rarely heard and exceedingly difficult "Allegro de Concert," Op. 46, confirmed his position as a unique exponent of the Polish master; while Dr. Hans von Bülow's interpretations of Beethoven at four recitals devoted to that master's works, though they revived the criticisms they evoked on his first appearance among us, were admitted to be highly interesting and instructive. By way of compensation for the judicious withdrawal from public performance of little Josef Hoffmann, those who delight in precocious talent were gratified by the appearance of Otto Hegner, aged 11, who revealed extraordinary capabilities and still greater potentialities as a pianist.

In the domain of choral music Mr. Barnby's Albert Hall Choral Society remains pre-eminent. The large audiences which attended the performances of the "Messiah," "Elijah," &c., showed that the reliance on the standard works of the great composers when adequately presented was not misplaced. At the same time some effort was made to attract those who love to tread on less familiar ground. To such as these the revival of Verdi's "Manzoni" Requiem on March 8 was specially interesting. This beautiful work, produced by the same Society in 1875 amid great enthusiasm, and repeated at intervals up to 1881, has since then been shelved until the present year. The Society, which resumed operations on Nov. 28 with Mr. Cowen's "Ruth," now changed its title to the "Royal Choral Society." Novello's Oratorio Concerts under Dr. Mackenzie also showed undiminished vitality. A performance of "The Golden Legend" at a concert in February was preceded by a new concert overture in D minor from the pen of Mr. Oliver King, under whose *bâton* it received a cordial greeting. A fine performance was also given during the season of Dr. Mackenzie's "Rose of Sharon" with Madame Nordica, Miss Hope Glen, and Messrs. Lloyd and Santley in the solo parts, and the series wound up on March 28 with the solitary performance of the "Redemption," given during the London season, in which the bass narrator's music was given in a striking manner by a newcomer, Mr. Plunket Greene.

The Bach Society continues to do admirable work. As interesting an event as any in its history was the first performance, at all events in modern times, of the entire music of Purcell's opera "Dido and Æneas," which took place on March 1. When last given some years back under the auspices of the Glück Society, several members were wanting, and it is only recently that the publication of the work in a complete form has been rendered possible by the aid of scores in the possession of Mr. W. H. Cummings and Sir F. Gore Ouseley. At the same concert a young violinist, Fräulein Marie Soldat, made a most effective *début* in Brahms' difficult concerto.

Local and suburban societies have shown much activity. The credit of the first performance in London of Gaul's "Joan of Arc," originally produced at Birmingham, fell to Mr. McNaught's choir at the Bow and Bromley Institute on Jan. 30, and the Borough of Hackney Choral Association, under Mr. Prout, rendered a great service to music by the revival, on Nov. 19, at Shoreditch, of Handel's almost unknown oratorio "Joshua." The Glasgow Choral Union produced, on Dec. 18, a new cantata by the gifted young Scotch composer, Hamish McCunn, founded on Sir W. Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," full of national colour and original writing. The announcement of the final dissolution of the venerable "Sacred Harmonic Society" is an event to be chronicled with regret, though the performance of Mr. Cowen's "Ruth" at the last concert was scarcely worthy of its traditions. The dis-

appearance from public life of Mme. Christine Nilsson can hardly be contemplated with similar resignation, for the great artist is still in full possession of her, in some respects, unique gifts, and the immense audience which assembled at the Albert Hall on the occasion of her farewell concert bore witness to the popular sense of the magnitude of the loss. An impressive performance of the "Messiah," at which Madame Albani, Madame Patey, and Messrs. Kearton and Hilton gave their services, was held in Westminster Abbey, Nov. 29, under Dr. Bridge, in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Royal Society of Musicians, a benevolent institution, of which Handel himself was a member.

The Triennial Handel Festival held in June at the Crystal Palace under Mr. Manns was very brilliant, and attracted a larger attendance than any of its predecessors except that of 1883. The leading artists were of course engaged for the solo work, and the chorus of 3,000 voices was exceptionally fine, the performance of "Israel in Egypt" on the last day being probably the most remarkable ever heard. The festival opened as usual with the "Messiah," and the "Selection" day was rendered specially interesting by the inclusion in the programme of no less than thirteen pieces not hitherto introduced at any festival of the kind. The Triennial Festival at Birmingham took place at the end of August. In the absence of contributions from Dr. Mackenzie and Herr Dvôrák, the production of which was at one time expected, the leading novelty was Dr. Hubert Parry's oratorio "Judith," a work of originality and power. The choice of so curious a subject was variously commented on, but the treatment was generally admitted to be both scholarly and vigorous. Herr Richter, the conductor, commanded an admirable choir, carefully trained by Mr. Stockley, as well as a strong and well-balanced orchestra. Mesdames A. Williams and Patey and Messrs. Lloyd and Santley supported the solo work in an exceedingly fine performance.

Another important novelty was Dr. Bridge's cantata, "Callirhoë," founded on a story from Pausanias, dramatised by Mr. W. Barclay Squire, other versions of which have been used for operatic purposes in days gone by. The work, conducted by the composer, and supported by Mesdames Albani and Trebelli and Mr. Lloyd in the solo parts, was warmly welcomed. Berlioz's "Messe des Morts," Bach's "Magnificat," Dvôrák's "Stabat Mater," and Handel's little-known "Saul," revived by the Handelian Society in 1885 and now given with some orchestral additions by Mr. Prout, were further interesting features of the festival. In September Hereford followed on Birmingham with the festival of the united choirs of Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester, reinforced by a detachment from the Leeds choir. The chief soloists were Mesdames Albani, A. Williams, Ambler, Enriquez, and Hilda Wilson, and Messrs. Lloyd, Banks, Santley, and Brereton, and a very good orchestra of skilled professionals was procured from London, the conductorship being entrusted, in accordance with the usual practice at these festivals, to the organist of Hereford. The principal works performed were Cherubini's Mass in D minor, which has been heard some four or five times only since its introduction into England by the Bach Choir in 1880; Mr. Cowen's "Song of Thanksgiving," written for the opening of the Melbourne Exhibition (first time in England); Dr. Parry's ode "Blest Pair of Sirens," written for the Bach Choir; and Sir F. G. Ouseley's "Martyrdom of St. Polycarp," which, though written in 1854, was practically almost a novelty. At the Bristol

Festival in October the chief features of interest were Berlioz's Choral Symphony "Romeo et Juliette" and the first act of Glück's "Iphigenia," last seen on the stage in 1866, when it was produced by Mr. Mapleson, with Tietjens, Gardoni, and Santley. The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth seems almost to belong to the history of the English musical year, from the large concourse of amateurs which it attracted from this country. A strong orchestra and chorus, recruited from all parts of Germany, was assembled under the bâton of Herr Richter. A very large audience listened with enthusiasm and even reverence to the fiftieth performance of "Parsifal." Among the artists, Frau Sucher and Herr Schiedemantel were much commended, and a Flemish tenor, Herr Van Dyck, who took the part of Parsifal, was very successful, both here and subsequently in Vienna.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE usual annual increase has been made in the various branches of science as regards new species, new compounds, new planets, new journeys, and new theories. The papers of Mr. Lockyer on meteorites, his Bakerian lecture on the spectroscopical examination of the heavenly bodies, furnish examples of speculation of the origin and history of the universe, while Professor Oliver Lodge has been developing his views on the nature of electricity, and the researches of Crookes and Armstrong are shaking our faith in the atom of unalterable weight and properties, the "hard manufactured article" of Maxwell and Dalton. It is worthy of notice that the past year was the first meeting of the Australian Association for the Promotion of Science, the centenary of the foundation of the Linnæan Society, and the bicentenary of the publication of Newton's "Principia." The completion of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and of the Reports of the *Challenger Expedition* would of themselves be sufficient to render the year remarkable. The opening of the Durham College of Science at Newcastle, of the Pasteur Institute at Paris, of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Plymouth, and of a similar laboratory at Woods Hall, Massachusetts, are of good omen for future progress. The tallest building ever erected by man, the Eiffel Tower at Paris, was all but completed during the year, while the locomotive has nearly reached the markets of Samarcand during the same time.

MECHANICS.

In the department of "prime movers" the chief improvement of the year has been made in gas-engines, of which some dozen different types are now made. The spread of electric lighting is the main cause of this increase, since for house and shop illumination, where steam power is not available, a motor is required which can be started at a moment's notice, and which will require little skilled attention when in use. Triple compound engines of a semi-portable character have been made by some manufacturers, while in locomotives the Webb and Worsdell patterns have been extensively copied or modified both at home and abroad. In marine engineering a struggle has been going on, and is likely to continue, between triple expansion engines with three cranks on the main shaft and quadruple expansion engines with only two cranks. It is claimed for the former arrangement that with the same combustion of coal per indicated horse-power the speed attained by the former is 5 per cent. more than the latter. Shipbuilding throughout the year has been active, and several ships of the largest dimensions have been built. Messrs. Russell have been engaged in building the largest sailing ship yet launched, the *Liverpool* of 8,877 tons register. On land the number of long span bridges is being increased. In addition to those over the Forth, the Sukkur, and the Hawkesbury, now approaching completion, the Manhattan bridge at New York has made good progress during the year. This

bridge will have a total length of 2,878 feet, a headway above high-water level of 132 feet, and a width of 80 feet. The centre will consist of two steel arches, each of which will have a clear span of 550 feet. The great dam across the Vyrnwy Valley has been completed, and the largest lake in Wales is gradually filling. The dam itself is 1,100 feet long and 127 feet high from base to top. Another large dam 170 feet in height is approaching completion at San Mateo, California. Canal construction has been especially active. The Manchester Ship Canal, the North Sea Canal, and the Corinth Canal have made considerable progress, and the Suez Canal is being deepened and widened. The Örebro Canal in Sweden has been completed, while the Panama Canal is practically stopped for want of funds to continue the work. The surveys for the Nicaragua Canal have been completed and the contract between the Company and the Nicaraguan Government duly signed. It remains to be seen if this canal, 117 miles in length, will be more fortunate than its neighbour at Panama.

The most interesting products of mechanical skill during the year are the new *phonograph* of Edison and the *graphophone* of Tainter. Both instruments consist of a recording cylinder driven at a constant speed. It is absolutely necessary that this speed should be uniform, and this is obtained by the use of an electro-motor in Edison's case, and by an ingenious regulator in Tainter's instrument. Edison has replaced the tinfoil recording surface used in his phonograph of 1878 by wax, with the result that sounds can be reproduced more clearly and repeatedly than was previously possible. Both instruments were shown at the British Association meeting, but it would be invidious to compare the rival merits of the two inventors. It must be remembered that the principle of the phonograph is no new one, having been shown by Léon Scott in 1859; the difficulty lay in actually carrying this principle into practice.

Mr. A. H. Emery, of New York, has invented a testing machine which has several advantages over the form in general use in this country. The employment of testing machines has of late years become much more frequent, and tests of material are now generally made for any work of importance. The ordinary form of machine does not, however, allow of the testing of large masses, while the knife edges used to support the beam of the machine are liable to injury from the sudden shock given when the material under examination fails. To overcome these defects, Mr. Emery has devised a machine in which knife edges are entirely avoided, and plates of highly tempered steel used instead to connect the various levers employed. By an ingenious arrangement of hydraulic chambers the specimens are submitted to a constantly increasing strain, which is registered in a scale tube. As an example of the power of this novel and ingenious machine, an experiment made at the United States Arsenal at Watertown may be quoted. In this case a piece of wrought iron was broken which had a diameter of more than five inches and a sectional area of twenty square inches, the machine being graduated to give a total testing power of 357 tons.

PHYSICS.

In meteorological physics a series of important experiments have been made by M. Weyher on the production of whirlwinds, tornadoes, and water-spouts. By the aid of ingeniously constructed apparatus he was able to produce similar phenomena on a small scale and to observe the mode of

formation. Thus in waterspouts M. Weyher states that the water is supplied chiefly by the condensation of vapour present in the air, this condensation being due to the rarefaction caused by the cyclonic movement in the centre of the spout. As a rule the air is drawn towards the central point and then aspirated upwards by the difference in pressure. In the Indian Ocean it has been observed that in cyclones the direction of the wind crosses the isobars or lines of equal pressure at an almost constant angle, and that this direction is consequently not circular as is usually supposed. Meteorological observations were carried on for three successive days on the top of Mont Blanc by M. Richard. Barometer, thermometer, and other instruments were read at three-hour intervals. Difficulty was experienced from headache and loss of appetite due to the high elevation and the cold. On one occasion a crow was noticed, which settled near the observer. This is an unusual height for such a bird.

The vexed question of the influence of forests on rainfall has been again under discussion. Mr. Blanford gives data from India which seem to show that increase of forest growth is attended by increase of rainfall. Thus in the Central Provinces 20 per cent. more rain was noticed in the ten years during which forest growth was abundant than in the previous ten years when the forests were heavily denuded. Similar facts were noticed near Lahore and in other localities. On the American continent, however, Professor Gannett and General Greeley state, from the results of observations in Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois, where planting has been extensively carried on, and in Ohio, where extensive forest clearings have taken place, that practically no difference in the amount of the rainfall is observable, and what little difference there is rather tends to weaken than strengthen the theory.

The earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, which are now more carefully observed each year, have with scarcely an exception been on a far milder scale than in previous years. Thus the movements of the earth's crust in the recent Japan earthquakes have been registered and reproduced in models by the aid of the seismographs of Professors Ewing and Milne. The investigation by Dr. Zenker of the distribution of heat over the surface of the earth has been awarded a prize by the Academy of Sciences for its value to terrestrial physics. An International Meteorological Congress was held at Zurich to promote united action in the matter of observations and records. In our own land the daily weather forecasts are growing in accuracy, though the past year will rather be remembered for the unusually cold, wet summer, following a winter of drought. In fact, the amount of sunshine recorded during the summer months was singularly low, and the new solar motor, which has been invented by Major Ericsson to utilise the sun's rays by the help of a series of reflectors, would have stood idle for weeks. This motor, a modification of those previously made, is intended to develop sufficient horsepower to drive electric lighting machinery, or for any purpose in which only occasional motive power is required.

Experience has shown that, as regards continuous current dynamos, there is little to choose between the various types previously in use, and there have consequently been few attempts at the production of new forms. In arc lighting machines the most noticeable novelty is the arrangement in the Waterhouse dynamo for securing a constant current. An approximate regulation is effected by the employment of a third brush on the commutator in addition to the customary two. This is connected with one end of the fixed coil, a rheostat being also used for more delicate adjustment. Mr.

Ferranti has improved the alternate current machine which bears his name by the use of a special insulating compound which combines great mechanical strength with high insulating power. In all alternating machines the current is reversed a certain number of times per minute. This number varies from as high as 16,000 reversals in the Westinghouse to as low as 5,000 in the Zipernowsky. Practical experience is gradually solving the question as to whether the high or low standard of frequency is the best, and so far it would appear that 8,000 reversals per minute are quite sufficient for efficiency. Professor Ferraris, of Turin, has shown that a continuous rotary motion could be produced by two alternating currents with the intervention of any commutators, brushes, or similar devices. Two coils are placed at right angles to each other, and traversed by alternating currents of equal frequency, but having a difference of phase of 90° . The resultant magnetic field of this arrangement is of uniform strength, and rotates with a speed corresponding to the frequency of the currents. An armature placed in the centre is accordingly rotated with a uniform continuous motion. Professor Ferraris suggested that this arrangement might be made the basis of an electric meter, and this has been done by Mr. Schallenger, of the Westinghouse Company. A motor on the same principles has been brought out by Mr. N. Tesla. Professor Elihu Thompson has gone even further, as he produces a continuous rotary movement with one alternating current instead of two.

Low-tension dynamos have been used for electrolysing magnesium chloride solution for the bleaching of paper in paper mills. This process, known as the Hermite electro-bleaching, claims to be specially economical. As employed by one English firm it replaces a consumption of ten tons of bleaching powder per week. The brittleness of electrolytically deposited copper has been reduced by an invention due to Mr. Elmore. As the deposit of copper is being formed in the bath an agate polisher is moved lightly along the surface, thus consolidating the deposit. Copper tubes formed by this process show a tensile strength beyond that of solid drawn tubes. The sewage question has also been electrolytically attacked by Mr. Webster, and the results obtained appear to be so far satisfactory. Mr. Webster allows the sewage to flow over iron plates which are connected with the terminals of a current. The gases formed by the chemical action of the current remove all offensive matter and favour the deposition of the material in suspension. The manufacture of aluminium is developing, the various electrical processes of Cowles, Heroult, and Kleiner being all adopted on a manufacturing scale. In electric lighting a house-to-house supply has made great progress, especially in the metropolis. In general electrical engineering the two chief novelties are a tree-felling machine and a coal-cutting machine. Messrs. Goolden and Co., the inventors of this latter machine, have devised for the motor an airtight case filled with carbonic acid, so as to prevent any risk of explosion by sparking at the brushes. Welding has also been successfully accomplished, either by making the two pieces of metal to be welded the two poles of a powerful current, as in Professor Elihu Thompson's method, or by using a carbon rod pressed against the proposed joint as one pole, the metal being the other, as is done by Mr. von Benardos. The current produced on altering the temperature of a bismuth and antimony joint has been utilised by Mr. C. V. Boys in the construction of a radiomicrometer by which an alteration of a ten-millionth of a degree Centigrade can be observed. This consists of a circuit formed of a bar of antimony and bismuth, of small sectional area, the ends being of thin copper wire looped together and hung

in a powerful magnetic field by a fibre the twist of which can be measured. The effect of gradual increase in the strength of a magnetic field on the length of a bar of iron has been carefully tested by Mr. Shelford Bidwell. Several hitherto unnoticed effects were observed. Thus the length of the iron bar gradually increases till a certain strength of field is attained, and then it gradually decreases till less than its original length. Bars of nickel decrease at first and finally become of constant length, while cobalt remains unaltered at first, then grows shorter, attaining a minimum in comparatively low magnetic fields, and then lengthening up to the highest strength of field which was tried. Finally, the principle of the microphone has been applied to submarine use to enable sounds under water to be heard. At some experiments made with an instrument on this principle—the *hydrophone*—at Brest, the sound of bells, whistles, &c., was heard at a distance of more than three miles.

CHEMISTRY.

A large number of atomic weights have been re-calculated. Thus the atomic weight of tin has been re-determined by Professor Classen and Dr. Bongartz at Aix-la-Chapelle. From numerous sets of determinations a mean value of 118.77 was obtained, compared with the 117.8 calculated by Dumas in 1858. The highest result was obtained from the electrolysis of ammonio-stannic chloride, and the lowest from analysis of stannic bromide. If the atomic weight of oxygen is taken as a whole number (16), then the atomic weight of tin would become 119, but from recent determinations it would appear that the atomic weight of that element lies between 15.87 and 15.96. The atomic weight of osmium has also been calculated by Professor Seubert. According to the periodic law of Mendeléef and Newlands the order of atomic weight of the platinum metals should be osmium, iridium, platinum, and gold, but according to the values for the atomic weights previously obtained osmium was placed after gold. The atomic weight 198 was accepted from the determinations of Berzelius. This, Professor Seubert shows, should be reduced to 191, as the result of his analyses of double chlorides of potassium and ammonium with osmium. The analysis of osmium compounds is complicated by the exceedingly poisonous nature of many of its compounds. A new modification of sulphur has been described by Dr. Debus, which is slightly soluble in water and is of less strongly marked properties than other forms of this element. The ultimate form of the atoms of carbon has also been investigated by Victor Meyer, as in this direction lies the probable explanation of many of the puzzling questions in the behaviour of organic compounds of identical chemical composition, but with different physical properties. Victor Meyer has also re-determined the molecular weight of sulphur, which he finds remains constant at 468° at a specific gravity of 4.7, corresponding to the molecular formula S_2 , i.e., that the sulphur molecule contains two atoms at that temperature.

The volumes of the chlorides of aluminium, iron, copper, and chromium have been observed with somewhat discordant results, but it appears highly probable that at high temperatures the chlorides of iron, aluminium, and chromium contain one atom of metal to three of chlorine, instead of two atoms of metal to six of chlorine as previously assumed. The determination of this question is of great interest on account of its bearing on the permanence or otherwise in the atomic value of the elements.

Various new inorganic compounds have been discovered. The existence

of pentathionic acid seems now to be placed beyond doubt by the researches of Dr. Debus. A method for preparing pure oxysulphide of carbon has been invented. In this process carbon disulphide vapour is slowly passed over heated kaolin. The resulting gases consist of 60 per cent. oxysulphide and 85 per cent. carbonic oxide, with 5 per cent. of impurities; these are removed by suitable solution and the pure oxysulphide left. A complete set of the hydroxyl derivatives of tetrachloride of titanium is now known from the discoveries of Drs. König and Von der Pfordten, of Munich. This is the only instance in inorganic chemistry of a series of five compounds in which, while the metal atom remains constant, the chlorine atoms vary from four to none, their place being taken by the hydroxyl group. A spontaneously inflammable sulphofluoride of phosphorus has been obtained by Thorpe and Rodger from the action of sulphur and phosphorus on fluoride of lead, and a fluoride of vanadium has been obtained by Dr. Emil Petersen, of Copenhagen. This is the first fluorine compound of vanadium obtained uncombined with oxygen. A new sulphur acid has been discovered by M. Villiers by saturating thio-sulphate of soda with sulphurous acid gas. Artificial rubies have been exhibited, made by the process of MM. Frémy and Verneuil, and pharmacolite, a native arsenical mineral, has been prepared by M. Dufet. The observations of Professor Dixon and others, on the action of dry oxygen, have been extended by Mr. H. B. Baker, who finds that pure dry phosphorus, one of the most inflammable elements, will not burn in dry oxygen. The action of light on chemical constitution has been extended by the observation of the increased explosiveness of chloride and iodide of nitrogen in bright sunlight. On two occasions the latter substance exploded when wet, a condition in which it is generally quite non-explosive.

In chemical manufactures the various aluminium processes have made great development. The Castner process of extracting the metal from its ores by means of sodium is now being worked at Oldbury, the Cowles electric process is used at Stoke-on-Trent, and a third process has been introduced at Messrs. Krupp's works at Essen. The presence of aluminium in even small quantities in cast iron has been found to lead to a wonderful improvement in its adaptability for fine castings. The general question of alloys has been investigated by Professor Roberts Austen, who has brought together many new facts and observations, especially in the case of alloys containing gold or platinum.

The sulphur recovery process of Messrs. Chance is being adopted by other makers, and one part of the system, by which the sulphuretted hydrogen is burnt to sulphur and water, is now adopted in connection with a new process for the purification of coal gas. Among other waste products the slag from the basic iron process is finding a market as a manure, owing to its richness in phosphates, the presence of iron in the slag apparently not interfering with its value as a manure.

Several new explosives have been carefully tried, but the only new one of any great value appears to be that known as *bellite*. This consists essentially of nitrate of ammonia and dinitrobenzol, a substitution product of benzene. Bellite does not explode by ignition or by any ordinary concussion. It only exerts its explosive force when fired with an exploding fuse, but its power then seems to be greater even than that of dynamite.

In organic chemistry perhaps the most commercially important discoveries are the new dyeing colours for cotton. Up to a few years ago there were no colours known which could be called fast dyes for cotton without the

aid of mordants, but lately a number of colours have been introduced which dye unmordanted cotton direct from an alkaline base. The bodies are mostly sulphonic acids of azo-compounds from diamines. Another valuable series of cotton dyes has been discovered by Mr. A. G. Green. The starting point for these dyes is a yellow colouring matter called "primuline," which is an amido-sulphonic acid. Primuline has a direct affinity for cotton fibre untreated with mordants, dyeing it a greenish-yellow colour. If the fibre thus dyed is converted into a diazo-compound and then treated with a phenol or an amine, new colours are produced. Reds, browns, maroons, and purples have been thus obtained. Several other new dyes have been introduced, such as Nile blue, paraphenyline blue, and rhodamine.

Several new interesting series of compounds have been added to the already lengthy lists. Chief among these newcomers are the platinum sulphur series of Professor Blomstrand, who has obtained a series of salts of ethyl and methyl compounds with these two elements. Modifications of the cyanides of ethyl and methyl have been discovered by Professor E. von Meyer, of Leipzig, in which the number of atoms of each element in the original cyanide is doubled. As an example, ethyl cyanide is a liquid boiling at 98° C. The new polymeric modification has exactly the same proportions of elements, but it is a solid melting at 47° C. and not boiling till a temperature of 257° is reached. An organic compound containing sulphur, named phenyl thiocarbimide, has been suggested as a substitute for carbon disulphide in prisms for optical purposes. Its coefficient of dispersion is somewhat greater than that of the disulphide, while it has the further advantage of remaining colourless and being non-volatile.

BIOLOGY.

England has been visited during the year by the *Syrrhaptes paradoxus*, or Pallas's sand-grouse, a bird whose usual habitat is in Siberia. None have been seen in this country in any number since 1868, but in the past year they have been noticed in numerous instances. Thus Mr. Cordeaux reports 184 specimens to have been noticed in Lincolnshire, of which not more than 25 were killed, but no well-attested instances of the newcomer having raised young or nested in this country have been published. By October most of the birds appear to have left Europe. Another rare visitor is the Isabel-coloured runner, *Cursorius isabellinus*, which was noticed in the island of Möen, off the coast of Denmark. This bird, which is an inhabitant of the Sahara, has only once or twice previously been seen in Europe. Mr. Beddard has continued his researches on earthworms. New specimens of these creatures have been forthcoming from Queensland and Bermuda. The Queensland worm grows to as much as six feet long, in this respect resembling a Cape worm, of a green colour, and a like gigantic size. The Bermuda earthworm is remarkable for the hooked bristles, or *setæ* as they are technically called, which are carried by some of the posterior segments. These *setæ* are placed so that alternate segments correspond, while the adjoining segments have the *setæ* so arranged that one set occupy the interval between the set on the next segment. The hooked character of these *setæ* is also peculiar, these organs being generally straight or slightly curved.

The composition of pearls has been studied by Dr. G. Harley. He finds that all pearls possess the same constituents, namely, water, carbonate of lime, and organic matter. No sulphate of lime is present, although this

substance is $10\frac{1}{2}$ times more plentiful than carbonate of lime in sea-water. Pearls also possess an organic matrix somewhat resembling bone which has had its mineral matter removed by acid. The so-called cocoanut pearls possess no chemical relationship to cocoanut milk, and are probably unconnected, except in name, with that source. Mammalian pearls, resembling Oriental pearls in appearance, consist of cholesterin, a bile product.

The vegetation of Krakatoa was entirely destroyed by the eruption in 1883. Dr. Treub has visited the scene of this catastrophe, and finds a new flora springing up, consisting of ferns, phanerogams, freshwater algæ, grasses, and common palms. The flora of the Hawaiian Islands has been described by Dr. W. Hillebrand. He finds that the present flora is isolated from the nearest regions of Polynesia and Central America, and presents affinities to those of Australia, North America, the Andes, and the north temperate zone of the Old World. Many new species are described, though the total number of species is small, while varieties are numerous.

The ancient stories of the pigmy races of Africa who warred with cranes have received striking confirmation in the discovery of the Akkas, a diminutive tribe in Central Africa. Two skeletons from the Niger river, sent by Emin Pasha, have been carefully measured. Both appear to belong to individuals perfectly proportioned and not stunted in growth, and each measures somewhat less than four feet.

It has been noticed by various observers that in Hudson Bay there is a method of preventing snow-blindness by blackening the skin round the eyes. The same plan is adopted in Sikkim and in Fiji to protect the eyes from the glare of the coral reefs. The value of the precaution seems undoubted, though the mode in which it acts is not so clear.

Two important physiological discoveries have been made, one of which has already been put to practical use. In this case a portion of nerve was transplanted from one living subject to another. Professor von Fleischel had a portion of a diseased nerve cut out and replaced by a piece of a rabbit's nerve, the great nerve from the thigh being selected. The operation was performed by Dr. Geisung, of Vienna, with complete success. In the other case Dr. Czerney removed the entire stomach of a dog, the ends of the gullet being then joined to the cut end of the alimentary canal. The junction healed, and digestion took place in spite of the complete absence of the stomach. This shows that the function of digestion is not confined merely to the stomach, which is only a specialised enlargement of the alimentary canal, the functions of which portion can to some extent be also performed by other portions.

Mr. E. B. Poulton has discovered the presence of true teeth in the young of the *Ornithorhynchus*. As mammalian teeth are, according to Hertwig, in a more ancestral condition than other organs, their presence in the *Ornithorhynchus*, a creature in which other mammalian characteristics are so greatly altered, is an additional proof of the near relationship of that animal to the earlier mammalian forms. A new marsupial is also reported to have been discovered in South Australia, about the size of a mole, to which it bore some resemblance in the shape of its fore limbs and the sunken eyes. The skin was covered with a light-coloured fur, and the single specimen captured measured about five inches long, of which scarcely one inch belonged to the tail.

During the past year Professor Fürbinger has published a work on birds, which will rank as the standard treatise on the morphology of this branch of

the animal kingdom, while Professor W. K. Parker has also given the result of his researches on the skulls of birds, as showing their origin. He concludes that there are many vestiges sufficient to justify the assumption, either that birds have sprung from the lowest and most ancient of the true reptiles, or that both birds and reptiles have arisen from some archaic amphibian forms, "low in structure, but full of potential excellence, and ready to become, *pro re nata*, reptile, bird, or even mammal, as the case might be." Dr. Eimer has put forward some interesting theories as to the methods and direction in which variation of organic forms can occur, and Dr. Kühne, in his lectures on the Origin and Causation of Vital Movement, has ably summed up our knowledge of the action of muscle and nerve.

ASTRONOMY.

A value of the solar parallax, derived from the photographs taken at the different American and Australian stations in 1882, has been published. 1,475 photographs were used, and as a result a parallax of 8.847 was obtained by measurements of the distance between Venus and the sun's centre. The rotation period of the sun has been determined by Dr. J. Wilsung from observations of the faculæ, and from comparison of 144 groups he finds a value of 25 days 5 hours 28 mins. 12 s. The spots in the sun have been generally selected for determination of this period on account of their slower change and better definition. Dr. Wilsung's results show a difference when the northern and southern faculæ are separately considered. At the end of the year the sun was remarkably free from spots, weeks passing without one being visible. A comparison of the results of the total eclipses of 1878 and 1886 have brought out the interesting fact that the brightness of the corona varies, being estimated as four times the brightness in 1886 that it was in 1878.

The canals of the planet Mars have been observed through the Lick Observatory refractor. These canals, which were thought to be double, were noted as broad bands. The double character of these canals has always been difficult of explanation, and the removal of this difficulty will render the study of Martian geography an easier matter. The continent of "Libya," which M. Perrotin fancied had disappeared, has also been again observed. M. Niesten thinks that the variation in the appearance of this region is due to the different inclination of the axis to the line of sight. According to M. Terby, Mars is now undergoing a glacial period similar to that which our own earth has experienced, though the late Mr. Proctor considered that the temperature of Mars was as high as or higher than our own.

A total eclipse of the moon occurred on Jan. 28. As a lunar eclipse offers a good opportunity for obtaining revised values for the moon's distance and diameter, preparations on an extensive scale had been made for its observation, some 60 observatories being used. At Greenwich the weather was unfavourable, but at those observatories favoured with good weather 788 observations were made of occultations or reappearances of stars. For this purpose Professor Struve had issued a list to each observatory.

The photographic study of nebulæ has been carried on during the past year with success. The brothers Henry have taken photographs of the Maia nebula in the Pleiades with an exposure of four hours, which show a large extension of the nebulous matter over their previous photographs. Stars down to the 17th magnitude were visible, one being enveloped in a dense mass of

nebula, while nebulous streaks were seen extending from star to star. The Ring nebula in Lyra, when examined by the Lick telescope, was seen as a very complex object compared with its appearance in a $9\frac{1}{2}$ -inch refractor, while the nebula in Draco seemed to consist of rings overlying each other. The arrangement of this nebula is so curious that Professor Holden would make it the type of a new order of nebulae, to which he gives the name of *helical* nebulae.

Curious irregularities have been noticed in the variations of the light of U. Ophiuchi. The light diminishes regularly till it attains its minimum brightness, but during the increase a well-marked retardation in the time is noticed. It seems also that its period of variation has become shorter since its discovery. Similar peculiarities exist in other variable stars, such as Y. Cygni and R. Canis Majoris.

On October 15 and 16 observations of the solar spectrum were made by M. Janssen from a temporary station at Les Grands Mulets, near Chamonix. The result of these observations was to show that both the bands and lines of oxygen as identified by previous experiments were entirely due to the earth's atmosphere. The system of bands, viz., those in the red, the yellow, and the blue, the intensity of which had been found to vary with the square of the density of the absorbing oxygen, was almost entirely absent, and the group of dark lines was so much enfeebled as to leave little doubt that they too would disappear if the influence of the atmosphere could be totally eliminated. The object of choosing this time of year and place of observation was due to the circumstance that the cold would practically free the higher layers of air from watery vapour. This result does not of course disprove the presence of oxygen in the sun, but merely that the lines and bands which have been considered to show its presence are due to the earth's atmosphere, not to the sun. Determinations of the height of the aurora were made at Cape Thorsen, Spitzbergen, by the Polar expedition. The average height was found to be from 55 to 60 kilomètres.

The bicentenary of the publication of Newton's "*Principia*" has been already mentioned. It may not be out of place to mention that there are two discordances with Newton's theory still to be explained. These are the motion of the perihelion of Mercury and the acceleration of Encke's and Winnecke's comets and of the mean motion of the moon. The acceleration of Encke's comet has been confirmed by Van Astlen and Backlund, and that of Winnecke's comet by Oppolzer. This is generally attributed to the resistance of the ether pervading space.

Among the comets two old ones have revisited us, and four new ones have been discovered. The two old comets were Encke's and Faye's. Encke's was first observed by Mr. Tebbutt on July 8, at Windsor, New South Wales, and Faye's on August 9, at Nice. The first comet of the year was discovered by an observer at the Cape on February 18. It has been of great interest on account of its rapid increase of brilliancy between May 20 and 23, this increase being as much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ magnitudes. It is a periodic comet with an orbit of about 2,000 years, according to the computations of two independent observers. The asteroids have received an addition to their numbers of ten, eight of which are credited to Palisa. The total number of these bodies is probably enormous. They vary in size downwards from Vesta, with an estimated diameter of 400 miles. Menippe, for example, has only a diameter of twelve miles, and there are many smaller. Leverrier calculated that the total mass of the asteroids could not exceed one-fourth of the earth's mass.

This would be equal to 5,000 such planets as Vesta, or 72 millions of planets like Menippe. We may therefore safely conclude that the number of asteroids is practically infinite, and that additions to the present 281 can be made to almost any extent by increasing the telescopic power at the command of an observer. It is satisfactory to know that the Treasury have consented to supply the Greenwich Observatory with an instrument which will allow Great Britain to take its share in the international mapping of the heavens by photography. During the year the Cape Observatory has been equipped with a new heliometer, the Lick Observatory has commenced work with the great 36-inch refractor, and a new observatory was constructed at Pekin.

GEOLOGY.

The International Geological Congress met in London in September, when the first sheet of an international map of the geology of Europe was shown. The Congress took into consideration the preparation of a table of geological terms which should as far as possible enable geologists to compare strata and rocks of similar age or structure. The report of the Krakatoa Committee of the Royal Society has been published. This deals not only with the geological features of the eruption, but with its bearing on other branches of science. Since that eruption, and the red sunset glows noticed all over the world, greater attention has been paid to the question of dust in the air, and this dust haze has been noticed and distinguished from mist or smoke in various parts of the world. It would appear from the researches of Mr. J. Aitken, communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, that these dust particles vary in amount from half a million to nearly five hundred millions in the square inch! The interesting phenomenon of sonorous sands has been investigated by Dr. A. Julien and Professor H. C. Bolton. These sonorous sands are found in various localities, but no satisfactory explanation of their curious properties has been previously given. Dr. Julien and Professor Bolton find that all sonorous sands are free from dust or silt, and consist of clean rounded grains. Round these grains a film of air clings which acts as an elastic cushion, allowing each grain to ring when stirred by a rising tide or by a stick. If this film of air is removed either by heating or rubbing or mixing with mud or dust, the sonorousness is lost. Specimens of sand which have retained their sonorousness for months were shown before the New York Academy of Science. The investigators are now trying to artificially induce this peculiar property in selected non-sonorous sands.

In England sonorous sands have been noticed between Studland Bay and Poole Harbour, and in Scotland at Lunan Bay, near Montrose. The only previous known locality for this sand in Great Britain was Eigg, off the island of Skye, where it was noticed thirty years ago by Hugh Miller.

An interesting discovery of mammoth remains in company with flint implements has been made at Southall. These remains were embedded in a large sandy loam on which rested an evenly stratified bed of gravel. Over the gravel there was a thin deposit of brick earth. The flint implements were thirteen feet below the surface. Among them was a spear-head five inches in length, which lay in contact with the remains of the forelimbs of the mammoth, as if the animal had been caught in a bog and wounded with the spear. There was no trace of any sudden catastrophe which would show itself by the altered position of the bones. The remainder of the animal was unfortunately disturbed and broken in the process of excavation. Another addition to the list of pre-historic art has been made by the discovery of the bust of a woman

carved on a horse-tooth at Mas d'Azil, Ariège. M. Ed. Piette, to whom we are indebted for the account, describes the carving as showing a woman with large and rounded nose, lips thick, chin retreating, forehead high, and not receding as in the Neanderthal skull. This is the third female figure referable to the Quaternary period.

M. Netchayeff, of Kazan, has traced the former borders of the Caspian Sea to 235 feet above its present level. He states that long after Pliocene times it must have extended northwards as far as the present junction of the Volga and Kama, in latitude $55^{\circ} 20'$ N. Over this region M. Netchayeff has found two distinctive fossils, *Hydrobia caspia*, now only found in the Caspian Sea, and *Dreysena polymorpha*, confined to the Aral and Caspian. An estimate of the duration of post-glacial time from the extent of the deposits on the coasts of Lancashire and Cheshire has been made by Mr. T. Mellard Reade. These deposits consist of the boulder clay, estuarine silt, clay, peat, and forest beds, and the sand dunes. Mr. Reade calculates that 40,000 years would be required for the elevation and denudation of the boulder clay, 15,000 years more would allow of the accumulation of the estuarine series of deposits, and another 2,500 would suffice for the formation of the sand dunes which now fringe the coast. This would give a total of 57,500 years from the glacial epoch. An important addition has been made to geological literature by the publication of the first volume of Mr. H. W. Etheridge's "Fossils of the British Isles." This volume contains the fossil flora and fauna of the Palæozoic strata.

GEOGRAPHY.

Africa.—In Africa the explorations of Count Teleki in the region south and east of the Nile have added another large lake to the map of the country between the Victoria Nyanza and Abyssinia. Dr. Junker has seen the publication of his many years' wanderings in the regions drained by the upper waters of the Nile and the Congo, and further south Mr. Arnot has completed seven years' work in the region of the Lualaba and the Zambesi. Tidings of the safety of Stanley in his expedition to reach Emin Pasha have been received. He appears to have reached Emin, and to have set out on his return after receiving help from that gallant officer rather than giving help to him.

A new and direct route between Antotto (Shoa) and Harar has been explored by M. Rimbaud. This route lies through the fertile country of the Itu-Galla, and replaces the dangerous route through the country of the Danakil. The total distance of 810 miles was covered by the expedition in eighteen days.

The German Protectorate of Togo-land has been enlarged to cover the area explored by Dr. Henrici and Herr Grade, who have mapped out the country to the mountains of Agome; while Mr. H. H. Johnston, the English consul at Old Calabar, has carried on his explorations in that district, having ascended the Cross River for some distance in January last, and additional information as to the Cameroons region has been secured by Lieuts. Kund and Tappenbeck. Further south the Kaap goldfields of the Transvaal have been described and re-mapped by Mr. F. Jeppe, and Basutoland has been mapped and explored as a result of the British Protectorate. The mean height of the African continent has been calculated by Herr F. Heiderich as 2,200 feet, being somewhat more than that published by Mr. Murray and M. de Lapparent.

The district round Lake Shirwa has been explored by the Rev. A. Hetherwick. He finds that the level of that lake is gradually falling, and that a

series of swamps on the north form a watershed between the Shirwa and the Lujenda. Full details have been received concerning the ascent to the foot of the crater wall of Kilimanjaro by Dr. Meyer. The highest elevation reached in this ascent was nearly 17,000 feet. Here Dr. Meyer was stopped by a huge glacier wall about 120 feet in height. The district between Mombasa and Mamboya has been traversed by Bishop Parker and the Rev. J. Blackburn. Mamboya is situated some 200 miles from the Zanzibar coast at Saadeni. The journey was begun on June 27, and Mamboya was reached on August 5. The 400 miles of country which was passed through was richly wooded and mountainous, the ridges of a succession of hills having to be crossed. The people are described as friendly, and the climate as healthy. The German explorer, Count Pfeil, has published an account of his travels through a previously unvisited region of Useguha. In this journey he paid special attention to the quality of the soil with regard to the vegetation and capacity for cultivation. The Mashona country has been explored by Mr. H. C. Selous. During the journey considerable tracts of alluvial goldfields were discovered, and he noticed an old tunnel shaft which looked like an abandoned gold mine.

The river Welle, discovered by Schweinfurth in the Niam-Niam country, has been identified with the Mobangi, a tributary of the Congo, by Captain Van Gele, the Belgian explorer, who has traced the Mobangi to within sixty miles of Dr. Junker's furthest point on the Welle. The river at this place was 7,800 feet wide, and studded with islands.

Asia.—The well-known Russian traveller in Central Asia, Mr. N. M. Prjevalsky, died at Vyernyi, a small Russian town near the Thian Shan Mountains, in the attempt to reach Lhassa. This, which was his fifth great journey, was begun in September. He arrived at Tashkend in the middle of October, but died shortly afterwards. In his four completed journeys, of which some account has been given in previous years, he collected some 700 specimens of mammalia, 5,000 of birds, 1,200 of reptiles and amphibia, 800 of fishes, 2,000 of mollusca, 10,000 of insects, and upwards of 15,000 of plants. No other explorer has done so much to elucidate the geography of the mountain regions in Central Asia, or has devoted himself more energetically and persistently to the work of exploration.

The Khin-gan Mountains, which separate Mongolia from Manchuria, have been explored by the Russian traveller Garnak, who has traversed the range four times, and explored it throughout almost its whole length. Another Russian traveller, Mr. Ressine, has visited the same part of Central Asia, and explored the country on the eastern slope of these mountains.

In Northern Siberia the Liakov Islands have been visited by Van Toll, and found to be very rich in fossil plants of Tertiary age similar to those found in Greenland and Spitzbergen. Remains of mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and other large mammals were also found.

An important journey across Central Asia has been completed by Lient. F. E. Younghusband. This journey covered the country from the east coast of Asia to the Western Himalayas. The route, selected from Peking to Chinese Turkestan, lay between that followed by Mr. Ney Elias in 1872, across the desert of Gobi, and that taken by Marco Polo six centuries ago. Lient. Younghusband set out on April 4 with only one companion, a Chinese servant. The Great Wall at Peking is described as a magnificent structure, built of immense granite blocks and some forty or fifty feet in height, wide enough to drive two carriages abreast on the top, and winding up and down the steep

hill-sides far away into the distance; but when Mr. Younghusband next passed through it, scarcely 100 miles from Pekin, it had dwindled to a miserable mud-wall not twenty feet high, with gaps in it here and there as much as a quarter of a mile wide. Four days from Pekin the town of Kalgan, on the Mongolian frontier, was reached. From this town the valley of the Yangho was ascended through a desolate, half-deserted country, due to the sand-storms which occur almost daily in the spring. On April 14 the Mongolian steppes were reached. At Keui-hua-cheng the little party was increased by two guides and eight camels, one of these animals being laden with brick tea to serve as money with the Mongols. Most of the travelling was done by night. After traversing the Galpin Gobi, General Prjevalsky's route was crossed at the southern part of the Hurku Hills. At the western end of these hills a remarkable range of sandhills was met with. These hills were forty miles in length and entirely destitute of vegetation. On the outlying spurs of the Altai Mountains numbers of wild asses and horses were met with, with tracks of the wild camels and horns of the *Ovis poli*. On July 4 Hami was reached, after a journey of 1,255 miles from Keui-hua-cheng. The lowest spot on the march was 1,700 feet above the sea. The next stage in the journey was from Hami to Yarkand, 1,200 miles. Yarkand was reached on August 29, and the passage of the Himalayas attacked by the Mustagh Pass, to Skardu and Kashmir, a route not previously explored by a European. On the way frequent river gorges had to be traversed either by wading through icy cold water or by making paths of stones. A splendid view was obtained of Peak K., the second highest mountain of the world. The greatest difficulties were experienced in crossing the great Mustagh glacier; in one place six hours were spent in climbing down an ice precipice, in which, for a great part of the way, steps had to be cut, and the travellers roped together. At length the little village of Askoli was reached. After an ineffectual attempt to get through the new Mustagh Pass, Lieut. Younghusband went on to Skardu and through Kashmir, reaching Rawal Pindi seven months after leaving Pekin, and having accomplished an arduous and lengthy journey of 7,000 miles.

A survey of Siam has been made by Mr. J. McCarthy, and a map published from his researches, which adds materially to our knowledge of this important country.

The mountaineering journeys to the Caucasus by Messrs. Freshfield, Mummery, and others have done much to make the region better known, but we have to record the death of Mr. W. F. Donkin, who was lost with his whole party in the attempt to investigate the Daghtan range in the Central Caucasus.

America.—The most important journey accomplished during the past year is one of which very few details are at present obtainable, though its accomplishment is known. The brilliant attempt of Dr. Nanson to cross the frozen wastes of Greenland has been successful, though the intrepid explorer did not complete his journey in time to return to Europe before winter set in.

Dr. Nanson left the Norwegian sealer, the *Jason*, on July 17, hoping to reach the shore the next day. Twistings of the ice, roughness of surface, and shore currents caused the party to drift in the ice for twelve days, during which time they were in great danger from crushing and from the tremendous breakers at the edge of the free ice. At last the mainland was reached near Andretok, in lat. 61°, to the north of Cape Farewell. From there they rode northward to Uminik, where the crossing of the inland ice was commenced

on Aug. 15. The course of the expedition was directed to Christianshaab, but this was subsequently changed to the more southerly point of Godthaab, partly on account of tremendous snowstorms, and partly in the hope of reaching that point before the winter set in. The party experienced a temperature some 40° or 50° below zero, and for several weeks travelled at a mean elevation of 9,000 feet. The ascent from Uminik on to the central ice-field was comparatively easy, but the descent down to the Ameralik Fjord was difficult. On arriving at this fjord Dr. Nanson and one of his companions, Mr. Sverdrup, made a small boat out of some of their baggage, and reached Godthaab on Oct. 3, too late for the last vessel. Letters sent south from Godthaab to Ivigtut by two Kajak men reached the *Fox* steamer before it left that port, and it is from these letters that these few details of the expedition are known.

Labrador, which is the part of the American continent nearest to the British Isles, and on the same latitude, is comparatively unknown. A visit to the interior was made in 1887, from July to October, by Mr. R. F. Holme. Mr. Holme finds that, though the Arctic current freezes the coast and dwarfs the vegetation, yet on proceeding twelve miles inland a luxuriant forest growth is met with, varied by open barren spots which are the homes of vast herds of cariboo. Mr. Holme penetrated nearly to the Grand Falls on the river of that name, which flows into Lake Waminikapou.

In Greenland the coast north of Upernivik has been explored and mapped by Lieutenants Ryder and Block, of the Danish Navy. The temperatures of sea and air were taken at intervals, and the motion of the glaciers carefully studied.

In South America, Mr. Steains had explored the Rio Dôce, and three of its largest tributaries. The district of the Rio Dôce is surrounded by some of the most flourishing and longest-settled parts of Brazil, but has remained practically unexplored since its original discovery. The accounts given by Mr. Steains of the customs of the Botocudo Indians agree with those given by Cabral nearly 400 years ago. Attempts to settle colonists along the Rio Dôce have been made, but have all ended in failure. The head waters of the Orinoco have been visited by M. Chaffanjon, who has also carefully studied the bifurcation of the river, by which part of its waters enter the Amazon through the Cassiquiari. This he considers to be of comparatively recent origin, and due to the action of the flood waters of the Orinoco on its soft clayey banks at a bend of the river.

The scheme for an Antarctic search expedition has been started. The Australian colonies are willing to subscribe 5,000*l.* for this object, but the Treasury feel unable at present to make a similar grant from the resources of this country.

In Paraguay the river Jejui and some of its tributaries have been explored by Captain S. Sosa, and among other results a hitherto unknown tribe of Indians, the Apytere, were discovered.

The island of Fernando de Noronha, 200 miles off the coast of Brazil, has been exhaustively explored as to its geology and biology by Mr. Ridley, of the British Museum, Professor Ramage, of Edinburgh, and the Rev. T. S. Lea, with the help of a grant from the Royal Society.

Australasia.—Mr. D. D. Daly, the assistant resident in charge of the Dent Province of British North Borneo, has given an account of his five years' explorations in that country. Borneo, which a few years ago was known chiefly as the abode of head-hunting savages, has now become com-

paratively well known through the surveys of Messrs. F. X. Wittl, W. B. Pryer, Frank Hatton, and others. The British portion is now divided into residencies; the large rivers are being opened to trade. A system of police has been established and the intertribal feuds gradually put down. Mr. Daly states that, as the result of his experience, not only have many native tribes abandoned their barbarous customs, but that vast tracts of country have been rendered available for the cultivation of indigenous products during the past six years of the company's rule. Mr. Daly found that one of the surest methods of gaining the confidence of these savage tribes was to administer medicines.

In New Guinea explorations have been made in the British portion by the Roman Catholic missionaries recently established in Yule Island, and in German Guinea by Admiral von Schleinitz, Dr. Holerung, and Dr. Schrader.

The Solomon Islands have been explored by Mr. C. M. Woodford. One of the results of his visits has been a collection of nearly 17,000 specimens of the fauna and flora. Mr. Woodford also made numerous interesting observations on the manners, religion, and ethnology of the native inhabitants. An account and survey of Christmas Island has been given by Captain Wharton, F.R.S., giving the results of Captain Maclean's visit in 1886, and of Captain P. Aldrich's visit in 1887. The highest point on the island is about 1,200 feet above the sea, the island itself consisting chiefly of coral limestone.

The Key Islands have been similarly visited and described by Captain G. Langen, who gives a description of the natives as to their customs and religion.

The Andaman Islands, especially the Little Andaman, have been surveyed by Mr. M. Portman, who speaks favourably of the Andamanese in comparison with the reports given of them by previous observers.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1888.¹

JANUARY.

Bonamy Price was born in Guernsey in May, 1807, whence, at the age of fourteen, he was sent as a private pupil to the Rev. Charles Bradley, of High Wycombe, whose son became Dean of Westminster. Among his fellow-pupils at High Wycombe was the ill-fated and eloquent Smith O'Brien, the leader and victim of the wretched Irish rebellion of 1848. From High Wycombe Price went to Oxford and entered as an undergraduate at Worcester College, and while resident at Oxford he was an occasional pupil of Dr. Arnold, at Laleham. Among his contemporaries at Oxford was F. W. Newman, also an undergraduate at Worcester, and with him and his brother, Cardinal Newman, Price formed an intimate friendship, as well as with other members of that celebrated band which originated what was afterwards known as the "Oxford movement." In Michaelmas Term, 1829, he obtained a first class in both classics and mathematics, being the only double first of his term. He took his B.A. degree in the same year; but he never competed for a Fellowship either at his own college or any other, but some years before his death he was elected to an honorary Fellowship at Worcester College.

Dr. Arnold had in the interval become Head-Master of Rugby, and was determined to have Price as one of his under-masters, so high had been the opinion he had formed of him while he was his pupil at Laleham. He kept the Mathematical Mastership open for some time, in order that he might offer it to Price as soon as the latter had taken his degree, and Price was appointed in February 1830.

In 1832 Price, who had in the meantime built a house at Rugby for the re-

ception of boarders, was appointed to a Classical Mastership and given charge of a division of the Fifth Form. Three years afterwards Arnold established the celebrated Form known as "The Twenty," which was composed of the picked boys of the Fifth Form, from among whom vacancies in the Sixth were filled up by competition. The first master of this form was Prince Lee, afterwards Bishop of Manchester; but on his retirement in 1838 Price was appointed to fill his place, and he remained master of the Twenty until he quitted Rugby in 1850. Among well-known men who were in Mr. Price's house we may mention Mr. Goschen, the Dean of Westminster (Dr. Bradley), Sir Richard Temple, Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr (formerly Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government), Fox (the well-known Indian missionary), and the Rev. Septimus Hansard (Rector of Bethnal Green), whilst Mr. Matthew Arnold was one of his private pupils. Dr. Arnold died in 1842, and it was commonly believed that had Price been in, or been willing to take, holy orders, he might have been appointed to the Head-Mastership. However that may be, he remained an under-master under Dr. Tait, Dr. Arnold's successor, and finally resigned his post in 1850, shortly after Tait's appointment to the Deanery of Carlisle.

From 1850 to 1868, when he was elected to the Professorship of Political Economy at Oxford, Mr. Price lived in London, and devoted much of his time to business affairs in which he was interested. He was also placed on two Royal Commissions, one on the Scottish Fisheries and the other on the Queen's Colleges in Ireland.

Political economy had always been

¹ These notices are in several cases adapted from the *Times*.

a subject to which Mr. Price had specially devoted himself. Accordingly, when the Chair of Political Economy, founded at Oxford by Henry Drummond, became vacant in 1868, he offered himself as a candidate. The Professor was at that time elected by Convocation for a period of five years, but was re-eligible. The chair had been held for the previous five years by Mr. Thorold Rogers, who offered himself for re-election. He had, however, made himself highly unpopular with the Conservative majority in Convocation, and especially with his leaders in Oxford. Both candidates, indeed, were Liberals, but of very different shades. As may have been anticipated, Mr. Bonamy Price was elected by a large majority.

Professor Price, when he went to Oxford, had lost none of the energy, none of the stimulating and vivifying power, which had made him so noted a teacher at Rugby. He was not, perhaps, in all respects, what would be called an orthodox and sound economist. But he thought for himself; he had always excellent and, as he contrived to make them appear, invincible reasons to give in favour of his own views, and if he did not always convince his hearers and pupils, he invariably compelled them to think for themselves and to think to good purpose. Several courses of his lectures were published—the first, entitled “The Principles of Currency,” in 1869, and the last, in 1878, entitled “Chapters on Practical Political Economy.” This latter volume was dedicated to the late Prince Leopold, who, while resident in Oxford, had become much attached to the Professor and was a frequent attendant at his lectures. In 1876 he published a work entitled “Of Currency and Banking,” in which he dealt at length with the bimetallic controversy. He was twice president of the Economical Department of the Social Science Congress, at Cheltenham in 1878 and at Nottingham in 1882; and he frequently lectured on economical subjects in different parts of the country in connection with the movement for the higher education of women. He was master both in speaking and writing of a clear, cogent, and incisive style, and he never touched upon any subject without bringing to bear on it the light, not always dry, but always copious, of a singularly acute mind, a wide knowledge of men and affairs, and an intelligence alert, impetuous, sympathetic, and stimulating to a degree not easily realised by those who never felt the influence, rather electric than

magnetic, of his very remarkable personality.

Mr. Price's services were again, towards the end of his life, required on Royal Commissions. The first was the Duke of Richmond's Commission on Agriculture, and the second was Lord Iddesleigh's Commission on Depression in Trade and Commerce. His connexion with the first of these Commissions brought his name for a time into the forefront of political controversy. Mr. Price had signed the report of the minority, and had added some remarks of his own in which he strongly condemned the “Three F's” as contrary to sound economical principle; a point which Mr. Gladstone did not forget in his speech on the Land Law (Ireland) Bill, delivered on April 7, 1881.

Mr. Price married, in 1834, Miss Rose, the daughter of the Rev. Joseph Rose, vicar of Rothley, and granddaughter of Mr. Thomas Babington, of Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, sometime M.P. for that county. Mrs. Price's grandfather was godfather to Lord Macaulay, whose aunt he had married.

For some time before his death he had been in failing health. Early in 1886 he had had a severe illness, from which he partially rallied; but in the winter of the past year (1887) he again became ill and was removed from Oxford to London, where he died on Jan. 8, in his 85th year.

Mr. William Crackanthorpe.—William Crackanthorpe, who died on Jan. 10, at his residence, Newbiggin Hall, Westmoreland, was the only son of Christopher Crackanthorpe, the eldest son of William Cookson and Dorothy Crackanthorpe, heiress of Newbiggin estates and Hall, which had descended in the family from the marriage of Emma de Newbiggin to Robert de Crackanthorpe in 1331. William Crackanthorpe was educated first at Sedbergh School, but was soon removed to the house of Dr. Gretton, of Heacham, near Windsor, in order to be near his guardian and uncle, Dr. Cookson, the senior Canon of Windsor. When only little more than ten years old William Crackanthorpe had succeeded to the property which he held for so many years. After leaving Dr. Gretton's, where he had had amongst his companions Lords Ilchester, Aveland, and Ashburnham, he entered at St. John's College, Cambridge. On quitting college, in 1814, he made an extended tour over the Continent of Europe, and had an interview with Napoleon on the very day before his escape from the Isle

of Elba; and soon after he made acquaintance with Lord and Lady Holland, with whom he remained on terms of intimacy, being a frequent guest at Holland House in the period of its greatest lustre. It was, however, as a warm supporter of Brougham in his unsuccessful contest for Westmoreland in 1826 that Mr. Crackanthorpe first made himself conspicuous as a Liberal politician. Five years later he was invited to stand for the county in conjunction with Mr. Nowell, against Colonel Lowther and Mr. W. Carus-Wilson; but on the eve of the election a compromise was effected, and the representation was divided between Colonel Lowther and Mr. Nowell. In Cumberland he also took an active part in the election contest, and his ready and often powerful speaking gained for him the sobriquet of "The Demosthenes of the North." When Sir James Graham, in 1837, forsook the Liberal party, Mr. Crackanthorpe was among his most active opponents; and at a later date he became the close friend and supporter of Mr. Howard, of Greystoke, and Mr. Charles Howard, of Naworth, and down to the elections of 1876 he presided over meetings at Penrith and elsewhere, held in support of the Liberal candidates.

In 1821 he was High Sheriff of Cumberland, ten years before his name had been placed on the Commission—an act of common justice for which he had to await Lord Brougham's chancellorship. Later on, when the keenest party feeling had abated, he became a magistrate for both Cumberland and Westmoreland, Deputy Assistant Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and filled for more than fifty years the various honorary posts which country gentlemen are called upon to discharge. The activity he displayed in his county duties never flagged, and he was at all times ready, even at inconvenience to himself, to take up and defend the wrongs and hardships of his poorer neighbours. For more than half a century he practically gave opinions as well as law, not only to his tenants but to a wide circle of "statesmen" and dalesmen, who recognised his sense of their wants and the straightforwardness of his conduct. He retained all his faculties to the last, with the exception of his hearing, which in the later years of his life prevented his taking a very active part in political life. Mr. Crackanthorpe was never married, and his estates on his death devolved to his cousin, Mr. Montague Cookson, Q.C., who assumed the name of Crackanthorpe.

Sir Robert Walter Carden, Bart.—

Robert W. Carden, who was born in London in 1801, was the youngest son of the late Mr. James Carden, of Bedford Square and Richmond, by his marriage with the eldest daughter of Mr. John Walter, of the *Times*. He was privately educated, and he entered the army as a subaltern in the 82nd Foot; but after a short term of service in the army he became a stock and share broker, and at the time of his death he was perhaps the oldest member of the London Stock Exchange. His connection with the Corporation dated from 1849, when, on the death of Mr. Alderman Johnson, he was appointed Alderman of the ward of Dowgate. In the following year, 1850-51, he was elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex. During his term of office her Majesty and the Prince Consort were present at a splendid festivity given by the Corporation in the Guildhall, and the Queen, "as a proof of her satisfaction and as an enduring testimony of her regard for her citizens of London," conferred the honour of a baronetcy on the Lord Mayor (Mr. John Musgrove) and knighted Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Carden and his colleague, Mr. Sheriff Hodgkinson. That same year Sir Robert Carden contested St. Albans in the Conservative interest, but was defeated. In 1857-58 he served the office of Lord Mayor, and in the course of his mayoralty he headed a committee who expressed to the Emperor and Empress of the French the congratulations of the citizens of London on their escape from a diabolical attempt at assassination made by three Italians. Sir Robert, as Lord Mayor, was also present at the marriage of the Princess Royal with Prince Frederick William of Prussia in 1858; and he was the spokesman of the Corporation when they presented loyal addresses in connection with that event to the Queen and Prince Consort, the bride and bridegroom, and the Duchess of Kent. During his mayoralty, also, the freedom of the City of London was bestowed on General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., and Lord Clyde, in recognition of their services in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. On Sir Robert Carden's retirement from the mayoralty a hearty vote of thanks from the whole Corporation was accorded to him. In April, 1857, he was elected M.P. for the city of Gloucester, and continued in Parliament until 1859, when he was defeated. He unsuccessfully contested Marylebone in 1861, and Barnstaple in 1880; but later in the same year he was elected

for Barnstaple, and remained its representative till 1885, when he finally retired. In 1871 he accepted the Alderman's gown of the sinecure ward of Bridge Without, in place of that of Dowgate, where he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt Truscott. He was also a member of the Cutlers' Company, of which he had been Master, and he was for many years, and up to his death, chairman of the Finance Committee of Aldermen. His devotion especially to his magisterial duties was almost proverbial. He was so fond of the work that he gladly occupied the bench when any of his brother aldermen requested him to take their places, and it was only a few years ago that he prided himself that he had sat over 250 times in one mayoralty at the Mansion House. Sir Robert Carden, like his old friend Lord Shaftesbury, ever took the liveliest interest in the welfare of poor children, and especially in the work of ragged schools—notably the Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children, the Field Lane Refuges, the Ogle Mews Ragged Schools, and the various training ships on the Thames—and his purse and his advocacy were always available in aid of these great preventive works. He also took great interest in connection with discharged prisoners, and many a London charity will miss his kindly and munificent help. The estimation in which he was held by the City of London was testified by the Corporation placing his marble bust in the Guildhall during his lifetime; and in 1887, when the Corporation presented their jubilee address to her Majesty at Buckingham Palace, and subsequently when the Queen visited the Mansion House, he was honoured by special recognition by the Sovereign. It was cause for little wonder, but for widespread congratulation, that, at this period of his long life, her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of a baronetcy—a distinction which was enhanced by the handsome terms in which the Prime Minister conveyed the announcement to him. Although his health had visibly been failing for some time, his death was quite sudden—taking place as he was sitting with his family, after dinner, at his house in Wimpole Street, on Jan. 19. Sir R. Carden married in 1827 Pamela Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. W. S. Andrews, of the 19th Foot, and by her—who died in 1874—left a family, the eldest of whom, Colonel Frederick Walter Carden, formerly of the 5th Lancers, born in 1833, succeeded to the baronetcy.

Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., was born at Brompton on Jan. 28, 1815. At the age of thirteen he entered his father's office, that of an architect, and soon showed a taste towards literature and the scientific aspects of art. For some time he acted as joint editor of a magazine entitled the *Literary Union*. In 1835 he received the first medal awarded by the Royal Institute of British Architects for his essay on "Concrete;" and his treatise was almost immediately translated into several languages, and became a standard work on the subject, not only in this country, but in France, Germany, and Italy. Mr. Godwin took an active part in 1836-37 in originating the Art Union of London, and for a long period he acted as honorary secretary to that institution, which since its foundation has spent large sums for the benefit of artists and in the popularising of art among the community. In 1837 Mr. Godwin issued "An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of Railways;" and the following year he began the compilation of an important work, describing the ecclesiastical buildings of the metropolis under the title of "The Churches of London." It was published in two volumes, with illustrations from drawings by Mackenzie and Billings. He also contributed papers to the meetings of the Institute of British Architects and other societies, and was one of the principal writers on the *Art Journal*, *Architectural Magazine*, and the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*. The Society of Antiquaries printed his first essay on "Masons' Marks" in 1843, in its *Archæologia*; while, among the lighter pursuits in literature, he wrote a farce called "The Last Day," which was played at the Olympic in October 1840, and he subsequently produced a number of dramas. With Mr. Lewis Pocock he edited the "Pilgrim's Progress" in 1844, also supplying a memoir of Bunyan; and the same year he published a volume entitled "Facts and Fancies." At this time also he became editor of the *Builder*, a journal which in his hands soon attained high usefulness and distinction. Mr. Godwin published in 1848 his "Buildings and Monuments, Modern and Mediæval;" and in 1853 appeared his "History in Ruins," a series of letters addressed to a lady, conveying the history of architecture to the general reader in popular language. Drainage and ventilation, which at that time were generally in a scandalous condition, the writer dwelt upon at large, especially in the interests of the poor. Prince Albert afterwards took up the subject,

and in 1851 erected a model dwelling in Hyde Park. Mr. Godwin was one of the jurors at the Great Exhibition of 1851. In a work published in 1854, under the title of "London Shadows," he embodied a portion of the results of an "Inquiry into the Condition of the Houses of the Poor," which he had undertaken in the preceding year. This was succeeded by "Town Swamps and Social Bridges;" and these two works furnished graphic pictures of the modes of life prevailing among the humbler classes of the metropolis. Pursuing his subject at a still later date the writer exhorted Londoners to "drain the swamps and increase the bridges." Two other works by Mr. Godwin deserve mention here—namely, "Memorials of Workers" and "Another Blow for Life." In the latter volume, which appeared in 1864, he again called attention to the way in which life was made short, health depreciated, happiness prevented, manners degraded, and crime and sorrow increased by our sanitary and social defects and shortcomings. As an architect, Mr. Godwin attained considerable success and distinction. In the year 1847 he was awarded a premium for his selected design for the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. He also designed St. Mary's Church, West Brompton, the Infant Schools, Redcliffe, and (in conjunction with his brother Henry) St. Jude's, West Brompton. He was further entrusted with the restoration of the magnificent church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; and he directed the restoration of St. Mary's Church, Ware, Standon Church, and many others. Shakespearian productions had a fascination for him, and Mr. Charles Kean consulted his drawings for the fine illustrative scenes which distinguished his representations of "Macbeth," "Richard II.," "Henry VIII.," and "The Winter's Tale." In 1878 he published a book on the "Desirability of obtaining a National Theatre," in which he advocated one national theatre for the metropolis, to be supported either by Government subsidies or by private subscriptions. By this means the national theatre would be "rendered independent of the caprices of fashion or the prevailing taste of the public." Mr. Godwin received the Queen's gold medal in 1881, and to commemorate the event he founded a bursary of 40*l.* per annum at the Institute of Architects to encourage the study of foreign architecture, a subject in which he had always taken a deep interest. In 1884 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on

the Housing of the Working Classes. Mr. Godwin was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a member and vice-president of the Institute of British Architects. In 1840 he was awarded the gold medal of the Société Libre des Beaux Arts of Paris for his published works. He died at his residence, Cromwell Place, South Kensington, on Jan. 27, on the very eve of his 73rd birthday.

Edward Lear, the author of the "Book of Nonsense," died at San Remo, on Jan. 29, at an advanced age. He was born at Knowsley, in Lancashire, the son of one of Lord Derby's agents or tenants much employed in and about Prescott. Attracting the attention of the house of Stanley while he was quite a lad, Lear was commissioned to paint animals (one of his specialities), landscapes, and buildings near his birthplace, some of which are still to be found at Knowsley. He came to London in 1835. Later, the then Earl of Derby, a warm lover of Italian and Greek landscape, sent the youth into Italy and Greece, where he painted numerous views of the kind we have indicated, and the highlands of Albania, Macedonia, Athos, the Morea, and the islands of the Ægean employed his hand; yet he avoided everything scenic and theatrical. His first exhibited picture was "Dead Birds," in Suffolk Street, in 1836. In 1850 his *debut* was made at the Academy with "Claude Lorraine's House on the Tiber," followed by "Street Scene in Lekhredha, a Town in North Albania," and "The Castle of Harytena, in Arcadia" (1851); "Mount Parnassus, Lake Cephissus, and the Plains of Boeotia, Northern Greece" (1852); "Pratolino, near Rome," and "The City of Syracuse from the Quarries," a picture Lear repeated at least once (1853); "Marathon" and "Sparta" (1854); and others of a similar kind continued until 1873, when he exhibited, for the last time, "The Monastery of Megaspelion, in the Morea." A few years before his death he built himself a house on the Italian coast, and expected to enjoy the splendid view it afforded of the sea. He had hardly settled there when a large hotel was erected right in front of it, and utterly ruined the painter's prospect. This misfortune had so deep an effect on his mind that he seriously intended removing to New Zealand.

Besides the works above mentioned Lear produced "Illustrated Excursions in Italy," "Sketches of Rome and its Environs," "Illustrations of Parrots,"

"More Nonsense Pictures," and "Laughable Lyrics." He was also the author of "Journals of a Landscape Painter in Albania," "Journals of a Landscape Painter in Southern Calabria," and "Journals of a Landscape Painter in Corsica." It was he whom the Laureate addressed as "E. L. on his Travels in Greece," the "Travels in Albania," &c., published in 1846.

Mary Howitt.—Mary Botham, the youngest daughter of a prosperous Quaker at Uttoxeter, was born in 1799. Her mother was of French descent, from a refugee named Dubois, who came to England at the time of the St. Bartholomew massacre. He subsequently changed their name to Wood, and was the common ancestor of Mary Howitt, Madame D'Arblay (Miss Burney), and "Wood" attacked by Swift in the *Drapier Letters*. In 1823 she married William Howitt, and began the career of joint authorship which made the names of William and Mary Howitt sound pleasantly in the ears of a wide circle of readers. In the very year of their marriage the young people published a volume of verse, the preface of which said:—"Poetry has been our youthful amusement, and our increasing daily enjoyment in happy, and our solace in sorrowful, hours." Eleven years afterwards Mrs. Howitt issued a dramatic poem styled "The Seven Temptations," followed by a tale named "Wood Leighton." She also wrote largely, and with signal success, for young people. She accompanied her husband to Germany, and while there translated largely from the Swedish and Danish. She, in fact, first made Frederica Bremer known to English readers; and in 1851 she produced along with her husband "The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe." She did not go with Mr.

Howitt to Australia, but on his return they recommenced their joint literary labours, settling themselves first in Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, and afterwards at Highgate. Mrs. Howitt, besides the work she accomplished along with her husband, produced a "Popular History of the United States," and a three-volume novel called "The Cost of Caergwyn," and also continued to bring out works for children. About 1872 the Howitts left England and settled in Italy, passing their summers chiefly at Meran, or elsewhere in the Tyrol. In 1879 Mrs. Howitt lost her husband, who died in Rome on March 3 of bronchitis, the same malady that proved fatal to the survivor.

She died, on Jan. 30, at Rome, and in her death there the twofold wish of her heart was accomplished. She had ardently desired to be present at the Papal jubilee, and to sleep beside her husband, who had been buried in the English cemetery. In early life and long after her marriage she had remained in communion with the Quakers, but by degrees she moved from them and interested herself deeply in the mysteries of Spiritualism, which she never altogether abandoned. She was, however, received into the Roman Catholic Church some years before her death, and she made one of the English Deputation to the Pope on the occasion of his jubilee. By the kindness of friends, every facility for her easy access to the Holy Father had been attained; she went, and was presented to him without any fatigue. The moment he saw her he welcomed her with the most cordial benignity, speaking of her going to "Paradiso," so that her interview with the Vicar of Christ was to her a foretaste of Heaven. She was, nevertheless, buried beside her husband in the Protestant cemetery.

During the same month we have to record the following deaths:—On the 1st, at Meiningen, aged 83, **Duchess Maria**, the mother of the reigning Duke of Saxe-Meiningen and Hildburghausen. She was the daughter of William II., Elector of Hesse, and granddaughter of Frederick William II., King of Prussia. In 1823 she was married to Duke Bernard of Saxe-Meiningen, who died on Dec. 3, 1882. On the same date, at Bromley, aged 42, **W. S. Woodin**, a well-known actor and mimic. He was the son of a picture dealer in Old Bond Street, and was brought up to his father's business, but his natural talents induced him to come before the public in an entertainment known as the "Carpet Bag and Sketchbook," which for many years was exceedingly popular. On the 3rd, at Camberwell, aged 86, **William Henry Chippendale**. This well-known actor began life as a printer, and in James Ballantyne's office, in Edinburgh, read "Waverley" for the press, thus attracting the notice of Sir Walter Scott. In 1818 he took to the stage, and after spending seventeen years in the United States, he returned to England, and became a member of Mr. Buckstone's company at the Haymarket Theatre. On the same date, at Middleton Hall, Brentwood, Essex, **Countess Helen Ann Tasker**, a lady widely known amongst Roman Catholics for her charities. She was the daughter of

Joseph Tasker, of Middleton Hall, and received from Pius IX. the title of Countess of the Holy Roman or Pontifical States. On the 4th, at Constantinople, aged 115, **Dimitriou Antippa**, a Greek, who claimed to have been the intimate friend of Robespierre, whose acquaintance he made when visiting Paris in 1791. On the 5th, at Paris, aged 84, **Henry Herz**, well known as a pianoforte maker and as a prolific composer. In early life he had been a pianist of great reputation. On the same date, at Rome, aged 65, **General Kanzler**, for many years in the Papal service, and chief of the staff to Lamoricière in the campaign of 1860. On the 10th, aged 44, shot by a lunatic, **M. Maynaud**, a French electrician, who had laid down the cable in the Seine from Paris to Rouen in 1870, and repaired it under the fire of the Germans. On the same date, at Edinburgh, aged 57, **Robert Herdman, E.S.A.**, a prominent Scottish artist, both as an historical and a portrait painter. On the 11th, at Stanhope, the **Right Rev. Vincent W. Ryan, D.D.**, rector of Stanhope, and formerly Bishop of Mauritius. On the same date, at Chester, **General William Lenox Ingall, C.B.**, born June 2, 1822. He entered the army in 1842, served in the Sutlej campaigns of 1845-6, and in the Crimean war, retired as Major-General in 1868, and was Honorary Colonel of the Royal Sussex Regiment (35th Foot) with honorary rank of General. On the 12th, at Shanklin, aged 70, **Herbert Giraud, M.D.**, Deputy Inspector-General of the Bombay Army. He had filled the posts of Professor of Chemistry and of Botany, and afterwards that of Principal at the Grant Medical College, Bombay. On the 13th, at Niederbronn, aged 86, **Baron Albert Dietrich**, the head of one of the oldest families in Alsace, and a descendant of Dominic Dietrich, the Mayor who ceded Strasburg to Louis XIV. After the annexation of Alsace, Baron Dietrich resigned all public functions rather than take the oath of allegiance to Germany, but continued at the head of his enormous industrial works, which gave employment to upwards of 3,000 people. On the 14th, at Edinburgh, aged 81, the **Rev. Dr. William Wilson**, joint Convener and Secretary of the Free Church Sustentation Fund Committee. He had played an important part in the disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843. On the same date, at Paris, aged 72, **Stephen Heller**, pianist and composer, a Hungarian by birth, who had lived the last fifty years of his life in Paris. On the same date, at Childe Okeford, near Blandford, aged 94, **Lieutenant-Colonel William Fendall**, formerly of the 4th Light Dragoon Guards, with which regiment he served throughout the Peninsular campaign. On the 16th, at Avenue Road, Regent's Park, aged 72, **Alderman Sir John Staples, K.C.M.G., F.S.A.**, Lord Mayor of London in 1885, the son of John Staples, of Laverstock, Wilts. On the 19th, at Strasburg, aged 57, **Professor de Bary**, an eminent botanist, whose investigations on the lower algæ and fungi began at an early period of his life. He commenced his studies in Berlin, where he published his first book in 1853. Thence he was called to occupy the chair of Botany at Freiburg, whence he was transferred to Halle, and in 1872 was elected to the same chair in the University of Strasburg. On the 20th, aged 58, **Sir Robert Jacob Buxton**, of Shadwell Court, Thetford, Norfolk, only son of Sir John, second baronet, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Montague Cholmeley, M.P. for South Norfolk, 1871-1885; married Mary Augusta, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Johnstone. On the same date, at Cannes, aged 76, **William Henry Pole-Carew**, of Antony, Cornwall, formerly M.P. for East Cornwall, and a Special Deputy Warden of the Stannaries. On the 21st, at Headingley, Leeds, aged 57, **John W. Inchbold**, a distinguished water-colour painter, whose works were highly appreciated by a select few, including Professor Ruskin, the Laureate, Mr. Browning, Lord Houghton, and others. He was a pupil of Mr. Louis Haghe (1847), and afterwards of the Royal Academy. His most successful works were those of Swiss scenes, the Lake of Geneva being his favourite resort. On the same date, at Putney, aged 77, **George Robert Waterhouse**, for many years Keeper of the Department of Geology in the British Museum, a distinguished geologist, and the author of many works on natural history. On the 22nd, in Paris, aged 72, **Eugène Labiche**, a popular French dramatist, elected an Academician in 1880. On the 30th, at Clanricarde Gardens, aged 76, **Edward T'Anson**, of Laurence Pountney Hill, London, and Grayshott Park, Hants, the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. On the same date, in Eaton Square, aged 90, **Admiral Henry Eden**, of Gillingham Hall, Norfolk, at one period a Lord of the Admiralty. He was son of Thomas Eden, of Wimbledon, and nephew of the first Lord Auckland. He entered the Royal Navy in 1811, and sailed with Lord Amherst on his embassy to China, suffering shipwreck on his return voyage. On the same date, aged 71, **James Tennant Caird**, of Greenock, senior partner of the firm of Caird & Sons, engineers and ship-builders. He commenced life in humble circumstances, but, displaying early great

skill in mechanics and mechanical drawing, he rapidly advanced in his employer's favour, and at length became sole owner of the business in which he worked. On the 31st, at Turin, aged 71, Dom Bosco, the founder of the Missions of St. Francis de Sales, called the St. Vincent de Paul of the nineteenth century.

FEBRUARY.

Henry James Sumner Maine was born in 1822, and was the son of Dr. James Maine, a medical man residing in Oxfordshire. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, and went in due course to Pembroke College, Cambridge. His university career was exceptionally brilliant. In 1842 he carried off the Browne medal for a Greek ode, the Camden medal, and the Chancellor's medal for English verse. Next year he was elected Craven Scholar, and obtained the Browne medal for a Latin ode and epigrams. He took his degree in 1844, being Senior Classic, Senior Chancellor's Classical Medallist, and Senior Optime in Mathematics. He obtained no Fellowship at his own college, there being no vacancy at the time, but he was speedily invited to become Tutor of Trinity Hall, the college of which he was afterwards elected Master. He held his tutorship for two years, and in 1847, at the unusually early age of 25, he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law. He held this office until 1854, when he relinquished it in order to undertake the post of Reader in Jurisprudence at the Middle Temple. He had been called to the bar in 1850, being a member both of Lincoln's Inn and of the Middle Temple. He was elected a Bencher of the latter Inn in 1873. The years between 1847 and 1861 were devoted by Sir Henry Maine to study and teaching in connection with those departments of law and the history of institutions which have become inseparably associated with his name. With the exception of an article on "Roman Law and Legal Education," contributed to the "Cambridge Essays" of 1856, it was not until 1861 that the results of his studies were given to the world in any more permanent form than the lectures which he delivered as Professor at Cambridge or Reader at the Middle Temple. The exception is significant of the drift his studies were taking; but his rare literary gifts were not entirely unemployed. Like so many of his contemporaries since distinguished in various departments of literature, such as Mr. Justice Stephen, his lifelong friend Mr. Goldwin Smith, Professor Freeman, the late Rector of

Lincoln, and others, he became a frequent contributor to periodical literature and journalism, his relations with which, indeed, were never entirely severed. His last work, "Popular Government," originally appeared in the form of articles contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Times* for many years published essays from his pen on topics of current interest and reviews of books dealing with subjects in which he was specially interested.

It was not, however, until after 1861, when Sir Henry Maine's first important work on "Ancient Law" was published, that his rare gifts and attainments began to be discerned and appreciated by the general world of letters. The "Origin of Species" had been published some fifteen months earlier, and, widely different as were the scope and subject-matter of the two works, the theory of evolution was a link that bound them together. The "Origin of Species" applies this conception to the phenomena of biology, "Ancient Law" to the phenomena of law and society.

In 1862, a year after the publication of "Ancient Law," Mr. Maine was appointed Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council; an office rendered illustrious not merely by its intrinsic importance but by its connection with the name of Macaulay and his many distinguished successors. To no man of his time could the appointment have been more congenial than to Maine. With his profound knowledge of law there was associated an intellect of exceptional force and rare cultivation, specially versed in the comparative study of institutions, and, as his colleagues in the Government of India were soon to discover, an aptitude and capacity for affairs which might have placed him in the foremost rank of statesmen if he had not preferred to remain a student. His service in India coincided mainly with the viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence, who succeeded Lord Elgin and was succeeded by Lord Mayo; and it was again a happy concurrence of circumstances which placed his legal acquirements and the aptitude generated by his special studies at the service of the State in the carrying out

of those reforms in the land-tenures of India which are associated with the name of Lord Lawrence. His services to India were happily not concluded when his appointment came to an end. He was appointed a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India in 1871, and from that time till he left England a few weeks before his death he served his country as one of its most trusted councillors in difficult and critical affairs. He was not fond of official drudgery, and perhaps he did less of routine work than some of his colleagues; but whenever Maine took up a subject seriously, he treated it with a thoroughness and mastery peculiarly his own, and the result was that when his opinion was given it rarely failed to prevail. His authority in matters of law was undisputed, but it was not merely as a lawyer that he gave the best of his mind and life to the service of India. He was cautious to the verge of timidity, sensitive to criticism, and perhaps somewhat too prone to avoid it.

Soon after his return from India, Maine was elected to the newly-created Corpus Professorship of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. The professorship was practically created in order that he might hold it. During his tenure of the chair from 1871 to 1878, Sir Henry Maine—who was created K.C.S.I. in 1871 on his appointment to the India Council—delivered several series of lectures, the substance of which was embodied in the successive works published by him on the history of institutions and cognate subjects. In the first series published on "Village Communities" he brought his Indian experience to bear with admirable effect on subjects which had long exercised his attention, and combined it with a lucid exposition of the results achieved in Germany by the researches in the same field of Von Maurer, Nasse, and others. This was followed in 1875 by "Lectures on the Early History of Institutions," and in 1883 by "Dissertations on Early Law and Custom." In 1875 Sir Henry Maine delivered the Rede Lecture at Cambridge, characteristically choosing for his subject "The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought;" and in 1878, shortly before resigning his professorship, he delivered a public lecture at Oxford on "Modern Theories of Succession to Property after Death, and the Corrections of them suggested by recent Researches." As a lecturer Sir Henry Maine was singularly effective. His reputation attracted a large audience,

chiefly of graduates, to the little hall of Corpus Christi College, where his lectures were delivered.

In 1877 the mastership of Trinity Hall became vacant by the death of Dr. Geldart. Two candidates presented themselves—the Rev. H. Latham, Senior Fellow, who had long served the College as Tutor with great devotion and success, and the late Professor Fawcett, who was also a Fellow of the College. The electors were unable to decide between the rival claims. After long and fruitless negotiations between the supporters of the two candidates, a compromise was agreed upon, and the Fellows unanimously agreed to offer the vacant mastership to Sir Henry Maine. He accepted the office and retained it till his death, though his duties as a member of the India Council compelled him to retain his house in London and to reside only intermittently at the Master's Lodgings at Cambridge. In 1885 he was offered by Lord (then Mr. R. A.) Cross, at that time Home Secretary, the post of Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department. He was much tempted by it for a time, but after fully considering the matter he concluded, perhaps wisely, that at his age, and with health which had already given him ground for anxiety, it was not advisable to undertake entirely new duties of a very arduous character. He resolved, in fact, that India had the first claim on his services, and in this decision his friends could not but concur.

Again, when the office of Chief Clerk of the House of Commons became vacant by the resignation of Sir Erskine May—afterwards created Lord Farnborough—in 1886, it was offered by Mr. Gladstone, at that time Prime Minister, to Sir Henry Maine. Maine declined the offer, though he fully appreciated the compliment implied in it. Lastly, when Sir William Harcourt resigned the professorship of International Law, founded by Whewell at Cambridge, Sir Henry Maine was chosen, almost by public acclamation, as his successor. This was a position specially suited to his genius, and for which his studies and researches had qualified him beyond all possible rivalry. He accepted it with pride and gratification, but not without misgiving on account of his health. He thought, however, that it ought to entail his resignation of his seat at the India Council, and he was only with difficulty persuaded to postpone his resignation—which he had announced to his friends on his election to the chair—until certain important matters, in

which he was specially interested, should be settled.

But in his last work on "Popular Government," published in 1885, just after the demise of the Parliament which had enfranchised the rural householder, and on the very eve of the general election of that year, he seemed to the superficial observer to be inclined to descend from the heights of political speculation and historical inquiry into the noisy warfare of contemporary politics. This was not really the case. "Popular Government" was in its essence the fruit of the same sober and scientific spirit which had produced "Ancient Law." Sir Henry Maine's last work was the counterpart and complement of his first. It was an examination of those *a priori* theories of society and government which, originally emanating from Rousseau, have almost unconsciously and imperceptibly established themselves as the commonplaces of democratic politics. Sir Henry Maine brought these theories to the bar of experience and common-sense and compelled them to produce their credentials. The last serious literary work he undertook was a masterly essay on India, worthy in all respects of his style and method at their best, contributed to Mr. Humphry Ward's volume, "The Reign of Queen Victoria."

Sir Henry Maine was an F.R.S., and was elected in the place of Emerson as a Foreign Associate of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. He had long been a member of "The Club" founded by Doctor Johnson and his associates, perhaps the most distinguished and select of literary societies in London. He was married in 1849 to his cousin, the daughter of Mr. George Maine, of Kelso, in Roxburghshire. Early in the winter he was persuaded to go to the South of France, to seek rest and change, and whilst staying at Cannes he was seized with an attack of apoplexy on Feb. 3, which proved fatal in a few hours.

Lady Marian Alford, who died suddenly on Feb. 8 at Ashridge, Berkhamstead, one of the seats of her son, Earl Brownlow, was born in 1817, and was the daughter of the second Marquess of Northampton, the popular President of the Royal Society. In 1841 she married Viscount Alford, eldest son of the first Earl Brownlow, who died in 1851, leaving Lady Marian with two sons—the present Earl Brownlow and his elder brother, who died in 1867. During the thirty-seven years since the death of her husband Lady Marian proved herself

to be a most devoted mother and a kind benefactress to all who came within her influence. She took an active interest in the movement for the higher education of women, for the employment of women in all suitable occupations, and especially in the establishment of the School of Art Needlework. Her beautiful book on art needlework will long remain a standard and leading authority on the subject. She was a highly accomplished artist, and has left many very beautiful drawings and water-colour paintings. The well-known "Alford House" at Prince's Gate was built after her own designs, and was one of the earliest examples of the revival of the use of moulded bricks in London street architecture. She had brought the patterns of many of the bricks and mouldings from Italy in 1850. One notable peculiarity of the house is that the kitchen is at the top, so that no odour of cooking can pervade the living or sleeping rooms. She was a warm advocate of cremation, and was one of a small number of ladies of high rank and social influence who had been considering the foundation of a "Ladies' Cremation League," but she was herself buried in the family vault at Bolton, near Grantham.

Count Corti, who had been for nearly forty years in the diplomatic service of his country, was a Piedmontese by birth. He first came to England in 1849 as an Attaché to the Sardinian Legation, and he remained here for fifteen years, at the end of which time he had been promoted to the post of First Secretary. After filling several diplomatic posts in Europe, he was, in 1870, appointed as Minister of Italy to the United States. While occupying this post at Washington, he was chosen as arbitrator by England and the United States to decide the questions between the two Governments arising out of the Civil War. These claims were settled by Count Corti with such skilful impartiality as to satisfy the feelings of both parties in the complicated dispute which had arisen between them. In 1875 Count Corti returned to Europe, and was appointed Italian Ambassador at Constantinople. Here he stayed throughout the troublesome times of the Russo-Turkish war. In January 1878 King Victor Emmanuel, whom Count Corti had served first as King of Sardinia and afterwards as King of Italy, died, and one of the first acts of the new King Humbert was to summon Count Corti to Rome to take the charge of the Italian Foreign Office, with a seat in the

Senate. The Treaty of San Stefano was signed in March of that year, and in July the Berlin Congress met to modify that treaty. Count Corti, who had represented his King at Constantinople for three years, and who was at the time Foreign Minister, was naturally selected to represent Italy at the Congress of Berlin, which began on June 13 and brought its labours to a close on July 13. Count Corti was the First Plenipotentiary of Italy, and among those whom he met at the Congress were Lords Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and Odo Russell, Prince Bismarck, who was President of the Congress, and who stated subsequently that he had acted as a representative of Russia, Prince Gortschakoff, Alexander Karatheodori, Count Andrassy, M. Waddington, and other gentlemen representing the several Powers at that great Congress. Count Corti's efforts were directed to the maintenance of peace, but Signor Crispi and the Opposition at Rome severely criticised the policy carried out by the Italian representatives at the Congress, and seemed to have thought that Italy ought to have secured territorial advantages equal to those gained by other Powers. The acquisition of Cyprus by England was especially objected to by the Opposition, and on the reassembling of the Italian Parliament a Ministerial crisis occurred, and Count Corti resigned his post at the Foreign Office and returned to his old post at Constantinople. In 1886 he was appointed Italian Ambassador to this country, which post he occupied for little more than a year. He was known to have the warmest regard for this country, and this regard and his diplomatic career fitted him admirably for the important office he was called upon to fill. At the end of 1887 Count Corti was recalled. Signor Crispi, who had become Prime Minister, had long been a political opponent of Count Corti. He died at Rome, on Feb. 18, after a short illness.

The Rev. George Percy Badger, D.C.L., an eminent Oriental scholar, was born at Chelmsford in 1815. His youth was passed at Malta, and the thorough knowledge he gained there of the Maltese language led him to devote himself with zeal to the study of Arabic, which he pursued at Bairut. He returned to England in 1841, and after some theological preparation at the Church Missionary College, Islington, he was ordained by the Bishop of London. His knowledge of the East pointed him out to the Archbishop of Canterbury and

the Bishop of London as the best delegate to the Nestorians of Kurdistan and other Eastern Christians, and in this work he was engaged for three years. On his return to England in 1845 he was appointed by the Government chaplain on the Bombay Establishment. Thence he was transferred to Aden, where he chiefly resided during the remainder of his term of service, which expired in 1862. Sir James Outram availed himself of Mr. Badger's help in his dealings with the chiefs in the neighbourhood; and when Sir James was appointed Commander-in-Chief to carry on the Persian war in 1857, Mr. Badger, by Sir James's request, was appointed staff chaplain and Arabic interpreter to the force, and for his services he received the Persian war medal. After helping to settle the differences between the Sultan of Oman and his brother and rival, Mr. Badger returned to England in 1861, and in the same year again joined Sir James Outram in the latter's visit to Egypt. In 1862 he left the service, and devoted himself henceforth mainly to literature. In 1872 he left England for a short time in order to go as secretary and confidential adviser to Sir Bartle Frere, when that gentleman was sent as Special Envoy to the Sultan of Zanzibar; and when that monarch came to this country three years later, Mr. Badger was attached to his Highness as interpreter. In recognition of his various services Mr. Badger was, in 1873, created D.C.L. by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Royal Letters Patent was made a Knight of the Crown of Italy by King Victor Emmanuel in the same year, and Knight of the Gleaming Star by the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1880. He was also a Fellow of the Zoological Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, a member of the Bengal Academy of Music, and of the Board of Electors to the Adams Professorship of Arabic at Cambridge. Between the years 1839 and 1883 a large number of books were written by Mr. Badger, most of them dealing with Arabian history and literature, and with his travels. Among these may be mentioned "A History of the Imaums and Sayyids of Oman" (1871); "The Travels of Ludovico Varthema in India and the East, A.D. 1503-8" (1873) (both these for the Hakluyt Society); an "English-Arabic Lexicon" (1881); and "Muhammad and Muhammadanism," an article in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography." Dr. Badger died on Feb. 21, in his 73rd year, at his residence at 21 Leamington Road Villas, Westbourne Park.

William Wilson Corcoran, the American philanthropist, was the son of Thomas Corcoran, who emigrated from Limerick in 1783, and settled in Georgetown, District of Columbia. William Corcoran was born at Georgetown in 1798, and, after being educated in private schools and at Georgetown College, entered into business as a broker and banker in Washington in 1837, afterwards taking Mr. G. W. Riggs into partnership. Among the first uses Mr. Corcoran made of his accumulations was the disbursement of \$46,000 in absolute discharge of certain debts for which he had been compelled to make a legal compromise in 1823. He paid all, to the utmost farthing, with interest calculated to the date of settlement. The firm of Corcoran & Riggs was now strong enough to take on its own account nearly all the loans of the United States Government; but at the time of its operations in connection with the Mexican war Mr. Riggs retired from the partnership. Mr. Corcoran was left with \$12,000,000 of the United States Six per Cent. Loan on his hands, in a falling market, which had already sunk 1 per cent. below the original price at which he had taken the loan. But he embarked for London, enlisted several great English banking houses in support of the loan, and, as the result of his courage and enterprise, had the satisfaction of seeing the loan rise to a high premium, which not only proved a source of great profit to all interested in it, but brought relief to the exchanges of the United States. This negotiation laid the basis of that enormous wealth which subsequently came to be counted by millions. Mr. Corcoran retired from business in 1854, and from that period devoted himself to the furtherance of noble schemes of benevolence. Among his benefactions may be cited the beautiful cemetery of Oakhill, crowning the slopes of Georgetown; the Louise Home, established for impoverished gentlewomen; the Corcoran Gallery of Art, a magnificent building with a splendid endowment; rich benefactions to colleges and universities; countless gifts to churches, church homes, and theological seminaries; and contributions to institutions of public charity. It is estimated that his charities, including private ones, exceeded the aggregate amount of \$5,000,000. Mr. Corcoran had long been resident in Washington, where his house formed a hospitable centre of attraction for scholars, artists, statesmen, diplomatists, and distinguished

Europeans. He died on Feb. 24 in the 90th year of his age.

James Cotter Morison, who died on Feb. 26, at his residence in Hampstead, was born in London on April 2, 1831, and was educated at Highgate Grammar School, and graduated at a later age than most of his academical contemporaries at Lincoln College, Oxford. He spent some years in France before he entered at the University, and during that time he acquired an intimate knowledge of the French language, which he spoke and wrote with ease and elegance, and an interest in French history and French affairs which never forsook him. At Oxford he sought no honours in the schools, but his time was spent in studies of a wider cast than those of most undergraduates, under the inspiration and direction of the late Mark Pattison, some time Tutor and afterwards Rector of Lincoln College. After taking his degree he settled in London, and married a daughter of Mr. James Virtue, the publisher, and began to write for the *Literary Gazette*, of which Mr. John Morley became the editor. He early became associated with the Positivist Society, several of the leading members of which had been his friends and contemporaries in Oxford. In 1863 he published a volume, entitled the "Life and Times of St. Bernard," which must be regarded as his principal work, for his long projected "History of French Society in the Eighteenth Century," to which he devoted many years of his life, was never more than sketched out in plan. His time and studies were constantly diverted to other objects, and he became a frequent contributor to ephemeral literature, especially to the *Fortnightly Review*, of which he had been one of the founders and first proprietors; and to the *Saturday Review* and *Athenæum*, to which he contributed historical essays and reviews. In 1868 Mr. Morison published a pamphlet on "Irish Grievances," and at a later period he contributed two volumes, one on Gibbon and the other on Macaulay, to the series of "English Men of Letters," edited by his friend Mr. John Morley. In 1885 he published a charming little brochure, entitled "Madame de Maintenon: an Etude;" and a year later appeared his "Service of Man," a polemical and somewhat aggressive statement, in Positivist form, of the argument against Christianity. Before this work was completed Mr. Morison was stricken with the exhausting disease which resulted in his death, and its effects are discernible in his rather hasty and super-

ficial treatment of certain portions of the great argument with which he was dealing. Mr. Morison's published works are but the meagre record of an industrious literary life. He was one of the best talkers of his time; whether in English or in French, his conversation was copious, brilliant, instinct with knowledge

widely gathered and thoroughly digested, adorned with Attic salt and pointed with French *finesse* . Though not a professed classical scholar, he retained to the last his interest in Greek and Latin literature, and his wide knowledge of both would have put many a learned academic to shame.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 1st, at Halifax, N.S., aged 74, **Sir Hugh William Hoyles**, formerly Chief Justice of Newfoundland, son of the late Newman Wright Hoyles, Colonial Treasurer of Newfoundland. He was educated in Nova Scotia, and called to the bar there. On the same date, at Ware, aged 93, **Sir John Buckworth Herne-Soame**, eighth baronet. On the 3rd, at Cannes, **Countess Olga Münster**, the daughter of Count Münster, German Ambassador at the Court of St. James (1873–1887), and Lady Harriet Eliz. Erskine, the daughter of the third Earl of Rosslyn. On the same date, at Maidstone, aged 104, **Caroline Heathorne**, well known as the “Maid of Kent.” On the 6th, in Belgrave Square, within a few weeks of 96 years of age, **Lord George Quin**, son of first Marquess of Headfort. He assumed the name of Quin instead of that of Taylour in 1813. He married, first (1814), Lady Georgiana Charlotte, daughter of second Earl Spencer (died 1823); and secondly (1847), Louisa Mary Isabella, daughter of Sir John Ramsden, fourth baronet. On the same date, at Edinburgh, aged 85, **Sir William Johnston**, of Kirkhill, the founder of the firm of Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston, the well-known geographical publishers. He received the honour of knighthood when Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on the occasion of the Queen's visit to that city in 1851. On the 11th, aged 48, the **Rev. Francis Staunton**, of Staunton Hall, the head of one of the oldest county families in Nottinghamshire, which had held their estate in that county since the time of William the Conqueror. On the 12th, aged 77, **J. H. Walsh**, the editor of *The Field* newspaper, and an acknowledged authority on all kinds of sport. A member of the Royal College of Surgeons, he had practised as a medical man in Worcestershire until 1852, but ultimately settled in London, and devoted himself to literature. He wrote mostly under the name of “Stonehenge.” On the 18th, at Swift's House, Bicester, aged 70, **Major-General Sir Thomas Peyton**, son of the Rev. Algernon Peyton. He succeeded his cousin, as fifth baronet, in 1872. He was a prominent member of both the Coaching and Four-in-Hand Clubs. On the same date, at Edinburgh, aged 78, **Admiral Sir William Edmonstone, C.B.** He was son of Sir Charles Edmonstone, of Duntreath, and succeeded his half-brother, as fourth baronet, in 1871. He retired from the Navy in 1870, and for a time was M.P. for the county of Stirling. On the same date, aged 81, **Thomas Tate**, many years Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry at the Battersea Training College and at Kneller Hall, and the author of a large number of educational and scientific works, partly written in association with Sir William Fairbairn. He was the son of a builder at Alnwick, and early adopted science as a profession. On the 19th, at Dublin, aged 70, the **Rev. Dr. John Hewitt Jellett**, Provost of Trinity College, one of the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland. On the same date, at Milton Abbot, Devon, aged 81, **Rev. Sir St. Vincent Love Hammick**, second baronet, sometime Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and for fifty-two years vicar of the parish. He married, in 1837, Mary, daughter of Robert Alexander, Esq., M.C.I. On the 22nd, aged 78, the **Rev. William H. Hoare**, of Oakfield, Sussex, the author of several theological works. On the same date, in Kensington, aged 41, **Mrs. Anna Kingsford, M.D.**, daughter of Mr. John Bonus, of Stratford, Essex. From an early age she devoted herself to medical and scientific studies, and after a course of six years was admitted, July 22, 1880, as Doctor of Medicine by the Faculty of Paris, choosing as the subject of her thesis, “Vegetarianism,” of which she had become an adherent. In 1883 she was President of the Theosophical Society, and in 1884 she founded the Hermetic Society. In 1867 she married Rev. Algernon G. Kingsford, of Atcham, Shropshire, and in 1870 joined the Roman Catholic Church. On the same date, at Torquay, aged 55, **Sir William Marjoribanks**, of Lees, Coldstream, fourth baronet. On the 23rd, at the British Legation, Stockholm, **Edwin Corbett**, son of Edwin Corbett, of Tilstone Hall, Chester, H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Sweden and Norway. On the same date, at Freiburg, aged 22, **Prince Louis**, the second son of the Grand Duke of Baden, and the grandson of the German Emperor William I. On the same date, at St. Leonard's Forest, Horsham, aged 56, **Colonel John Aldridge**, late

of the Scots Fusilier Guards, and recently Honorary Colonel of the 3rd Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment. On the 24th, at Paris, aged 77, **Cetave Dupont**, the friend and fellow-exile of Iedru Rollin. After the proscription of 1849 he was for nearly twenty years a professor of French in a Military College in England. On the 26th, at Debdale Hall, Mansfield, aged 81, **Colonel Edward Thomas Coke**, of Trusley, Derbyshire. He was educated at Repton and Shrewsbury Schools, and in 1825 was appointed to an ensigncy in the 45th Regiment, with which he served during the first Burmese war. In 1842 he joined the Derbyshire Militia, and on its embodiment during the Crimean war was appointed to its command, which he held until 1877. In 1848 he succeeded to the Trusley, Spondon, and Debdale properties; and in 1835 he married Diana, daughter of the Rev. John Talbot, of Ardfert, co. Kerry. On the 27th, at Liverpool, aged 42, **John Alfred Clayton Calthorpe**, a well-known and distinguished actor, under the name of John Clayton. On the same date, in London, aged 65, **Norman Macbeth, R.S.A.**, a well-known Scotch artist and representative trustee in London of the Royal Scottish Academy. On the 28th, in London, aged 72, the **Very Rev. William Corbet Le Breton**, Dean of Jersey. He came of an old Jersey family, and was the father of Mrs. Langtry. On the 29th, at Edinburgh, aged 63, **Sir Charles Munro**, of Foulis, tenth baronet.

MARCH.

Sir Astley Cooper Key, born in 1821, was the second son of Mr. Charles Aston Key, Surgeon in Ordinary to H.R.H. the late Prince Consort, his mother being the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Lovick Cooper, of Great Yarmouth. He was early destined to the sea, and was educated at the Naval College, Portsmouth, where he distinguished himself, obtaining the first medal and a lieutenant's commission in the navy, which he entered in 1835. His career in the service was remarkable and his promotion rapid. In 1844, at the age of 23, when junior lieutenant of H.M.S. *Gorgon*, that vessel was stranded off Montevideo. Lieutenant Key rescued the ship, and was officially mentioned in despatches for his services on the occasion. The wreck of the *Gorgon* brought out in him that power of applying science to the wants of the navy which subsequently distinguished him; and his book descriptive of the operations undertaken by him, and which resulted in the recovery of the *Gorgon*, displayed marked ability and clearness of thought. In 1845, the following year, he was wounded in the action of the *Obligado* while in command of the *Fanny*, and there displayed a gallantry which earned his early promotion to the rank of commander. After this Commander Key served for three years in the *Bulldog* on the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and was made a captain in 1850. He served in command of the *Amphion* in the Baltic, taking part in the capture of the forts of Bomarsund and other operations. At the end of the war, when the honours were distributed, he was nominated a C.B. In the following year, 1856, he married

Charlotte Lavinia, youngest daughter of Mr. Edmund A. McNeill, of Cushendun, county Antrim. In 1857, being placed in command of the *Sanspareil* and a squadron of gunboats, he served at Calcutta during the Indian Mutiny, and received the thanks of the Governor-General. His next exploit was when serving in China in 1858, where he commanded a battalion of seamen at the capture of Canton, and where he secured, with his own hand, Commissioner Yeh as he was in the act of escaping over a paling at the back of his yamen. Yeh, who is said to have ordered the beheading of about 100,000 rebels, was sent as a prisoner to Calcutta, where he died peacefully in 1859.

On the signing of the treaty of peace at Tientsin by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros in June 1858, Captain Cooper Key returned to England, and was chosen to represent the Navy on the Royal Commission which was appointed to consider the state of our defences. At that time great excitement prevailed in this country respecting the action of the French Government in building the plated frigate *Gloire*, which was the first iron-clad steam frigate built, and was the immediate precursor of the *Warrior*, our first ironclad steam frigate and for a long time the largest vessel in the world except the *Great Eastern*. In 1860 Captain Cooper Key became captain of the Steam Ordinary at Devonport. After remaining three years in this post he passed to the *Excellent*, where he found himself in first charge of the great development of the iron plate and the heavy gun. It will be remembered that it was at this time that Sir Edward Reed,

who had already built the *Enterprise* as a specimen of an ironclad seagoing vessel, was appointed Chief Constructor of the Royal Navy. The great changes in gunnery necessitated the creation of a new office at Whitehall, and Captain (afterwards Rear-Admiral) Cooper Key filled the post of Director-General of Naval Ordnance until 1869, when he became Superintendent of Portsmouth Dockyard. He was next appointed second in command in the Mediterranean and Superintendent of Malta Dockyard. At the end of 1872 he was appointed President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, and filled this post for three years, being appointed Vice-Admiral in 1873; and in January, 1876, he became Commander-in-Chief on the North America and West Indies station. About this time he married Evelyn, daughter of Signor Vincenzo Bartolucci and Clementina Dundas, of Carron Hall, Stirlingshire. He was promoted Admiral in 1878, and in 1879 he was appointed Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. In 1880 the University of Oxford conferred on him the honorary degree of D.C.L.; and two years later, for his services in the Egyptian expedition of 1882, he was made a G.C.B. Since 1879 Sir A. Cooper Key held the office of Principal Naval Lord of the Admiralty under two successive Administrations, and he was sworn a Privy Councillor in 1884. He was placed on the retired list of Admirals in 1886, since which time he principally resided at Laggan House, Maidenhead, where he died on March 3, after a very brief illness.

Duke of Rutland.—Charles Cecil John Manners, K.G., sixth Duke of Rutland, and Marquess of Granby, Earl of Rutland, and Baron Manners, was the eldest son of the fifth duke, by Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the fifth Earl of Carlisle. He was born on May 16, 1815, and was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. At Belvoir Castle he was early thrown into the society of the leading Conservative statesmen of the day, and imbibed strong Protectionist ideas. Shortly after he came of age he resolved to seek a seat in Parliament, and as Marquess of Granby he was elected in the Conservative interest for Stamford in August, 1837. This borough he continued to represent for fifteen years. For some sessions the Marquess did not take a prominent position in the House of Commons. But by the time the Corn Law agitation had assumed formidable proportions he was recognised as one of

the principal leaders of the Protectionist party. When Sir Robert Peel brought forward his great free-trade measures of 1846 the Marquess of Granby, while giving the Premier credit for pure and honourable motives, declared that if he had promulgated the same opinions in 1841 he would never have been suffered to propose them as a Minister of the Crown. The effect of free trade might be to increase the exports, but Lord Granby maintained that the home consumption of manufactures would fall off in equal proportion, as agriculturists would be deprived of funds wherewith to purchase them. On similar grounds the Marquess opposed Lord John Russell's measures on the sugar duties, alleging that it was necessary to afford protection to our own colonies, and that the Government policy would increase the abominations of the slave trade. When complaints were made of the great distress prevailing in England in 1847, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the causes of the distress and also into the operation of the Bank Restriction Act of 1844, the Marquess of Granby condemned the inflexible operation of the Act, and cited the condition of the country as a signal proof of the failure of free trade.

Lord George Bentinck having thrown up the leadership of the Protectionist party in a fit of ill-humour in February, 1848, the Protectionists met at Lord Stanley's house to elect his successor. Their choice fell upon the Marquess of Granby, not because of his oratory or statesmanship, but because of the high esteem in which he was held, his courageous adherence to Conservative doctrines, and the importance attaching to his high rank. Lord George, however, soon came back, though he did not long continue at his old post. He died suddenly in the following September, and was succeeded in the leadership by Mr. Disraeli. It is said, nevertheless, that for a second time the onerous position of leader was offered to Lord Granby. When the repeal of the navigation laws was carried in the session of 1849, the Marquess condemned the measure and the "visionary character of its advantages," while he spoke strongly of the danger of introducing foreign shipping into the ports of our colonies. At the close of the same session, when Mr. Disraeli moved for a Select Committee to consider the state of the nation, Lord Granby delivered a speech which created a marked impression. In opposition to Sir Robert Peel, he maintained that the

isastrous condition of the labourer was due to free trade, and produced a record of wages in Manchester in 1845 and 1849, which showed that they had been reduced in every species of manufacture without an equivalent in the fall of prices. He also emphatically denied the charge that the country gentlemen desired to maintain their rents at the expense of the labouring classes. In several succeeding sessions the Marquess returned to the subject, uniformly contending that the distress in the agricultural districts was owing to legislation, and that it must assume a permanent character unless the causes were removed. In supporting Mr. Disraeli's motion in favour of the relief of agriculture in the session of 1851, his lordship said that after five years' experience of free trade the landed interest was in a worse position than when it began. The Legislature, he held, would be compelled sooner or later to return to protection, admitting the principle that for every tax imposed upon the home producer an equivalent tax must be laid upon the foreigner. These principles he continued to hold all through life, and of late years the Duke had been one of the advocates for the adoption of the policy of fair trade.

At the elections of July 1852 the Marquess of Granby was returned for North Leicestershire, and this constituency he continued to represent until his accession to the dukedom. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli were then in power, and the Marquess was extremely dissatisfied with the policy of the Government, on the ground that it was not sufficiently Tory in its character. He had never sympathised with the opinions of the "Young England" party, to which his brother, Lord John Manners, belonged; and when his father, the Duke of Rutland, remonstrated with him, pointing out that he would seriously injure the Government to which he was attached, and to which his own brother belonged, his lordship replied that he would not abstain from attacking even his brother if he chose to desert the principles he had always maintained. "The Duke of Bedford," says Greville, "told the Duke of Rutland he thought Granby's feelings did him great credit; that, though his conclusions were unsound, his conscientious adherence to the principles he had always avowed and still maintained was very honourable to him." When Mr. Gladstone brought forward his first great Budget, that of 1853, Lord Granby, speaking on Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's amendment condemning the

income-tax propositions, opposed the continuance of the tax for seven years as unequal and unjust. He insisted that, considering the local burdens and other incidents attaching to the land, it was neither fair nor wise to impose a succession duty on real property concurrently with the income tax.

The Marquess of Granby took up a peculiar position in connection with the Crimean war. When Mr. Roebuck brought forward his celebrated motion in 1855 demanding a formal inquiry into the whole administration of the war, his lordship voted for it as a vote of want of confidence, but he also condemned the policy of the war itself. He was one of those who believed the Emperor of Russia never intended to seize upon the Ottoman Empire, and that the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe was not the real object of the war. When peace was announced in 1856, however, he cordially accepted the Treaty of Paris, which he believed contained as much as England had a right to expect; and he expressed his fervent hope that the settlement might prove a lasting one.

On the death of his father in Jan. 1857, Lord Granby became Duke of Rutland, and went to the Upper House. In the Lords his Grace was a very frequent speaker, but in the session of 1861 he manifested a strongly hostile attitude towards Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the Repeal of the Paper Duty. He moved the rejection of the measure on the second reading, not only on the ground of the objectionable form of the Bill, but because in the existing condition of affairs in Europe and America it was impossible to say how long peace might be preserved. Consequently, it was most inopportune to abolish the duty on paper, in view of the state of warlike preparation prevailing in France and England. In the end, owing to the persuasion of Lord Derby, the Duke withdrew his amendment, and a prolonged conflict with the Lower House was averted.

When the Reform Bill was before the House of Lords in the session of 1867 the Duke severely condemned the measure, because "all the securities originally proposed had been surrendered." He did not counsel its rejection, however, but advised important restrictive amendments. On several occasions the Duke raised in the House of Lords the question of the condition of trade and agriculture, more than once drawing down upon him the rebuke of his former ally in the ad-

vocacy of Protection, Lord Beaconsfield. In the session of 1883 the Duke made a comprehensive speech in drawing the attention of the House of Lords to this subject. He adduced a great number of statistics relating to all kinds of trade and affecting all classes of the community, and reiterated his belief in the old Protectionist ideas. He expressed his conviction that as soon as a majority in favour of Protection had been returned to the House of Commons, from that moment the industry of England would begin to flourish. "Agriculture would become prosperous, and trade revive; the furnaces of the great manufacturing would again blaze forth, giving employment to thousands; and the country would soon be brought back to its former happy state." He spoke vigorously in the House against the Reform legislation of 1884, affirming that the time would yet come when the people would have occasion to exclaim, "Thank God we have a House of Lords." The last occasion on which the Duke addressed the House of Lords was in connection with the Allotments and Cottage Gardens Compensation Bill, in July 1887. He expressed himself as greatly in favour of allotments, but deprecated the tendency of modern legislation to make everything compulsory, leaving nothing to be done by agreement. He also objected to the practice of setting aside contracts, which had become a prominent feature of all land legislation.

While the Duke of Rutland could lay no claim to eloquence or to original capacity in statesmanship, he was respected by men of all parties for the frankness and courage with which he expressed his political opinions. It was his pride that he had never changed his views upon fiscal and commercial questions, and to the last he predicted that a change would yet come over the convictions of Englishmen in the direction of Protection. In private life, among his tenantry and neighbours, he was much esteemed. Latterly he lived but little in London, devoting much of his time to field sports and the occupations of a country life. He died after a somewhat protracted illness on March 4, at his seat, Belvoir Castle, and was succeeded in the title and estates by his brother, Lord John Manners, M.P.

The Duke was a Lord of the Bedchamber to the late Prince Consort from 1843 till 1846, and he was created a Knight of the Garter in Feb. 1867. He was honorary colonel of the Leicestershire Militia, and Lord-Lieutenant of

that county, to which office he was appointed in 1852. He was never married.

Amos Bronson Alcott, who died at Boston on the 4th, was born Nov. 29, 1799. He was of humble parentage, but fairly educated, his father being a mechanic in Plymouth, Connecticut. In early life he was for two or three years a pedlar of silks, jewellery, and other light articles, and some of his best friends could not but remember this when in later life he went about the American cities as a peripatetic philosopher, displaying in "conversations" the Emersonian jewels and Transcendental wares. Although Mr. Alcott was by no means an original thinker, he was a good teacher, and is said to have been the most successful of disciplinarians, through his compelling every refractory child to punish the teacher (Mr. Alcott) with blows. When Emerson returned from his first visit to England, about 1835, Alcott was engaged with this peculiar and famous school (the subject of a volume by Miss Elizabeth Peabody), and became a devout listener to the Concord lecturer. In 1840 he went to reside in Concord, and was for the rest of his life the most faithful of disciples, albeit, like many other followers, not quite able to understand his master. However, his practical "Transcendentalism" was that of the devotee. On one occasion, when his family was in poverty, he gave away to a plausible rogue all the money he had, twenty dollars. His wife was in despair on learning this, but the thief returned the money in a letter, saying he had not the heart to take the money of such a simpleton. It was this story that Emerson told to a company in England where Carlyle was present, when, after hearing it, he refused to go in to dinner before Emerson, declaring himself too wicked. The anecdote is related in Emerson's "English Traits," without, however, some of the incidents which Carlyle used to tell in his characteristic way. Mr. Alcott afterwards visited England, and tried to convert Carlyle to his peculiar vegetarian philosophy, which excluded all roots as diet. But Carlyle lost patience, and exclaimed, while they were walking, "There is Piccadilly; there it has been for a hundred years; there it will be when you and your d— potato gospel are dead and forgotten." Mr. Alcott's unworldliness appealed to Emerson's magnanimity, and Emerson's admirers in various parts of the United States arranged "conversations" in drawing-rooms for the helpless idealist.

He carried round books well laden with MS. selections from translations of Plato and of the German mystics, also from the English mystics and poets—Henry More, George Herbert, Cowley—and fortunately he was a good reader and had a fine presence.

A sketch of Alcott was written by Emerson for Appleton's "Cyclopædia," 1858, in which it is stated:—

"On the invitation of James P. Greaves, of London, the friend and fellow-labourer of Pestalozzi in Switzerland, Mr. Alcott went to England in 1842. Mr. Greaves died before his arrival, but Mr. Alcott was cordially received by his friends, who had given his name to their school at 'Alcott House,' Ham, near London, and spent some months in making acquaintance with various classes of reformers. On his return to America he brought with him two of his English friends, Charles Lane and H. G. Wright; and Mr. Lane having bought a farm, which he called 'Fruitlands,' at Harvard, Mass., they all went there to found a new community. Messrs. Lane and Wright soon returned to England, and the farm was sold."

Mr. Alcott wrote much for the *Dial* (1840-44) while it was edited by Emerson and Margaret Fuller. His volumes are: "Conversations with Children on the Gospels" (1837); "Spiritual Culture, or Thoughts for the Consideration of Parents and Teachers" (1841); "Tablets" (1868); "Concord Days" (1872); "Table-Talk" (1877); "Sonnets and Canzonets" (1882). His more important monument is the Concord Summer School of Philosophy. In 1830 he married the daughter of Col. Joseph May, of Boston, by whom he had three daughters, one of whom, an artist of promise, died a few years ago in France, where she married; another was the distinguished author Louisa Alcott. In his death passed away one of the most striking figures of New England.

Miss Alcott swiftly followed her father to the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Concord, where so many eminent literary men are buried. In 1882 her father, whose support she had long been—Mrs. Alcott having died many years before—was stricken with paralysis, and under the constant care he had required ever since, her health broke down. She had been at work on a book entitled "Joe's Boys" three years ago, when her physician forbade further writing, and afterwards her symptoms became so serious that she was removed to his house. Hearing

that her dying father had called for her, she insisted on going from Roxbury to his house in Boston, and on her return caught a cold, of which she died early on Tuesday, the 6th, her father having died on the previous Sunday. Miss Alcott was born in Germantown, Pa., Nov. 29, 1832 (her father's birthday being also Nov. 29). Her early life was passed at the "Fruitlands" community, surviving now only in her story "Transcendental Wild Oats." She was taught for a time by Thoreau, the naturalist. Her first book was "Flower Fables" (1855). On the breaking out of the Civil War she served as a nurse of soldiers (1862), and wrote a series of brilliant "Hospital Sketches," which were first printed in the *Boston Commonwealth*, and excited much attention. Her adventure ended with typhoid fever, from the effects of which she never entirely recovered. In 1864 she wrote "Moods," a novel which was somewhat eclipsed by Miss Crane's "Emily Chester," written with a similar idea, and the work, though much improved afterwards, never attracted the attention it merited. Her popularity began with the appearance of "Little Women" (1867), partly written while rambling in Europe. In three years 87,000 copies were sold. An almost equal success was gained by her "Old-fashioned Girl" (1869) and "Little Men" (1872). These were followed by "Aunt Jo's Scrap Bag" (6 vols., 1872-1882); "Work, a Story of Experience" (1873); "Eight Cousins" (1874); "Rose in Bloom" (1876); "Under the Lilacs" (1878); "Proverb Stories" (1882); "Spinning Wheel Stories" (1884); "Lulu's Library" (1885). In the meantime Miss Alcott wrote various contributions to periodicals, among other things a fine paper of reminiscences of Emerson—always her friend. She resided, until her father's illness, in a beautiful home at Concord, cherishing as her own the daughter and only child of her sister the artist, who died in Europe.

Frederick William Louis, crowned in 1861 as William I., was the second son of Frederick William III., the grand-nephew of the second or Great Frederick of Prussia. He was born on March 22, 1797, in the very year his father ascended the throne. The new monarch raised the hopes of his subjects by getting rid of the unworthy favourites of his predecessor, by himself taking an active part in the administration of affairs, and by making a

tour of inspection, accompanied by his beautiful young queen, Louisa of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the mother of the deceased Emperor, through all the provinces of the State, investigating their condition and instituting measures of local improvement. But the vacillating character of his foreign policy alienated for a time both the affection of his subjects and the goodwill of the petty German princes; and when at length the overbearing patronage of Napoleon and the anger of his people compelled him to sign a Convention with Russia, he lacked the strength and the honesty of purpose to adhere to the patriotic resolution, and, throwing himself once more into the arms of France, obtained the Electorate of Hanover and the contempt of Europe. Stung by the reproaches of his gallant queen, he again veered round; but his fresh conversion came too late. Jena, Eylau, and Friedland followed in fast succession; and the Treaty of Tilsit, whilst depriving him of the greater portion of his dominions, left him, as far as the remainder was concerned, a mere puppet in the hands of the conqueror. The work of national regeneration effected by the genius of Stein was to be speedily put to the test. In 1813 the War of Liberation broke out, and Prussia, taking advantage of the failure of the French expedition to Russia, assumed the offensive against the common enemy, and had the satisfaction of reaping the chief laurels won on the great field of Leipsic. By the Peace of Vienna, Prussia regained all its former possessions; and its gallant share in the campaign that was crowned at Waterloo restored the kingdom to something like its pristine importance and renown. It was in the campaign of 1813 that the Crown Prince William had his first taste of war. Three years later he accompanied his father and the Allied Sovereigns to Paris, a youth of eighteen. Not being the heir to the throne, he was eclipsed in importance by his elder brother. His aspirations were limited to a princely but subordinate military career. Tall, handsome, with a lofty and aristocratic bearing, he was the model of a German officer, and had he sought for other distinction he would have been thought only a rebel against his obvious vocation. It was rumoured about this time that his affections became engaged to a lady of princely though not of royal rank, and that he sought to escape, on the occasion, from the obligations of his birth. His father sought the advice of

the jurists of the kingdom, and was anxious to meet, as far as possible, the feelings of his son. But the jurists declared the union impossible, and it was well understood in the court circle that the heart of the young Prince had experienced a severe disappointment. It was, moreover, in connection with this incident that he committed a breach of both law and authority by fighting a duel without the authorisation which would alone have rendered it legal.

Frederick William III. was succeeded on June 7, 1840, by his elder son, Frederick William IV. One of the first acts of the new sovereign was to appoint his brother Lieutenant or Viceroy of the province of Pomerania. On the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1848, although at first he showed himself much opposed to any popular movement, he had so thoroughly contemplated the granting of a Constitution that in 1846 he sent his brother, the subject of this memoir, to England, in order that Bunsen, then the representative of Prussia at the Court of St. James's, might have an opportunity of converting him to a conviction of such a step being necessary. This interview took place at the Prussian Embassy, and lasted for two hours. The Prince began by averring himself absolutely opposed to Constitutional Government, and added that he had come to listen to one of its advocates only in obedience to his brother and his sovereign. Before the close of the conversation the Prince avowed himself convinced, but still maintained that the moment was not opportune for granting a Constitution, and that, at any rate, it was a little too soon. "Perhaps it is," Bunsen replied, "but your Royal Highness should remember that there is such a thing as too late." It was not long before the heir presumptive had an opportunity of verifying the accuracy of the observation.

On March 6, 1848, Prince William was named Governor-General of the Rhine Province, but owing, in all probability, to the disturbed state of the Continent, and to the energetic attitude assumed by the leaders of German Democracy, he remained in Berlin, encouraging his royal brother in the still continued resistance to the popular demands for a Constitution. On the 15th of the same month, however, news reached the Prussian capital of the events which had taken place in Vienna, and of the fall of Prince Metternich, a statesman who was regarded in every

European Court as the representative and very incarnation of absolute rule. Urged by his fears, which there is little doubt the Prince, his brother, did not share, the King, some days later, granted everything that was demanded by the citizens of Berlin. These, in return, assembled before the Royal Palace Unter den Linden to express their joy; when—by whom, and at whose orders, has never been satisfactorily explained—two shots were fired. The populace at once threw up barricades, in imitation of the Parisians who had driven away Louis Philippe; street fighting went on through the night; the palace of the Prince Royal and the arsenal immediately attached to it were stormed by the mob, and day broke upon a scene of street carnage for which the Prince was at the time held responsible. The King, with incredible weakness, ordered all the troops out of Berlin, the Prince, as a matter of course, accompanying them; and absolute power remained in the hands of the Democratic party. The old Parliament was convoked, but only for the purpose of sanctioning the summoning of another which should frame a Constitution. The Prince was elected a member of it, but never took his seat, and left Germany for England, at the wish of the King, on May 28, where he remained, the sittings of the German Parliament which met at Frankfort, and afterwards moved to Stuttgart, having achieved nothing but the setting loose of passions it was powerless to direct.

Meanwhile the Prince of Prussia, having been recalled from England and placed at the head of the Army of Intervention, was deputed to crush the Democratic insurgents of Baden and Bavaria, and entered Rastadt in triumph on July 23. In October he was named Military Governor of the Rhine Province, taking up his head-quarters at Coblenz. His brother, despite the refusal given to the Frankfort Parliament, still endeavoured to obtain the consent of the German sovereigns to his accepting the Headship of Germany; but he was vigorously opposed by Austria, which had the support of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Württemberg. The old Bundestag was re-assembled by Austria and recognised by Prussia, and the humiliating Convention of Olmütz closed this period of hopes and disenchantments. The conditions of Prince Schwartzberg were accepted by Baron Manteuffel, Prussia's new Foreign Minister, and, what is stranger still, were defended by Herr

von Bismarck, then one of the young hopes of the Conservative party, in a speech delivered on Dec. 3, 1850. The Prussian Constitution survived the storm, was carefully revised, and was sworn to by the King in February of the same year.

Up to this the part played by the future conqueror of France and German Emperor in these events was necessarily small. In May 1851 Bismarck was nominated First Secretary of the Embassy to the restored Diet at Frankfort. The Prince at first took a dislike to him, and said as much to the Ambassador, who, however, generously took the part of his subordinate, and spoke of him in the highest terms. But this feeling was promptly removed on more intimate acquaintance, and in the following year the Prince stood sponsor to Bismarck's son. In 1854 his Royal Highness became Governor-General of the Prussian Infantry, and likewise General of the Federal fortress of Mayence, and—to collate peaceful with military employments—President of the aggregate Lodges of the Prussian Freemasons. He cannot fairly be credited with the various modifications which took place in the Prussian Constitution, mostly in a reactionary sense, between 1855 and 1857; but in October of the latter year, owing to the failing faculties of the King, he was named Regent for three months, and expressed his desire to conform faithfully to the Constitution. The Regency was renewed from time to time; and in 1858, a few months after he had paid a visit to this country (where, rightly or wrongly, he was viewed with much favour, owing to the belief that he had opposed the Russian tendencies of the Court of Berlin during the Crimean war), on the occasion of the marriage of his son with the Princess Royal of England, he assumed it indefinitely, taking the oath to the Constitution on Oct. 26. On Nov. 5 he dismissed the Manteuffel Administration and summoned Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to form a Cabinet, which speedily manifested a desire to augment the war and naval forces of Prussia. On Jan. 2, 1861, his brother died. In the following October his coronation took place at Königsberg. He placed the crown on his head with his own hands, intending to intimate that he received it only from God, and ascended the throne of Prussia under the title of William I.

Between the date of the death of King Frederick William IV. and the

formal coronation of William I., the latter had held many interviews with Herr von Bismarck, then representing the Court of Berlin at St. Petersburg. Even before he was transferred thither from Frankfort, in 1859, Bismarck had completely changed his views as to the part Prussia was called upon to play in Germany, and these views he seized the occasion, more than once, to develop to his new sovereign at Baden-Baden, enlarging upon them and firing the King's imagination with pictures of the possible greatness of Prussia and his own reign. That the King listened willingly is certain. At Coblenz, later in the same year, they met again, and his Majesty asked the Count to draw up a memorandum of his ideas and reduce them to writing. The Crown was soon engaged in a bitter contest with the Legislature, the latter refusing to vote the extraordinary army supplies demanded by General von Roon, then already at the head of the War Office. The King dissolved the Chambers, but the new Lower House proved as intractable as its predecessor. Neither side would give way; the Liberals demanding that the period of effective service should be two years instead of three; that the country should rely rather upon the Landwehr than the line, and that, if military outlay were increased, an extension of political liberties should accompany it. The struggle was a long one, the Crown never yielding one inch of ground; and though it is only just to say that the King was supported by bold and unbending servants, his was the central will round which the waves of Liberal opposition surged in vain. At last, in Sept. 1862, Herr von der Heydt, the First Minister, and Count Bernstorff, his principal colleague, resigned; and on the 23rd Herr von Bismarck, who had meanwhile been accredited as Ambassador to the Court of the Tuileries, became President of the Ministry, to be appointed, further, on the 8th of the following month, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new Premier at first attempted to cajole the Opposition by a show of concession; but finding its leaders unyielding, and not open to deception, he bravely threw off the mask, declared that all hope of a settlement for the present was at an end, notified that the Government would govern the country in accordance with the amount of the last Budget, and then, by order of the King, closed the Chambers. But the Prime Minister was not prepared, even at that date, to

go as far as his royal master, and when certain stringent press ordinances were issued he openly protested against them, and wrote to the King formulating his objection. The only consequence of this step was that Herr von Bismarck found it necessary for a time to absent himself from Court. This did not, however, militate in the least against the confidence reposed by the sovereign in his Foreign Minister; and the fact that Herr von Bismarck's conversations with Count Karolyi in December of the same year—in which the Prussian Minister informed the Austrian Ambassador that the relations of Prussia and Austria in the Bund must be altered for better or for worse—were, on Jan. 23, 1863, embodied in a circular despatch to Baron Werther, the Prussian Minister at Vienna, demonstrates that the King took an active part, from the very outset, in those diplomatic bickerings which terminated in the extrusion of Austria from Germany. In the course of the summer the sovereigns of the two States met at Gastein, and his Majesty the Emperor Francis Joseph there informed King William that a project was on foot for a Congress of German princes to be held at Frankfort. At first the King of Prussia appeared favourable to the scheme, but when the Congress met he sent no representative to its meetings. It is believed that it was in deference to the advice of his Prime Minister that he refrained from doing so. In the absence of Prussia, Austria had it all her own way with the petty princes. But on Nov. 15 occurred the death of the King of Denmark, which offered to the Prussian statesman an opportunity of carrying out his mighty projects without offending the susceptibilities and scruples of his sovereign. In the conflict with Denmark which ensued the King entered heart and soul, and when Düppel fell before the army of Prince Frederick Charles, his Majesty visited the fallen fortress in person, in April 1864; but it was not till August 1865 that the Convention of Gastein was signed, assigning the occupation of Holstein to Austria, and of Schleswig to Prussia, the King being present at Gastein on the occasion. The success of his arms in Denmark had added considerably to his popularity, though the contest between the Crown and the Second Chamber still went on. Moreover Count Bismarck, almost immediately after the Gastein Convention, began to carry out his German policy, at the same time

accusing Austria of being the cause of the disturbance. He had arranged everything for a rupture except the conscience of the King. He had obtained the connivance—for an imaginary price—of the Emperor Napoleon, and the promised alliance of Italy; whilst the assistance rendered in 1863 to Russia in quelling the Polish insurrection had secured the friendly neutrality of St. Petersburg. Austria grew alarmed and began to tighten the links which bound her to the Bund. Prussia proposed to reform the Diet. The Diet replied by mobilising three *corps d'armée*. The King meanwhile resisted in a half-hearted fashion, being dazzled by the glowing prospect held out to him by his Minister, yet influenced again by the Austrian sympathisers who crowded the Court of Berlin. It was at this period that the famous statesman made the observation that he was obliged to go and see the King every day, in order to wind him up like a clock. Fortunately, however, for the glory of Prussia, Gen. von Roon, the War Minister, and Count Moltke, the great strategist, powerfully seconded the President of State, and their representations of the marvellous efficiency of the army, joined to the subtle machinations of their political colleague, ended in overcoming his Majesty's scruples. At this period the King's health almost broke down from anxiety and painful hesitation; and when the still greater conflict of 1870 broke out the royal physicians, remembering the condition to which the events of 1866 had brought him, strongly urged, but without success, his abstinence from a repetition of the excitements of that time.

To return to the events passing at Frankfort. The Diet, in reply to the proposal of Prussia that its Constitution should be altered and a general German Parliament be summoned, based on universal suffrage, had pronounced an absolute refusal, and had ordered the mobilisation of three *corps d'armée*. Prussia seized the opportunity to declare that the Diet had violated the terms of the Confederation, and simultaneously with the order addressed to the Prussian troops to march into Holstein, and with the complete rupture between Prussia and Austria, identical notes were despatched to Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel, calling upon them to side with Prussia, and offering to guarantee them their sovereignty. This was on June 14, 1866. On the 23rd the First Prussian Army, under the command of Prince Frederick

Charles—the second Army was led by the Crown Prince, and the third by General Herwarth—crossed the Bohemian frontier, and on the 26th had an artillery brush with the Austrians. On the 29th the news of the victory of Gitschin reached Berlin, where the King still lingered, and his Majesty was loudly cheered by the multitudes assembled at his palace in the Linden. On the morrow he started for the scene of action, attended by Count Bismarck, General Moltke, and General Roon, and pushed forward so rapidly that on July 1 he was in some danger of being captured by the Austrian cavalry. On the 3rd was fought the famous and decisive battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, and, though the engagement commenced amid rain and mist, the King was on the ground from early morning till the victorious eve. The rout of the Austrians was complete, and the King, whose martial blood was now fairly aroused, was for pushing on to Vienna, which would doubtless have fallen an easy prey to the victors. Count Bismarck is credited on this occasion with being the main author of the more moderate counsels that prevailed. In a moment of irritation the King taunted his great Minister with being a “coward”—a reproach which, we need scarcely say, was as generously atoned for as it was essentially unmerited. Meanwhile the fortune of war had everywhere declared for the Prussian arms. The King of Hanover, refusing all the requests of the Prussian King at least to observe neutrality, had seen his army defeated at Langensalza; the Bavarian troops had fared no better, and the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel had been occupied. By the Treaty of Prague, which was signed on August 23, the old German Bund was dissolved, and Austria ceased to form part of Germany; north of the Main, Prussia was to form what Federal ties she thought proper; south of it the States were to form a union of their own, whose connection with the Northern Confederation was to be defined by agreement between them and Prussia. Furthermore, Austria ceded to Prussia all the rights to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig acquired by the Peace of Vienna, Oct. 30, 1864. In effect, the Prussian territory proper was increased by the addition of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Homburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenburg, and the city of Frankfort; Prussia was virtually mistress of the destinies of the four States south of the Main; and the King of Prussia was raised to the position of the most

powerful military monarch on the Continent. On Sept. 20 Berlin witnessed its first triumphal entry, the King receiving the homage of princes, the acclamations of his people, and a full Bill of Indemnity from Parliament for the irregularities which had received so striking a justification. On Feb. 24 of the following year his Majesty opened in person the first North German Parliament, which at once framed a Constitution for the new North German Bund, vesting the executive power in the King of Prussia, with the title of President.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg question shortly arose, but was disposed of in a Conference which met in London; and in the summer of 1867 the King paid a visit to Paris, accompanied by Count Bismarck. All this time Prussia was still further maturing her military organisation, and drawing still more closely the bonds which linked her with the South German Confederation. The candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern for the crown of Spain was brought forward in 1870. His Majesty was at Ems when France raised its objection to Prince Leopold's acceptance of the crown, and he ultimately authorised Baron Werther, his Ambassador at Paris, to state that he had nothing to do with Prim's choice, and knew of the Prince's acceptance only from the statement of the Duc de Grammont. Meanwhile the Prince's father had announced to Prim that the Prince withdrew his candidature, and, on being pressed by Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, who had gone to Ems for the purpose of seeking a personal interview with the King, his Majesty plainly declared that he approved the Prince's withdrawal. Everybody believed that the matter was settled. Instructions, however, were sent to Count Benedetti, which, we believe, were conveyed in the curt but suggestive formula, "Brusquez le Roi." Count Benedetti urged the King to promise that the candidature of Prince Leopold should not be brought forward again, and was informed that his Majesty's last word on the subject had been spoken.

From the beginning of Aug. 1870, when hostilities commenced, till the end of Jan. 1871, when they were brought to a termination with such results to the aggressor as are known to the whole world, and with the complete unification of Germany under the imperial sceptre, William I. shared with his troops the excitements and hardships of the campaign, preserving his health and spirits from

first to last in a truly remarkable manner. Attended as he was by so many German princes, he had a large and imposing suite; but his establishment, whether in the field or at Versailles, was strikingly moderate, and in every respect in keeping with the situation. The siege of Paris, which the King conducted in person, was protracted through many weeks of a severe winter, but its final issue was only once doubtful. On Dec. 10, 1870, the North German Parliament, moved thereto by a formal proposal from the King of Bavaria, passed a Bill authorising the insertion of Emperor and Empire in the new Constitution, and on Jan. 18, 1871, King William standing in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, in the presence of all the German princes, was acclaimed German Emperor. Ten days later Paris capitulated. Among the first steps taken by the newly constituted Empire was an effort to heal the breach with Austria caused by the events of 1866. In opening the German Parliament in the autumn of 1871 the Emperor employed very significant language. And it soon became clear that even at this early date the Emperor William and his advisers meditated the formation of that close understanding with Austria-Hungary, which since ripened into a solid alliance. It was, however, by no means simple or easy to bring this about. The obligations under which Germany lay to Alexander II. for the benevolent neutrality observed by Russia during the conflicts of 1866 and 1870 had strengthened the ties already subsisting between the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. The relations of St. Petersburg and Vienna, on the other hand, were of the coldest character, and the German Emperor naturally felt embarrassed whilst striving to increase the friendship of Germany with Austria without diminishing the friendship of Germany with Russia. The solution of the difficulty was found in the memorable meeting of the Three Emperors at Berlin, and the supposed establishment of the so-called Drei-Kaiser-Bund. The arrangement held good until the Russo-Turkish campaign was closed by the preliminaries of the Treaty of San Stefano, and Austria, conjointly with England, demanded that they should be submitted to revision by Europe: then it was that the preference of Germany for Austria as against Russia became manifest. No one will suspect the deceased Emperor of being privy to such astute calculations. When he found that the interests of the Fatherland de-

mandated that the safety of Austria should be preferred to the ambition of Russia, his Majesty did not hesitate for a moment, and heartily seconded the steps taken by his Chancellor to effect an alliance between Germany and Austria to the exclusion of Russia. Subsequently the son of Alexander II. showed a willingness to obtain re-admittance for Russia to the friendly counsels of the other two Empires, and ostensibly the wish was with the understanding that Russia might remain the ally of Germany and Austria so long as she kept the peace. Thus the unification of Germany under the Emperor William proved pacific in its tendencies and results, and it was no empty boast when he declared that the power of Germany "is not only a safe bulwark for the Fatherland, but likewise affords a strong guarantee for the peace of Europe."

Unfortunately the German Emperor was prevented from participating in either the business or the festivities of the Berlin Congress by one of those cowardly attempts which are periodically made by the emissaries of revolution upon crowned heads. Already on May 11, 1878, the life of the Emperor had been attempted, but without result. As his Majesty was returning from a drive with his only daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, a tin-smith, called Hödel, a native of Leipsic, fired two shots from a revolver at him. The Grand Duchess fainted, but the Emperor proved to be untouched. On June 2 following two shots were fired at his Majesty from a second storey in a house in the Linden. Small shot took effect in the face, the arm, and the hand. The criminal was a man of birth and education, called Nobiling, whose brothers were in the German Army. The reason he gave for the act was the conviction that the death of the Emperor would promote the welfare of the State, and he seems to have confessed that he had accomplices, and that it had fallen to him by lot to carry out a design widely contemplated. The event caused the greatest excitement in Germany, the more so as for a time grave anxiety was felt as to the final issue of the wounds inflicted on the Emperor. But his splendid constitution and magnificent nerve made him the best of patients, and in a few weeks the German people were once again gratified by the sight of their beloved sovereign.

It was not, however, with the Social Democrats alone that the Emperor's Government found itself at hopeless variance. A wide breach was for a time

created between the German Empire and the Papacy by what are historically known as the May Laws; measures conceived in a spirit of retaliation by Prince Bismarck for what he deemed the hostile attitude of the Church of Rome. When the May Laws were first introduced, Pius IX. made a direct appeal to the Christian sentiments of the Emperor, and unwisely added that "all baptized persons belong in a sense to the Pope." The Emperor at once replied in the following language: "There is one more expression in the letter of your Holiness which I cannot pass over without contradiction—viz., the expression that everyone that has received baptism belongs to the Pope. The Evangelical Creed, which, as must be known to your Holiness, I, like my ancestors and the majority of my subjects, profess, does not permit us to accept in our relation to God any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ." The *Culturkampf* was allowed to take its course, and would probably have been carried further, but for the facts that Pius IX. was succeeded by Leo XIII., a pontiff of conciliatory character, and that clericalism in France was rendered powerless by the fall of Marshal MacMahon and the gradual rise of M. Gambetta. The practical repeal of the May Laws, however, was probably hastened by the earnest desire of the aged Emperor to die at peace with the whole world.

During the closing years of the reign of this remarkable monarch, Europe has been frequently alarmed by rumours of a fresh conflict between Germany and France; and there have been moments when even good and dispassionate judges feared that the outbreak of hostilities was only a question of weeks. Against a renewal of that struggle the Emperor resolutely and uniformly set his face. At the same time he omitted no opportunity of impressing on his people the paramount duty of being prepared for the contingency; and the most memorable incident of the closing months of his career was the demand by the Crown for a considerable increase in the strength of the Reserves of the Imperial Army, and the prompt and unanimous vote by which the Reichstag granted the heavy sums of money required for this great measure of defence. So long as the Emperor lived, Europe felt that, though Germany was equal to almost any trial of strength, it would never be the first to break the peace. "Defence, not Defiance," was the motto that inspired the military policy of the late

sovereign. It was in the same spirit that he administered an impetus to colonial enterprise by the acquisition of fresh territories in the South Seas and on the coast of Africa, as well as by the establishment of a sort of protectorate over the Sultan of Zanzibar.

During the last years of his life he showed from time to time symptoms which alarmed his family, but his annual stay at Gastein seemingly restored him to much of his former vigour. On March 5 his illness was officially recognised, but he rallied sufficiently on March 8 to sign the decree proroguing the Reichsrath, but he speedily relapsed into unconsciousness, and at half-past eight on the evening of the 9th he

breathed his last in the eighteenth year of his reign as German Emperor, and within a few days of completing his 91st year. To sum up the character of the Emperor William, we may say that he was, first and above all things, a king, and secondly, and next in order, a soldier. Living in the full light of the nineteenth century, he was a believer in divine right, quite as much as any pope or Comte de Chambord. He was essentially the king for the situation, and in the chapter of history which is dedicated to the unification of Imperial Germany, his name will stand out in conspicuous and glowing colours—not a great man, perhaps, but unquestionably a great sovereign.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 2nd, aged 55, **Rev. Frederick Heathcote Sutton**, Rector of Brant, Lincolnshire, and Honorary Canon of Lincoln Cathedral. He was a son of Sir Richard Sutton, third baronet, and a recognised authority on ecclesiastical art. On the 3rd, aged 74, **Sir Richard Brooke**, of Norton Priory, Runcorn, seventh baronet, late of the 1st Life Guards. On the same date, at Victoria Park, aged 68, **Lieut.-General Thomas Lightfoot, C.B.**, the son of the late Lieut.-General Thomas Lightfoot, C.B. On the 4th, at Sketty Hall, Glamorganshire, aged 55, **Frank Ash Yeo, M.P.** for the West or Gower division of the county since 1885, a member of a firm of colliery proprietors and patent fuel manufacturers at Swansea, of which town he was an active magistrate, and in 1874 was elected Mayor. He was born at Bideford and educated at Bideford School, North Devon. On the same date, aged 32, **Colonel William Heathcote Tapp**, who was killed in action outside Suakim whilst in command of an Egyptian regiment garrisoning that place. Entered the army (69th Foot) in 1875, and subsequently exchanged to the Welsh Regiment, of which he became a captain in 1882. He passed into the service of the Egyptian Government in 1884 with the rank of Colonel. Also on the same date, aged 56, the **Rev. John Graves, M.A.**, Chaplain-in-Ordinary to her Majesty at Kensington Palace, and one time Historical Lecturer at the Battersea Training College. Also on the same date, at Cannes, aged 76, **Thomas Blizard Curling, F.R.S.**, for many years an eminent London surgeon. On the 5th, at Broganza, Carlou, aged 85, the **Most Rev. Dr. James Walsh**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare. On the same date, at Albert Hall Mansions, aged 87, **Anne Benson**, stepdaughter of Basil Montagu and widow of Bryan Waller Procter (Barry Cornwall), a friend of Charles Lamb, Coleridge, Thackeray, Dickens, and many other literary men of her time. On the 6th, at Dorking, aged 59, the **Venerable Peter Righton Atkinson**, Canon of Winchester and Archdeacon of Surrey; for many years Vicar of Dorking and earlier in life for some time in Tasmania. On the 8th, at Belfast, the **Rev. Isaac Nelson**, at one time M.P. for Leitrim, and one of the oldest Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. On the same date, in Park Lane, London, aged 67, **Sir Frederick Ulrick Graham**, of Netherby, son of Sir James Graham, the statesman, whom he succeeded as third baronet in 1861. He was formerly in the 1st Life Guards, and for a time an Attaché to the Embassy at Vienna. Also on the same date, at Stevenage, Herts, aged 70, **Lieut.-Colonel James Metcalfe**. He attended Lord Clyde as interpreter throughout the military operations for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and was for some years aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie when Governor-General. On the 9th, at Putney, aged 75, **Dr. Robert Gordon Latham**, the author of a great number of ethnological and philological works, amongst which was a new edition of "Johnson's Dictionary." On the 10th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 76, **Vice-Admiral Spratt, C.B., F.R.S., F.G.S.**, son of Captain James Spratt, R.N. He served in the Baltic during the Russian war, and was for many years employed in the surveying service. More recently he was a Special Commissioner of Fisheries. On the same date, at Florence, aged 56, **Ciro Pinsuti**, a popular song writer, long resident in England, where he had held a professorship at the Royal Academy of Music. On the 11th, aged 67, **Dr. Amschel Stern**, the Chief Rabbi of Hamburg. On the 12th, at Funchal, Madeira, aged 58, **Luke White, K.P.**, second Baron Annaly, M.P. for Longford, 1861-62, and for Kidderminster 1862-65, and a Junior

Lord of the Admiralty. He had entered the army in 1846, became captain in the 13th Light Dragoons, and subsequently colonel of the 6th Battalion Rifle Brigade (Prince Consort's Own). On the 15th, aged 74, **Henri Blaze de Bury**, the son of the late F. H. J. Blaze, an author and composer, better known as Castel Blaze. He added to his name of Blaze that of his English mother. He was himself an author, and a contributor to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which was founded by his sister's husband, M. Bulory. On the same date, in Onslow Crescent, South Kensington, aged 73, **General Henry Charles Van Cortlandt, C.B.**, the son of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Clinton Van Cortlandt. He entered the military service of the Sikh Government, under Runjeet Singh, in 1832; commanded the Sikh troops which co-operated with the British in the Khyber Pass. In the first Sutlej campaign he acted as political officer in the British service, returning to that of the Sikhs in 1846. On the annexation of the Punjab he took civil employ in the British service, and on the outbreak of the Mutiny did good service in its suppression. On the 16th, aged 87, **M. Carnot**, the father of the French President. He was the son of the "Organiser of Victory" of the French Revolution, and after the Restoration accompanied his father into exile. Returning to France in 1823, he studied for the Bar, and became a warm supporter of the St. Simon sect. In the Revolution of 1848 he was Minister of Education. He published biographies of his father and of Bishop Grégoire, besides editing the "Memoirs of Barrère." On the 17th, in Curzon Street, aged 54, **Lieut.-Colonel J. B. Farquharson**, of Invercauld, formerly of the Coldstream Guards, with whom he served in the Crimean war. On the 18th, at Hyères, **Henry Forbes**. He entered the Indian Civil Service as a "writer" in 1830, distinguished himself on a committee which organised a cheap postal system for India, and rose to become a member of the Legislative Council in the Madras Presidency, where he came into collision with Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor. On the 19th, at Hornchurch, Essex, aged 70, **Major-General William Manley Hall Dixon, C.B.**, of the Royal Artillery, son of Major-General M. C. Dixon, R.E. He had seen much service in the Baltic during the Crimean war, and was afterwards made Superintendent of the Enfield Small Arms Factory. On the 21st, at Torquay, aged 77, **Lauchlan MacKinnon**, son of Rev. John MacKinnon, of Straths, Isle of Skye. He emigrated to Australia in 1839, and was an early settler in what became the colony of Victoria, and was for some time in the Legislative Council of the new State, and was also associated in the proprietary and management of the *Melbourne Argus*. On the same date, at Upper East Sheen, aged 70, **Thomas German Reed**, who with his wife, the late Miss Priscilla Horton, founded the dramatic entertainments associated with their names. On the 23rd, at Addison Road, Kensington, aged 58, the **Rev. Henry Nutcombe Oxenham**, son of William Oxenham, a master at Harrow School, where and at Oxford he was educated. Soon after taking orders in the Church of England he joined the Church of Rome, and became known as a controversialist. On the 24th, in London, aged 55, **Lieut.-Colonel Frederick C. Elton, V.C.**, late of the 21st Scots Fusiliers and of the 55th Border Regiments. With the latter regiment he served throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854, and earned the Victoria Cross for distinguished bravery in the trenches before Sebastopol. On the 25th, at San Remo, aged 81, **Jean Marie Napoléon Désiré Nisard**, the "Father" of the French Academy, to which he had been elected in 1850. On the same date, aged 54, **Wilhelm Drexel**, the head of one of the largest banking enterprises in the United States. He had held important offices in New York, and was a great philanthropist. The firm was founded by his father, who, born in the Austrian Tyrol, had fled across the Atlantic to avoid the conscription, and ultimately settled in Philadelphia. Also on the same date the **Rev. Charles William King, M.A.**, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He devoted himself to literary and antiquarian pursuits, and was the author of valuable books on antique gems, &c. On the 26th, at Edinburgh, aged 56, **Robert Chambers**, the head of the well-known firm of publishers, and editor of the *Journal*, founded by his father. On the same date, in Lower Grosvenor Place, aged 57, **Doyne Courtney Bell, F.S.A.**, Secretary to her Majesty's Privy Purse; a great authority on historical costumes. Also on the same date, in the Ungoro country, **Bishop Henry Perrott Parker**, who succeeded Bishop Hannington as Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. On the 27th, in Dublin, aged 42, **Edward Dwyer Gray, M.P.** for one of the divisions of that city. The son of the late Sir John Gray, M.P., he was managing director and some time proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*. On the 28th, aged 73, **Arrighi de Casanova, Duc de Padoue**, Minister of the Interior under the Empire, son of the first duke, one of the First Napoleon's generals. On the 29th, in Eaton Square, aged 81, **Sir Christopher Rawlinson**, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Madras. He was the

son of John Rawlinson, of Upper Clatford and Alresford, Hants; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; called to the Bar of the Middle Temple, 1831; married, 1847, Georgina, the daughter of Alexander Radcliffe Sidebottom, Esq. On the 80th, aged 85, the Rev. William Quekett, M.A., for thirty years Rector of Warrington, and celebrated by Charles Dickens as a typical clergyman. On the same date, at Forest Hill, aged 81, Augustus Mongredien, a writer upon Free Trade and other subjects. On the 31st, at Pitsford, aged 87, Lady Wake, the widow of Sir Charles Wake, Bart., and the sister of Archbishop Tait of Canterbury.

APRIL.

General Quincy Adams Gillmore, who died at New York on the 10th, was one of the most distinguished officers on the Federal side during the great American Civil War. He was the son of one of the pioneer settlers of Ohio, and born in Lorain County, in that state, in 1825. He received his soldier's training at the United States Military Academy, where he graduated in 1849 at the head of his class. He was assigned to the Engineers, and after serving three years at Hampton Roads was appointed Instructor in Practical Military Engineering at West Point, and subsequently Treasurer and Quartermaster at the Academy. He was First Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps when the Civil War broke out. In August 1861 he was appointed captain in his own corps and Engineer-in-Chief of the Port Royal Expedition under General T. W. Sherman. The reduction of Fort Pulaski, a strong fortification defending the water approach to Savannah, was deemed essential, but the task seemed hopeless, as the fort was regarded as impregnable. Captain Gillmore, however, then Acting-Brigadier-General, undertook the task, constructing for the purpose eleven batteries of mortars with rifled guns on Tybee Island, a mile distant. He personally superintended the bombardment, which was very destructive, and the place surrendered after an assault of thirty hours. For this exploit, which placed him in the front rank of American engineers and artillerymen, Gillmore was breveted Lieut.-Colonel. After other valuable services in June 1863 he was given the command of the Federal Department of the South, comprising all territory occupied by Union troops on the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. He won new laurels by his operations on Morris Island, for which he was breveted Brigadier-General. For the reduction of Fort Sumter and the taking of Fort Wagner and Battery Greeg—operations characterised by great professional skill and boldness, and consti-

tuting a new departure in the science of engineering and gunnery—he was made Major-General of Volunteers. In 1864–65 he rendered further signal services in the field, but in December of the latter year returned to service in the Engineer Bureau at Washington. He was subsequently appointed Engineer-in-Chief of all the fortifications and harbour and river improvements on the Atlantic coast south of New York. He was promoted Major in 1863, Lieut.-Colonel in 1874, and Colonel in 1883. He was President of the Mississippi River Commission, appointed by Congress in 1879, and acted on several other important Boards and Commissions. As one of the judges at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 he made special and voluminous reports on "Portland, Roman, and other Cements and Artificial Stones," and on "Brickmaking Machinery," &c. General Gillmore's works upon professional subjects are ranked among the highest authorities in their class. They include "Siege and Reduction of Fort Pulaski" (1862); "Limes, Hydraulic Cements, and Mortars" (1863); "Engineering and Artillery Operations against Charleston in 1863" (1865); "Béton, Coignet, and other Artificial Stones" (1871); "The Strength of the Building Stone of the United States" (1874); and "Roads, Streets, and Pavements" (1876.)

Matthew Arnold was the eldest son and second child of the Rev. Thomas Arnold, D.D., and was born on Dec. 24, 1822, at Laleham, near Staines, where his father was at the time taking private pupils. In 1827 Dr. Arnold was appointed to the head-mastership of Rugby, and thither the family migrated in the following year.

For some years previously to 1836 Matthew Arnold was under the care of the Rev. J. Buckland, the brother of the celebrated geological professor and Dean of Westminster, who kept a flourishing private school at Laleham. The astonishingly copious repertory of school-boy slang which the future poet brought

home with him at the commencement of his first holidays, and poured into the ears of his brothers and sisters in the schoolroom at Rugby, was the subject of astonishment. On entering Winchester, in August 1836, he was put at once in "Senior Part," and was consequently under Dr. Moberly. His stay at Winchester, however, was short, though not altogether unmarked by success in one subject at least,—that of rhetoric, for which he was awarded the first prize over the whole school. In the summer of 1837 Matthew Arnold was removed from Winchester and entered at Rugby. Several uneventful years followed, during which he worked his way nearly to the head of the school, obtaining an exhibition in 1841. Before this, in November 1840, he had won the open scholarship at Balliol College with great *éclat*, but was permitted to postpone the period of his coming into residence to the autumn term of the following year. His perfect self-possession, the sallies of his ready wit, the humorous turn which he could give to any subject that he handled, his gaiety, exuberance, versatility, audacity, and unfailing command of words made him a most popular and successful undergraduate.

In his first academical year he won the Hertford scholarship, given by the University for proficiency in Latin. He won the Newdigate, the subject being "Cromwell;" in the final schools he was disappointed, and only obtained a second class. In 1845 he was elected Fellow of Oriel, as his father had been thirty years before. Dean Church, Dean Burgon; Fraser, the late Bishop of Manchester; Buckle, Canon of Wells; Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon, and Arthur Hugh Clough were among his colleagues at the then famous college. It was the year in which Newman, himself a Fellow of Oriel, after long deliberation, took the final step and seceded to Rome. The intimacy of Matthew Arnold with Clough, whom he celebrated in his poem "Thyrsis," was of the closest character. During all the early part of 1846 Clough used every Sunday to entertain at breakfast a small party of friends, consisting of Matthew, his brother of University, and Theodore Walrond.

Matthew Arnold never felt any desire for the life of a college tutor, and, indeed, such a career was at that time almost impossible except under the condition of holy orders, and these he was not disposed to take. An opening in London presented itself two years after his election, in 1847, when the late Lord

Lansdowne, the veteran Whig leader, offered him the post of private secretary. He was thus transplanted to the very centre of political and social life in London, but it is evident that neither politics nor society absorbed him, for it was in the next year (1848) that there appeared the little volume, "The Strayed Reveller, and other Poems, by A.," in which a sensibility and an inward experience intensely modern were expressed with a luminousness and a perfection of form that was purely Greek. Three years after the appearance of the "Poems by A.," Mr. Arnold married the daughter of Mr. Justice Wightman, and it was in consequence of his marriage that he left his private secretaryship and accepted the post of Lay Inspector of Schools. In the interval he worked for a short time as assistant master at Rugby. Mr. Arnold had assigned to him what were called the British Schools, under which short title the schools of the British and Foreign School Society were known and it was in travelling about the country examining these schools that he learnt his business, and formed besides those views as to the nature of British Nonconformity and of the mental and moral horizon of the middle class to which in later years he often gave so trenchant an expression.

In 1859, when the public conscience had begun to be seriously stricken with respect to the state of our primary schools, and when such a measure as was afterwards brought into being by Mr. Forster had begun to loom before the minds of statesmen, Mr. Arnold was sent abroad as Foreign Assistant Commissioner to inquire into the state of education in France, Germany, and Holland. Six years later he went again with a special mission to inquire into the state of middle-class education abroad, and in 1867 a volume appeared embodying his investigations into this subject. These professional tours had an immense effect upon his mind. They gave him an answer to the question how to make the English middle class less contented with commonplace ideals, or, in the phrase which he was the first to make popular, less Philistine.

It is, however, by his achievements in literature that Mr. Arnold acquired his chief fame. In 1853, five years after the appearance of the first little volume, he published "Empedocles on Etna, and Other Poems," but in a very short time, becoming dissatisfied with the poem that gave its title to the book, he withdrew the volume from circulation.

Next year he published in his own name a new volume of poems, partly new and partly selected from those issued already, and a second series followed soon afterwards. The impression made by these in academical circles was so great that in 1857 he was elected to the chair of Poetry at Oxford. Next year appeared "Merope," a tragedy after the Greek manner, which was in itself perhaps not quite successful, but which gave him the opportunity of writing a preface that contained one of the most valuable expositions of the principles of criticism ever produced in England. Then followed the "Lectures on Translating Homer" and the "Last Words," in both of which he put forward his plea for the English hexameter.

The "Essays in Criticism," a collection of articles and lectures, appeared in 1865; "a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world," as he himself defined them.

Mr. Arnold was re-elected at the end of his five years, and at the end of ten many were the complaints in Oxford that the statutes did not permit a "third term." So he never stood again, and, though he now and then lectured at the Royal Institution, in provincial towns, and during two visits to America, Oxford knew him officially no more. But after he ceased to be Professor of Poetry the subjects of his critical writing underwent a change. His fastidious taste revolted against the crude attempts of some modern reformers of religion, and in what we believe to have been his earliest writings on these subjects, certain articles published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, he dealt rather unmercifully with the mechanical methods of Bishop Colenso. His own views he expounded some ten or twelve years later in the book called "Literature and Dogma;" in its successor "God and the Bible;" and in 1877, in the volume of collected papers called "Last Essays on Church and Religion." And the latest but one of his writings was an article in the March number of the *National Review* on Disestablishment in Wales.

Mr. Arnold was personally one of the most charming of men. His geniality and kindness of nature, his tolerance, his humour, soon won their way; and hence there were few men who had more or warmer friends. While his boys were growing up he lived at Harrow, that they might go to the school; of late years he occupied a pretty cottage at the foot of Pain's Hill, near Cobham. He loved the country; he

had a strong affection for animals; and his love for flowers was keen. In all family relationships he was admirable; and it may be of interest to mention that a vast number of letters from him to various members of his family are in existence, which are full of the personal and the literary charm that attaches to the best of his writings.

His death was terribly sudden and unexpected. A few days before he had attended the funeral of a brother-in-law in Leicestershire, and had returned to town in apparently good health. He started the next day for Liverpool to meet his eldest daughter, who was to arrive from New York. On the Sunday morning (15th inst.) he attended service at a Presbyterian church and then walked back to the house of his sister, with whom he was staying. After luncheon he started with his wife for the landing stage to meet the ship. Whilst waiting for the tramcar he fell forward. He was carried to a neighbouring doctor's house, but before assistance could be given he was dead. For several years his heart had been seriously affected, but neither he nor his friends had the least suspicion his state was critical. He was buried at Laleham, near Staines, where he was born, and where three of his sons were also buried.

Thomas Russell Crampton, M.Inst. C.E., was born in 1816, at Broadstairs, Kent, and after receiving a liberal education at a private school was articled to Mr. John Hague, M.Inst. C.E., of London, where he obtained a knowledge of mechanical engineering, and where he was a fellow pupil of Sir Frederick Bramwell. After serving his pupilage, he was engaged under the elder Brunel for several years, and afterwards with Mr. (now Sir) Daniel Gooch, under whose direction he designed the first locomotive for the Great Western Railway. He afterwards held a responsible position under Messrs. Rennie, and in 1848 commenced practice on his own account as a civil engineer. Between the years 1842-47 Mr. Crampton perfected the type of locomotive bearing his name, and in which a long boiler, outside cylinders, and a low centre of gravity are the essential and distinguishing features. A locomotive on this principle—the "Liverpool"—was built and run on the London and North-Western Railway and was shown in the Great Exhibition of 1851, where it obtained for its designer the grand medal. In that year, 1851, Mr. Crampton succeeded, under exceptionally difficult circumstances, in laying

the first working cable for a submarine telegraph between Dover and Calais. He undertook the whole engineering responsibility in this first practical step in submarine telegraphy, from which have sprung the remarkable developments of this system of intercommunication to be met with all over the world. Mr. Crampton may therefore fairly be considered as the father of submarine telegraphy. Among the numerous works executed by Mr. Crampton, either by himself or in conjunction with others, may be mentioned the Berlin Water-works, in which he was associated with the late Sir Charles Fox; the Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin; the Varna and Rustchuk Railway; the East Kent Railway from Strood to Dover; the Herne Bay and Faversham Railway; the Sevenoaks Railway to Swanley, and after the various lines became absorbed into what is now known as the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, he was interested in the construction of other portions of that system. Mr. Crampton took an active part in the controversy on broad *versus* narrow gauges for railways, known as "the battle of gauges," in which he advocated the narrow gauge. Besides his improved locomotive, which was adopted and has been running on several French railways for nearly forty years past, Mr. Crampton invented a furnace for burning powdered fuel, revolving furnaces for the manufacture of iron and steel, brick-making machinery, cast-iron forts, and tunnel-boring machinery. He was elected an associate of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1846, was afterwards an associate member of council, and was transferred to the roll of members in 1854. He was a member of council and a vice-president of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers and of the Society of Arts, a member of council of the Society of Telegraph Engineers and Electricians, a member of La Société des Ingénieurs Civils of Paris, and of the Iron and Steel Institute of Great Britain, and several other professional institutions. Mr. Crampton had been in failing health for the past two or three years, and he passed quietly away, on the evening of the 19th inst., at his residence, Ashley Place, Westminster.

The Hon. W. E. Hearn, M.L.C., LL.D.

— Dr. William Edward Hearn, author of "The Aryan Household," was born at Belturbet, co. Cavan, in 1826, his father being the Vicar of Killague, in that county. The future professor received his early education at the Royal School

of Enniskillen, and subsequently graduated at Trinity College, Dublin. His profound knowledge of law was acquired under Judge Longfield, then Professor of Feudal and English Law. On the opening of the Queen's Colleges in 1849 he was appointed Professor of Greek by the then Lord-Lieutenant. It was not until 1854 that his connection with the colony of Victoria commenced. He was then chosen by a committee, of which the late Sir John Herschel was chairman, to be Professor of History, Logic, and Political Economy in the University of Melbourne. Among his colleagues who formed the first professorial board of this ambitious colonial university were Mr. W. P. Wilson, the Senior Wrangler of 1847; and Mr. M. H. Irving, of Balliol College, Oxford, eldest son of the famous Edward Irving.

Prof. Hearn's influence in the Melbourne University and with the community at large was from the first paramount. In 1873, on the institution of the Faculty of Law, he became dean of that faculty, thereby resigning his professorship. By this means the bar that had previously prevented him from entering public life was removed, and he became a member of the Upper House, or Legislative Council. For some years he had been engaged on the gigantic task of codifying the English and colonial statutes. When Professor Irving resigned the classical professorship, Dr. Hearn acted as *locum tenens* until the selection of a successor had been made in England, and it was said at the time that he was capable of filling every chair in the University. He was the author of a sound and admirable "Constitutional History of England;" and of "Plutology; or, the Science of Wealth." Dr. Hearn's masterpiece, however, was "The Aryan Household," a work which placed him on a level with the foremost thinkers of our age, although, like all his other works, it was primarily written for the use of colonial students. Dr. Hearn was a keen local politician, ranking himself with what is known as the "Constitutional" or Conservative party in Victoria. He was an apt and brilliant contributor to the local press, and on one occasion is said to have received the handsome honorarium of fifty guineas for a leader of one column in the *Melbourne Argus* on an important constitutional question upon which the colonists were then divided into conflicting factions. He was a devoted member of the Anglican Church, and, after Sir William Foster Stawell, one of the most efficient among the

prominent laymen who assist in the working of the vast diocese under the Bishop of Melbourne. He died at Melbourne on the 22nd after a short illness.

Matthew Holbeche Bloxam died at Rugby on the 24th, at the age of nearly 84. He was one of a family of ten children of the Rev. R. R. Bloxam, an assistant master at Rugby, and was educated at that school during the headmastership of Dr. Udall. His recollections of school-life, given in a lecture delivered in 1883, were very curious and interesting, and as he lived in Rugby all his life he became familiar with all the masters and large numbers of the boys, some of whom he induced, by precept and example and instruction, to follow his own favourite archæological studies and researches. As a nephew of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., Mr. Bloxam was, on the painter's death in 1830, called on to take charge of his house in London. After leaving school Mr. Bloxam entered the legal profession and practised at Rugby till within a few years of his death, and was for forty years clerk to the magistrates for the Rugby division, which office he resigned in 1872. From an early age he was fond of antiquarian pursuits, especially in regard to ecclesiastical architecture, and by industrious research in leisure moments amassed a fund of most valuable information, which he was ever ready to impart to others. His first work was, in the fashion of that time, "a catechism" of "Gothic Architecture," which was published at Leicester in 1829. This work passed through eleven editions, the last, published in three volumes, with illustrations by Jewitt, appearing in 1882. In 1834 Mr. Bloxam published a work now very rare, "A Glimpse at the Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of Great Britain, from the Earliest Period to the Eighteenth Century." Most of Mr. Bloxam's other literary works were in the form of papers contributed to the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, to the *Archæological Journal*, to the Warwickshire Field Club, and to other similar societies. One of his fullest and most interesting local papers was one on Warwickshire during the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. Another related to the Mediæval Sepulchral Antiquities of Northamptonshire; another dealt with the Effigies and Monumental Remains in Peterborough Cathedral; and one, which is now very scarce, is on the Charnel Vault of Rothwell, North-

amptonshire, and on Charnel Vaults elsewhere. Mr. Bloxam was elected F.S.A. in 1863, and in addition to this he was one of the honorary vice-presidents of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vice-president of the Cambrian Archæological Association; vice-president of the Worcester Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society; president of the Warwickshire Naturalist and Archæologist Field Club, and a member of various archæological and architectural societies all over the country. As such he contributed largely to the literature of those societies, and the highest value was attached to his opinions, particularly in regard to ancient church architecture and sepulchral monuments.

Sir Alfred Philipps Ryder, K.C.B., Admiral of the Fleet, met with his death on the 30th by drowning in the Thames under very melancholy circumstances. He was born in 1820, the seventh son of Henry Ryder, some time Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who was third son of Nathaniel Ryder, created Baron Harrowby in 1776. Henry Ryder married Sophia, daughter of Thomas March Phillipps, of Garendon Park, Leicestershire, and it was from his mother that the subject of this notice took his second name. He entered the navy as cadet in 1833, and after fifty-two years of service he gained the highest rank that can be reached by a naval officer. His commissions bore date—sub-lieutenant 1839, lieutenant 1841, commander 1846, captain 1848, rear-admiral 1866, vice-admiral 1872, admiral 1877, and admiral of the fleet 1885. In 1847 he was employed in North America and the West Indies in command of the *Vixen*, steam sloop, until May in the following year, when he was promoted for services at the capture of Serapique. During the war with Russia he was in command of the *Dauntless* in the Baltic and in the Mediterranean, and for his services in the war he received the medal with clasp and the Turkish medal, and the Medjidieh of the Fourth Class. He was Comptroller-General of Coastguard from 1863 to 1866, and until his promotion to the rank of Admiral was Naval Aide-de-Camp to her Majesty. He was second in command of the Channel Squadron in 1868, after which date he was appointed as Naval Attaché to the British Embassy in Paris. In 1874 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief on the China station, which post he filled till 1877, and shortly afterwards was made Commander-in-Chief at Ports-

mouth, where he remained till 1882. He was made a K.C.B. in 1884, and was a Commissioner for the Royal Patriotic Fund. Admiral Ryder was the author of a work on the saving of life at sea. He married in 1852 Louisa, daughter of the late Henry Dawson, of Launde Abbey, Leicestershire. He had been in indifferent health for some time and had come

to London for medical advice. Thinking that a trip on the river would do him good he walked to Vauxhall Pier, where, whilst waiting the arrival of the steamboat, he either accidentally stumbled or was seized by a sudden fit and fell into the water and was drowned before he could be rescued.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 2nd, at Rutland Gate, aged 72, the **Right Hon. Edward Richard Littleton**, second Baron Hatherton, educated at Eton, M.P. for Walsall 1847–57, and for South Staffordshire 1853–57; married Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of fifth Duke of Northumberland. On the same date, at Hollybrooke House, Bray, co. Wicklow, aged 81, **Sir George Frederick John Hodgson**, third baronet. On the 3rd, at Vienna, **Karl von Bukovics**, a popular Viennese actor, who had been first a cavalry officer, then a tenor singer, a cigar merchant, a theatrical manager, and lastly a comic actor. On the 5th, aged 62, the **Hon. William Henry Walsh**, formerly Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, and Minister of Works. On the 6th, at Cannes, aged 60, **Sir Charles Watson Copley**, of Sprotborough Hall, Doncaster. The son of the late Sir Charles Wager Watson, of West Wrattling Park, Cambridgeshire, he succeeded his father as third baronet, and took the additional name of Copley on succeeding to the Yorkshire estates of the late Miss Elizabeth Copley, surviving sister of Sir Joseph W. Copley, who o.s.p. 1883. On the same date, near Berbera (Africa), aged 32, **Walter Herbert Ingram**, who was killed by a wounded elephant. He was the son of Herbert Ingram, founder of the *Illustrated London News*, and early in life became devoted to travel, sport, and adventure. During the expedition to Khartoum he ascended the Nile in his own steam yacht, and was attached to the Naval Brigade under Lord Charles Beresford. On the 10th, at Yokohama, aged 84, **Russell Brooke Robertson**, C.M.G., Consul and Assistant Judge of her Majesty's Court for Japan. The son of the late Sir Daniel Brooke Robertson, he was called to the Bar of the Middle Temple, and entered the British consular service in Japan in 1860. On the 11th, at Lennoxtown, Stirlingshire, aged 57, **James H. Stoddart**, LL.D., some years editor of the *Glasgow Herald* and the author of several volumes of poetry. On the same date, at the Castle of Philippsthal, Cassel, aged 70, the Landgravine **Marie of Hesse-Philippsthal**, widow of the late Landgrave, eldest daughter of the Duke Eugene, of Würtemberg, and granddaughter of William I. of Würtemberg. On the 15th, at the Wylies Hospital, St. Petersburg, aged 42, **Mikluohu MacLay**, the well known New Guinea traveller and explorer, who had made the establishment of Russian colonists in New Guinea the chief object of his life. On the 17th, aged 58, **Roscoe Conkling**, the son of a distinguished American lawyer and statesman, and himself a lawyer and statesman. He was several times elected to Congress, and was a zealous supporter of General Grant's Administration. A difference with President Garfield led to his retirement, upon which he withdrew from politics and followed his profession as a lawyer until his death. On the 18th, at Woolston, near Southampton, aged 55, **F. S. B. François de Chaumont**, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Military Hygiene at the Army Medical School, Netley. Of mixed French and Scottish birth, he was educated at Edinburgh, and served with the Rifle Brigade in the Crimean war, becoming an assistant surgeon at Netley in 1863. On the 19th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 77, the **Rev. William Bouverie Pusey**, M.A., for forty-six years vicar of Langley, near Maidstone. He was a son of Hon. Philip Bouverie, third son of first Viscount Folkestone, who assumed the additional name of Pusey, and the brother of the late Rev. Dr. Pusey, of Oxford. On the 29th, at Chelsea, aged 54, **Frederick William Chesson**, for many years the indefatigable secretary to the Aborigines Protection Society, and a journalist. On the 30th, at Brighton, **Richard Popplewell Pullan**, F.S.A., of Melbury Road, Kensington, a distinguished antiquary.

MAY.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan, of Frampton Court, Dorset, who died in Wimpole Street, London, on the 2nd inst., was the grandson as well as the namesake of the dramatist, orator, statesman, and wit who died, leaving such a brilliant reputation for versatility of intellect, in 1816. The great writer's son (born of his father's first marriage with Elizabeth Anne Linley), Thomas Sheridan, married in 1806 Caroline Henrietta, daughter of Colonel Sir James Campbell, of Craigforth, Stirlingshire. Sir James's wife was daughter of the fifth Earl of Arran. Thomas Sheridan had by this marriage three sons and three daughters, besides the recently deceased Richard Brinsley. The three daughters kept up the reputation of the family for beauty and wit. The eldest married Lord Dufferin, and became mother of the present lord, who has recently resigned the Viceroyalty of India; and after the death of her first husband she married the Earl of Gifford. She died in 1867. The second daughter was Caroline Elizabeth Sarah, who is better known, and, indeed, famous, as the Hon. Mrs. Norton. She died in the year 1877, just after her marriage to Sir William Stirling-Maxwell. The third daughter, Jane, married the twelfth Duke of Somerset, and died in 1884. These ladies were known as the "Three Graces." Their brother, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was M.P. in the Liberal interest for Shaftesbury from 1845 to 1852, and for Dorchester from the latter year to 1868. He was Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant for Dorset, and in 1838 served as High Sheriff of that county. In 1835 he married Marcia Maria, only surviving child of Lieutenant-General Sir Colquhoun Grant, K.C.B. It was through his wife, who was niece of Mr. Francis John Browne, that Mr. Sheridan came into possession of Frampton Court, near Dorchester.

Charles Tilston Bright was born in 1832, the youngest son of the late Mr. Brailsford Bright, the head of an old Yorkshire family long settled in Hallamshire. Charles Bright was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, and from his schoolboy days he turned his attention to electricity and chemistry. He was, from the age of 15, engaged with the Electric Telegraph Company, and worked for some years, under Sir William

Fothergill Clarke, in introducing telegraphs for the public service and in the establishment of telegraph stations on several lines in the North of England and in Scotland. In 1852, when only just 21 years of age, he was appointed engineer-in-chief to the Board of the Magnetic Telegraph Company, in whose service his elder brother Edward had been acting as manager for some years. The two brothers at once worked together, and patented a series of inventions in connection with telegraphic apparatus. Among these inventions were the system of testing insulated conductors to localise faults, the dividing of coils into compartments, and the winding of the wire so as to fill each compartment successively, whereby a greater determination of polarity is gained; the employment of a movable coil on an axis actuated by a fixed coil; the double roof shackle; the vacuum lightning protector; the translator or repeater for relaying and retransmitting electric currents in both directions on a single wire; the employment of a metallic riband for the protection of the insulated conductors of submarine or underground cables; the production of a varying contact with mercury proportionate to the pressure exerted upon it; a new type-printing instrument; and a method of laying underground wires in troughs. Several other telegraphic improvements were carried out by him in the course of his life. While he was working out these inventions, he was also engaged in practical work in laying down lines in many parts of the United Kingdom, and he was the engineer who laid down the first cable which united Great Britain with Ireland in 1853. He had been experimenting for some time on the system of insulating wires in gutta-percha tubes; and his experiments on a wire 2,000 miles long led him and others to the conviction that telegraphic communication with America was easy. He and his friends raised the capital necessary for the purpose, and in 1858, as engineer-in-chief, he successfully laid the first Atlantic cable. The cable was made in England, and the laying of over 2,000 miles was completed in August 1858, after eight days of work, during which the four ships engaged, and which were lent by the British and United

States Governments, had to bear the brunt of a violent storm in the middle of the Atlantic. After this signal service Mr. Bright was knighted by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. After carrying out a few operations in submarine telegraphs in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic he was summoned, in 1864, by the Government of India to complete the communication with Europe, which work he personally superintended and accomplished by joining Kurrachee with the northern end of the Persian Gulf. Within the next few years he superintended the laying of cables between the United States and Cuba, and united various parts of North and South America, the West Indies, and other places. In a paper read by him at the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1865 he advocated submarine telegraphs to China and Australia, and this paper, together, no doubt, with the excellence of his previous services, gained him the Telford gold medal of the Institution. He was Vice-President of the Society of Telegraph Engineers, and a member or Fellow of several learned societies. He was elected member of Parliament for Greenwich in 1865, and continued to represent that place for several years in the Liberal interest. In 1881 he was appointed by the Foreign Office as Commissioner with the Earl of Crawford and others to represent this country at the French International Exhibition, and he was in consequence nominated by the French Government an officer of the Legion of Honour. At the meeting of the Society of Telegraph Engineers and Electricians in 1887, Sir Charles Bright delivered the inaugural address, in which he dealt exhaustively with the whole subject and history of the telegraph during the past thirty years. He married, in 1853, Hannah, daughter of the late Mr. John Taylor, of Kingston-upon-Hull. Sir Charles Bright died on the 3rd inst., at his residence, 78 Philbeach Gardens.

Leone Levi was born at Ancona in 1821, and was educated there and at Genoa in view of a commercial career. In furtherance of this idea he left Italy in 1845 and came to England for a temporary stay. The difficulties which beset his path in this direction were at that time much aggravated by the state of the commercial laws both in this and in other countries. He therefore decided to give up his original project in order to become a law reformer and a member of the English Bar. He mastered the English language, and

devoted much time and energy to the organising of chambers of commerce and making known his views on public questions. The Liverpool Chamber was, under his impulse, founded in 1849, and similar institutions were afterwards established in other commercial towns. In the year 1850 Leone Levi published his "Commercial Law of the World," which gained him the Swiney Prize awarded by the Society of Arts for the best essay on international law; and in 1852 he was appointed to the Chair of Commercial Law in King's College, London, a post he filled with great efficiency for many years, more especially in connection with the evening classes, which he was a chief means of establishing in the college. Dr. Levi was also an active member of the Council of the Royal Statistical Society, contributing many papers to its journal, more especially bearing upon the industrial occupations of the people, and always the result of careful and laborious investigation. In 1887 Dr. Levi formed one of the English deputation who attended the Congress of European Statisticians in Rome. It was Dr. Levi's suggestion of the utility of an international commercial code that caused the passing of the Acts thirty years ago whereby the mercantile laws of the United Kingdom were made uniform on many points. To him also is due the annual publication of judicial statistics for the United Kingdom. He was the author of "Taxation: how it is raised and how it is expended" (1860); a "History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation from 1863-70" (which work was finally brought down to 1878); "Work and Pay," "War and its Consequences," and of a vast number of published lectures and other contributions to journals and magazines. Professor Levi was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1859, was created a Doctor of Political and Economical Science by the University of Tübingen in 1861, and was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Geographical Society. In the course of his active life Dr. Levi's talents came to be recognised far beyond the bounds of his adopted country, and he received acknowledgments in the form of gold medals at various times from the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, and the Emperor of the French; and the King of Italy conferred upon him the rank of Cavaliere of St. Mauritius and Lazzaro, and of the Crown of Italy. Dr. Levi's latest work was a treatise on International Law, published shortly before

his death, and dedicated by permission to her Majesty the Queen. While attached to his adopted country, Dr. Levi always retained a warm regard for his native land, and some years since he laid the foundation of a library at Ancona for promoting technical education. For some time before his death, which took place at Highbury Grove, London, on the 7th inst., Dr. Levi had been in bad health, but he would give himself no rest until it was too late to benefit him, and he died, a worn-out man, at the age of 67 years.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Nathan Wrighte Hewett, K.C.B., V.C., was the second son of Dr. Wrighte Hewett, and was born at Brighton in August 1834, and after passing through a preliminary education there he entered the navy as a midshipman in 1847. From that date until the premature close of his career there was scarcely a war in which England was engaged in which Admiral Hewett did not participate. After serving with the Naval Brigade in Burmah and China, he took part in the Russian war during the years 1854-5, and was rewarded with the Order of the Legion of Honour and the Crimean, Turkish, and Sardinian medals, the Medjidie, 5th class, and the Sebastopol clasp. He also received the Victoria Cross for conspicuous bravery in the field with the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol. His conduct on this occasion was thus referred to in the *Gazette* :—

"On the occasion of a repulse of a sortie of Russians by Sir de Lacy Evans's division on Oct. 26, 1854, Mr. Hewett, then acting-mate of H.M.S. *Beagle*, was in charge of the right Lancaster battery before Sebastopol. The advance of the Russians placed the gun in great jeopardy, their skirmishers advancing within 300 yards of the battery, and pouring in a sharp fire from their Minié rifles. By some misapprehension the word was passed to spike the gun and retreat; but Mr. Hewett, taking upon himself the responsibility of disregarding the order, replied that

'Such an order did not come from Captain Lushington, and he would not do it till it did.' For the gallantry exhibited on this occasion the Board of Admiralty promoted him to the rank of lieutenant. On Nov. 5, 1854, at the battle of Inkerman, Captain Lushington again brought before the Commander-in-Chief the services of Mr. Hewett, saying, 'I have much pleasure in again bringing Mr. Hewett's gallant conduct to your notice.' He also commanded the *Beagle* at the capture of Kertch and Yenikale, and in the Azof expedition (Azof clasp), and afterwards commanded the *Devastation* on her first experimental cruise. In 1873-4 Sir William was commodore on the West Coast of Africa, and was present at Amoafu and the capture of Coomassie. For his services on these occasions he was created a K.C.B. on March 31, 1874, and received the Ashantee medal (Coomassie clasp). He next took command of an expedition against the river pirates of the Congo in 1875. Subsequently appointed to the command of the East Indies station, he was afterwards placed at the head of the naval forces guarding the Suez Canal during the Egyptian expedition, and received the thanks of Parliament for his services, and was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1882. Two years later Admiral Hewett was intrusted with a diplomatic mission to King John of Abyssinia to insure his aid in the relief of the garrison of Kassala. On his return he was nominated for the office of Junior Lord of the Admiralty, but the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Administration prevented his taking up the appointment. Sir William assumed the command of the Channel Squadron on March 18, 1886, and hauled down his flag on board the *Northumberland* at Portsmouth only on the 17th ult., and almost immediately afterwards was attacked by acute symptoms of the disease to which he succumbed, on the 13th inst., at Haslar Hospital, to which he had been removed from his residence at Southsea.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 1st, at Bewdley, aged 87, **Charles Sturge**, of Birmingham, who with his brother Joseph had been connected with all Anti-Corn Law and Reform movements. On the same date, at the London Hospital, aged 36, **Walter Shirly Shirley**, son of W. E. Shirley. Educated at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford, and elected for the Doncaster Division of West Yorkshire in 1885, and again in 1886. On the 8th, at the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, aged 84, **Countess Catherine Feodorovna Tiesenhausen**, the granddaughter of the famous Russian General, Prince Kutuzoff, and the personal friend and favourite of the Imperial family for seventy-two years. On the 10th, aged 91, **Laura**, widow of Sir John Buchan, K.C.B., daughter of Colonel Wilks, the Governor of St. Helena at the time of Bonaparte's banishment there. On the 11th, aged 58

Jules Castagnary, Director of the Louvre, and an author and art critic. On the 13th, at Frome, aged 88, **Major Robert Carmichael-Smyth**, formerly of the Royal Artillery, and afterwards of the 93rd Highlanders, with whom he served many years in Canada. He was the original projector of the great colonial railway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. On the 15th, at the Rectory, Toft Newton, Lincolnshire, aged 78, the **Rev. Thomas Stevens**, forty years Warden of St. Andrew's College, Bradfield, Berkshire, having for some years previously been an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. On the 16th, in Eaton Place, London, **Andalusia Grant**, widow of Right Hon. Sir William Molesworth, to whom she was married in 1841. She was the daughter of Mr. Bruce Carstairs, but first became known in society on her marriage with Mr. Temple West, of Mathon, Worcestershire. On the 19th, at Grosvenor Crescent, London, **Sir Charles Edward Keith Kortwright**, son of Cornelius Kortwright, of Hylands, Chelmsford. He was born in the West Indies, and was educated at the University of Copenhagen. In 1844 he was appointed Consul at Carthagena, New Granada, and in 1857 was transferred to Philadelphia (U.S.A.), where he remained until 1878, when he retired. He was knighted in 1886. On the 20th, in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, aged 66, **Rear-Admiral Montagu O'Reilly**. For his sketches of the fortifications of Sebastopol, he received the thanks of the Admiralty. On the same date, in Chapel Street, Belgrave Square, aged 86, **Major George Graham**, second son of Sir James Graham, first baronet, of Netherby. Entered E. I. C. Service, and retired as Major (1st India Regiment) in 1831, having been Military Secretary in Bombay, 1828-30; private secretary to his brother, Sir James Graham; Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, 1838-79. Married, 1836, Maria, daughter of Edward Hasell, Esq. On the 25th, at Cambridge, aged 82, **Professor William Lloyd Birkbeck, M.A., Q.C.**, Master of Downing College, and Downing Professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge University; the son of the late Dr. George Birkbeck, M.D., founder of the Birkbeck Institute. On the same date, at Bournemouth, aged 58, **Sir John W. Cradock-Hartopp**, fourth baronet. Served with the 17th Lancers in the Crimea. Married, 1855, **Charlotte Frances**, daughter of E. Byles Howard. On the 27th, in Cavendish Square, aged 57, **Richard Frederick Fotheringham Campbell**, of Craigie, M.P. for Ayr Burghs since 1880. Formerly a captain in 8th Madras Cavalry; served on the Staff during the Indian Mutiny; and married, 1869, Arabella, daughter of Archibald A. Hay, Esq. On the same date, at Worthing, aged 64, **Sir Robert Loder**, formerly M.P. for Shoreham, son of Giles Loder, of Wilsford, Wilts. He was created a baronet in 1887, and was distinguished as a scientific farmer.

JUNE.

Marshal Lebœuf, whose name is indissolubly associated with the war of 1870, died, on the 7th inst., at his residence near Argentan (Orne). He was born at Paris in 1809, had a military training at the Polytechnic School and the Metz Artillery School, was sub-manager of the former establishment from 1848 to 1850, and gained a colonelcy in 1852. He was at the head of the artillery in the Crimea and in Lombardy. In September 1866 he was sent to Venetia to hand over that province, nominally ceded by Austria to Napoleon III., to Victor Emmanuel. On the death of Marshal Niel in August 1869, General Lebœuf became Minister for War, and his remodelling of the War Office and civil departments of the service met with general approbation. In the following March he was created a Marshal. He stringently prohibited the attendance of soldiers at election or other political meetings. When war was declared he expressed unbounded confidence in the

readiness of the army, remarking to a Commission, "So ready are we, that if the war lasted two years we should not even have a gaiter button to finish." Lebœuf was appointed, or rather appointed himself, Major-General of the Army of the Rhine, but had to resign after the defeats at Wissemburg and Woerth and the resignation of the Ollivier Cabinet. Despite the outcry against the disorganisation which now came to light, he was appointed to a command under Bazaine, and was shut up with him in Metz, after bravely fighting and seeking death at St. Privat and Gravelotte. He shared the captivity of the Metz army, returned at the peace, and gave evidence before a Parliamentary committee. He maintained that there were 567,000 men under arms when war broke out, and he strongly denounced Bazaine. On his return to France he withdrew from political and military life.

General Sir Duncan Alexander Came-

ron, G.C.B., died at Blackheath on the 8th inst. This distinguished officer was born in the year 1808, and the date of his first commission was 1825. He became captain in 1833, major in 1839, colonel in 1854, and major-general in 1859, and finally won the full rank of general after nearly fifty years of service. He was placed on the retired list in 1878. He served with distinction throughout the war in the Crimea, where he was in command of the 42nd Highlanders (the Black Watch) at the battle of the Alma, and commanded the Highland Brigade at the battle of Balaklava. He was further engaged in the expedition to Kertch and at the siege of Sebastopol, and in the assault on the Redan of June 18. For his services he was mentioned in despatches, and received the medal, with three clasps, as well as many foreign distinctions. He was made an Officer of the Legion of Honour, and received also the Sardinian and Turkish medals and the 3rd class of the Medjidie. At the end of the war he received his C.B. In the New Zealand war, 1863-65, he was in command of the forces and conducted the operations at at Kolikara, Kohasoa, Tangiriri, the Gate Pah, and other battles. For these services he was again mentioned in despatches, gained the medal, received the thanks of the Legislative Council of the colony, and was promoted to K.C.B. Sir Duncan Cameron was made colonel of his old regiment, the Black Watch, in 1863, and he was Governor of the Military College at Sandhurst from 1868 to 1875. In 1873, on his attaining the rank of general, he was promoted to be G.C.B. He married, in 1873, Flora, daughter of Dr. Andrew Maclean.

Sir Alfred Power, K.C.B., was born at Market Bosworth in 1805, the youngest son of Dr. John Power, by Mary, daughter of Mr. John Knowles, of Nailstone, in the same county. He received his education at Repton School, and afterwards at Clare College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1826 as second in the First Class of the Classical Tripos, and in the same year became Fellow of Downing. He held the Fellowship till his marriage, and in 1885 he was made an Honorary Fellow. On leaving the University he read for the Bar, and was called by the Middle Temple in 1829. For nearly fifty years he was employed in the public service, first as a Factory Commissioner (1833), and in the following year as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. In 1849 he was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Irish Poor

Law, and from 1872 to 1879 he was Vice-President of the Local Government Board for Ireland. It was in 1873, shortly after his appointment to this last post, that he was made a K.C.B. in reward of his long official service. In 1846 he married Lucy Anne, daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Starkie, Q.C. In 1853 he published a "Political Catechism," and in 1871 "Sanitary Rhymes." Sir Alfred Power, who was in his 84th year, died on the 8th inst., at his residence, Raglan Road, Dublin.

Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, who died in Davies Street, Berkeley Square, on the 8th inst., was born at Nun Appleton, Yorkshire, in August 1810. He was the son of the late Major-General Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, who was the first baronet of the present creation. A baronetcy had already been granted (in 1805) to one of the family, General Sir John Doyle, G.C.B., and this became extinct on the death of Sir John, without issue, in 1834. His nephew, the late General Sir Francis, who was Chairman of the Board of Excise, was created a baronet in 1828, and died in 1839, when he was succeeded by his eldest son as second baronet. Francis Doyle was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, at both of which places he was contemporary with, and distinguished among, many eminent men. He took his degree in the Easter Term of 1832, when he was one of three in the First Class in Classics, one of the others being Lord Blandford. With Mr. Gladstone he was on terms of especial friendship, and acted as best man to the statesman on his marriage. In after life the wide difference of their political opinions put an end to their intimacy. Shortly after leaving Oxford Sir Francis Doyle was called to the Bar. In 1846 he was appointed Receiver-General of Customs; and in 1870 a Commissioner of Customs. In 1867 he was elected to the Chair of Poetry in his old University for five years, and during part of this time he held a Fellowship at All Souls'. He had already held a Fellowship at the same college from 1836 to 1844, and only resigned it on his marriage. At the end of his term of tenure he was elected for a second period of five years, and when he finally resigned the professorship he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University. At different periods of his life Sir Francis Doyle published ballads and other poetical pieces, some of which possessed a high degree of merit. Among the best known of his pieces

are the spirited ballad called "The Private of the Buffs," and that in which he celebrated the valour of the British troops who went down in the *Birkenhead*. In a different style was his admirable description of the race for the St. Leger. "The Spanish Mother" is another well-known poem of his. Sir F. Doyle, in 1869, also published some of his lectures delivered from the professor's chair at Oxford. In 1886 he gave to the world his "Reminiscences and Opinions," which were full of the records of the interesting people he had known during his life. In 1844 he married Sidney, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (she died in 1867), and by her he left two sons and a daughter.

Edmond Robert King-Harman was son of the late Hon. Lawrence King-Harman, by Cecilia, daughter of the late Mr. Raymond Johnstone, of Alloa, Stirlingshire, and was born in 1838. He was educated at Eton, and married, in 1861, Annie, daughter of Sir William Worsley, the first baronet. He served as lieutenant in the 60th Rifles and as captain in the Longford Militia. He represented the county of Sligo from Jan. 1877 to April 1880, when he was defeated, his Parliamentary career not having satisfied his Home Rule constituents. In February 1883, on the death of the late Colonel Taylor, he was elected for the county of Dublin on Unionist principles, and sat for the county until November 1885, when he was ousted in the general election. He was then returned for the Isle of Thanet Division of Kent, which he had since represented, and in 1886 was appointed Assistant Parliamentary Secretary for Ireland. He stood manfully in the gap between the Chief Secretary and his assailants, and was able to hold his ground without wavering against their most vindictive efforts. The aspersions which were cast upon him were wholly unmerited, for in all the relations of life, including that of a landlord, he manifested a warm-hearted generosity which was appreciated by his tenants and dependents, although some were compelled to assume a hostile attitude towards him. He took an active part in defending the rights of property as a member of the Land Committee and of other organisations issuing out of it. In 1885 he was created a Privy Councillor and Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of county Roscommon, where the bulk of his property is situated. He was honorary colonel of the Roscommon Militia, and justice of the peace for the counties of Sligo, Long-

ford, and Westmeath. His father, the Hon. Lawrence Harman King-Harman, was second son of the first Viscount Lorton, who assumed the additional name of Harman in 1838. His sudden death from heart disease, which took place at his residence, Rockingham, Boyle, on the 10th inst., gave a fearful shock to his friends, who regarded it as the consequence of the envenomed attacks made upon him in Parliament by the Nationalist members.

The Emperor Frederick III.—Frederick William Nicholas Charles, eighth King of Prussia and second German Emperor, the only son of the Emperor William I. and the Empress Augusta, daughter of Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was born in the New Palace of Potsdam on Oct. 18, 1831, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, thirty years before his father came to the throne. At the age of seven and a half years he presented himself to his father as a trained recruit, and on his tenth birthday he entered the Colonel's Company of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards as second lieutenant. His other studies were conducted, first by the pastor, W. Godet, of Neuchâtel, who was succeeded by the scholar and historian, Dr. Ernst Curtius. He subsequently entered the University of Bonn, 1849-50, after which he travelled over Central Europe.

In 1851 the Prince visited England for the first time, remaining nearly a month. After his return to Berlin he was promoted to the rank of captain, "with the special commendation of his Majesty for zealous service," and next visited St. Petersburg, where he was much interested in the exercises of the Russian Guard. At this time he was studying the art of war under Moltke, and was gradually rising in the ranks of the Prussian Army. The year 1853 saw him admitted to the Berlin Order of Freemasons, and having an audience of Pope Pius IX. at Rome. In 1854 he was appointed to the command of the 2nd Landwehr Guard. In the following year he again visited England, and before he returned had become betrothed to the Princess Royal on Sept. 29, in the way so simply described by the Queen in her "Journal." Their marriage was solemnised with great state in the Chapel of St. James's Palace on Jan. 25, 1858, and on Feb. 2 the bride and bridegroom left England, and made their public entry into Berlin on Feb. 8.

In 1861 William I. ascended the throne of Prussia, and Frederick William, becoming Crown Prince, naturally

took a more prominent part in public affairs and public ceremonies. He was sworn in a member of the King's Council, and he also had a seat upon the commission for the reorganisation of the army. In 1862 he came over to England to represent Prussia at the opening of the International Exhibition, and was associated with the Duke of Cambridge as one of her Majesty's representatives at the inaugural ceremony. He spoke at the Royal Academy banquet, and referred with great satisfaction to the fact that his wife, the Princess Royal of England, was one of the foremost representatives of British art in Germany. In May 1863 Prussia was in the throes of a constitutional crisis. King William and Prince Bismarck were pursuing a drastic policy, and, among other measures which caused great dissatisfaction, a stringent decree was issued against the Liberal newspaper Press. This arbitrary action led to a temporary estrangement between the King and his son, whose views were shared by his Royal consort. The Prince addressed a letter to his father, remonstrating against the unconstitutional course which the King and his Government were pursuing. This he followed up on June 3 by a formal protest, addressed to the Cabinet, against the decree affecting the Press, which he declared to be "both illegal and injurious to the State and the dynasty." At Dantzic, in reply to an address from the municipality, he spoke in a similar spirit; whereupon the King demanded a disavowal of his reported sentiments, on pain of his being recalled to Berlin and deprived of his military command. The Prince replied that he could not retract his speech; that he was obliged to make as courageous a stand for his future as his father was making for his own; and that he was ready, if required, to lay down his commission in the army and resign his seat in the Council of State. "If I am not allowed to speak my mind I must naturally wish to disavow myself entirely from the sphere of politics." The storm blew over, and domestic legislation in Prussia was soon overshadowed by the war with Denmark. The Crown Prince went through the Danish war, which arose out of the disputed succession to the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. He was present at the battle of Düppel and at the subsequent operations of the Prussian and Austrian forces, which resulted in the defeat of Denmark after a gallant, but very unequal struggle. On his return to Berlin he was nominated to the general command of the 2nd Army

Corps. In June 1865 the Crown Prince, as Governor of Pomerania, received the King in the old market-place at Stralsund, the occasion being the fiftieth anniversary of the dependence of New Pomerania and Rügen upon the State of Prussia.

Having on many occasions given proof of his military capacity, the Crown Prince was next intrusted with a command calculated to test to the uttermost all his administrative abilities and his warlike ardour and energy. On May 12, 1866, the whole of the Prussian army was called out, and the Crown Prince was placed at the head of the Second Army, forming the left wing of the forces in Silesia. He was also appointed General of Infantry and Military Governor of Silesia during the continuance of hostilities. The King of Prussia drew up the Bohemian Army in three divisions — the first marching through Saxony under Prince Frederick Charles, the second covering Silesia under the Crown Prince, and the third, or Army of the Elbe, being placed under General Herwarth von Bittenfeld. The Crown Prince was directed to march through the long and narrow passes of the Sudetian Mountains leading from Silesia into Bohemia. In order to deceive the enemy, various movements were made by the Prussians on the south-east frontiers of Silesia, as if their object was to cross into Bohemia from Neisse, by way of Weidenau. But while the Austrians were expecting the invaders to debouch in that direction, the mass of the Second Army turned to the right and suddenly made its appearance on the West at Nachod and Trautenau, in Bohemia, having passed the frontier without opposition. Before entering the defiles of the mountains which separate Silesia from Moravia the Crown Prince issued from Neisse a spirited General Order to his troops, defending the course of Prussia, and expressing the pride, "as the King's first servant," which he felt in staking his life and his fortune to secure the possession of all that was dearest to his country. The Crown Prince fought victorious engagements at Trautenau and Nachod, coming up to the latter place at a critical moment in support of General Steinmetz. Fighting proceeded until June 29, and on that day the Prince and his army pushed forward as far as Skalitz, and took possession of the town. On July 1 the Crown Prince issued from Prausnitz a General Order, in which he recapitulated the glorious events of the brief campaign. The soldiers under his command had done all

that was expected of them, and had captured five colours, two standards, 20 guns, and 8,000 prisoners.

The great battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, the crucial engagement of the war, was fought on July 3. The Prussian advance commenced at 8 o'clock a.m. with the whole line of the First Army, and before this was well engaged it was joined by the Army of the Elbe. Prince Frederick Charles's division was compelled to hold out for four or five hours with the aid of the Third Army alone; and at 1 o'clock the reserves had to be called up to the Prussian centre. The Austrian fire was terrific, and affairs became critical. The "Red Prince," like Wellington at Waterloo, looked anxiously for his Blücher in the person of the Crown Prince. Another hour of severe tension ensued, and then at 2 o'clock the Second Army appeared on the field after a difficult march. The heights of Chlum, the key of the situation, were stormed and captured by the Prussians, and other positions succumbed to their impetuous attacks. The opportune arrival of the Crown Prince gave the victory of Königgrätz to the Prussians, after one of the most sanguinary engagements of modern times. King William subsequently wrote a letter to his son, congratulating him upon the great victories won by the 2nd Division, which had given it a place of high renown in the annals of the Prussian Army. Shortly after the close of the struggle the Crown Prince was appointed President of a Military Commission of Inquiry, appointed to analyse and formulate the experiences of the war.

Early in October 1869 the Crown Prince took leave of the King at Baden-Baden, previous to proceeding by way of Vienna to the East to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. He was accompanied by Prince Louis of Hesse, and attended by a brilliant suite. After brief sojourns at Vienna, Venice, Athens, and Constantinople, he pursued his journey towards Egypt by way of Rhodes and Jerusalem. On November 4 he entered the ancient capital of the Jews, and in the name of his Royal father formally took possession of the ruins of the former Hospital of the Knights of St. John and of the church attached to it, which the Sultan had ceded to the King of Prussia. Lebanon, Damascus, Jaffa, and Beyrout were all visited by the Crown Prince, and on the 17th he reached Suez, where he found the Emperor of Austria and the Empress of the French. After the inaugural ceremony, and a journey up

the Nile, he intended to return to Berlin, but went on to Cannes in consequence of the illness of his youngest son, Prince Waldemar.

The great Franco-German war, which had long appeared inevitable, broke out on July 19 of the next year. The Prussian forces were distributed in three armies. The first, or right wing of the entire force, was under the command of General von Steinmetz; the second, or centre army, was commanded by Prince Frederick Charles; and the third army, consisting of the armies of the South—viz. those of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden—and of the 5th, 6th, and 11th North German Corps, was commanded by the Crown Prince. The whole number of the three armies amounted to about 450,000 men. The first great military triumph of the war was won by the Crown Prince, whose movements were as rapid as they were effective. On August 4 his Imperial Highness, at the head of some regiments of the 5th and 11th Prussian and of the 2nd Bavarian Army Corps, surprised at daybreak a division of Marshal MacMahon's army, under General Douay, posted at Wissembourg, on the Lauter. The Germans, who possessed the advantage of numbers, stormed a strongly intrenched position at the point of the bayonet, in face of mitrailleuses and chasseur-pots, and put the French to rout. General Douay was killed, and 18 officers and 1,000 soldiers were taken prisoners. This German success was followed up two days later by the great battle of Wörth, when the Crown Prince on his further advance towards the passes of the Vosges encountered the main body of MacMahon's army, under the orders of the Marshal himself. The French were not in full strength, though they had a splendid position. The ground was desperately contested for fifteen hours, but the engagement ended in a great German victory. The French dead and wounded numbered 10,000; and two standards, six mitrailleuses, 30 guns, and 6,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy. By August 11 the Crown Prince had passed the Vosges mountains and effected a junction with the First and Second German Armies. Success continued to attend the German forces, and Sept. 2 saw the French capitulation at Sedan, with the surrender of the Emperor Napoleon. In the memorable engagements which culminated at Sedan the Crown Prince's troops and those of Prince Frederick Charles were engaged against the greater part of MacMahon's forces, and the Germans succeeded in

crossing the river Meuse; this extremely difficult operation being effected by the Crown Prince with his Prussians and Württembergers, supported by the Bavarians, under General von der Tann. At Rheims, on Sept. 6, the Crown Prince put forth, under the sanction of the King, a national and well-considered scheme for establishing a benevolent institution for the support of the disabled soldiers of Germany. On the 20th the head-quarters of the Third German Army were established at Versailles, the abode of Louis XIV. A few days later the Crown Prince made a distribution of the Iron Cross in the Grand Court of Versailles. The highest military dignity of Prussia, that of Field-Marshal, was conferred by King William upon his soldier son on Oct. 28. The King took the opportunity afforded by the fall of Metz and the surrender of the second great French army to grant this distinction to the Crown Prince, and it was the first time the title of Field-Marshal had ever been borne by a prince of the reigning line. In his difficult position as commander of a large army the Crown Prince never failed to draw out the love and enthusiasm of his men. His Imperial Highness was present at that memorable scene in the Palace of Versailles on Jan. 18, 1871, when King William became the head of a united German Empire. He also entered Paris after the capitulation; and at Nancy, on March 14, he issued a farewell manifesto to the soldiers of the Third Army, recapitulating its brilliant achievements, and expressing a hope that the bond of comradeship formed between Prussians and Bavarians and the troops of Württemberg and Baden on the field of battle would never be torn asunder, but rather strengthened by time, for the honour, renown, and well-being of the common German Fatherland. Replying later to an address from the communal authorities of Berlin, the Crown Prince observed that the result of the glorious struggle was "as unexampled as its progress—Germany united, the Emperor established in his Empire, the Fatherland secured by strong and extended frontiers, and its power and influence firmly and (if God will) permanently settled." For his distinguished services in the field the Crown Prince received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Iron Cross, the Grand Cross of the Württemberg Order for military service, the Swords of the Duchy of Anhalt, Albert Order of the Bear, the Hessian Grand Ducal Cross for military service, and the Lippe-Schaumburg Cross.

In 1878, consequent upon the injuries received by the Emperor William from the assassin Nobiling, the Crown Prince was appointed provisional Regent at a time when the Prussian conflict with the Vatican on the subject of the May Laws was at its highest. The Prince adopted the same attitude as his father on this question, and in a letter to the Pope he thus emphatically expressed himself:—"To the suggestion in your Holiness's letter that the laws of Prussia should be so modified as to accord with the statutes of the Romish Church no Prussian monarch could listen for a moment. The independence of the Monarchy which, as a patriot and as my father's heir, I am bound to maintain, would at once be compromised if its freedom of legislation were subordinated to any external power."

In the same spirit he welcomed on behalf of his father the Plenipotentiaries who arrived to attend the Berlin Congress, and in a grand banquet given to them on July 13, 1878, he referred with satisfaction to the promise of European peace arising out of the results of the Conference.

A few months later (March 1879) the Crown Prince, whilst approaching the Palace, narrowly escaped a serious accident. His horses turned violently restive and he was thrown from his carriage, but happily escaped uninjured. A fortnight later the family sustained a heavy affliction by the sudden loss of their youngest son, Prince Waldemar, by heart disease.

The Emperor William and the Empress Augusta, with the Crown Prince and Princess, visited Cologne on Oct. 15, 1880, and were present at the festival on the completion of the famous cathedral. A grand historical procession was formed on the following day, and a banquet was held, at which the Crown Prince spoke of the extreme gratification which the Emperor felt that the great architectural work had been so nobly finished. In February 1881, on the assassination of the Czar, the Crown Prince set out to attend the funeral at St. Petersburg; and in the following May a son was born to his eldest son, Prince William, who had married Augusta, daughter of Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein.

On Jan. 25, 1883, the Crown Prince and Princess celebrated their silver wedding, but in consequence of the death of Prince Charles, the Emperor William's brother, the public rejoicings were necessarily curtailed. Great interest was nevertheless shown in this

happy celebration, and the Imperial couple published a letter of thanks to the German nation, in which they expressed themselves as deeply touched by the countless proofs of affection shown to them. At the great Luther Festival, held at Wittenberg on Sept. 13 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the Reformer's birth, the Crown Prince represented his father, and spoke admirably of the influence which the spirit and work of Luther had exercised upon the German nation. Towards the close of the year the Crown Prince visited Spain, and in January 1884 he passed on to Rome, where he had an audience of the Pope. The relations between Germany and the Vatican were not of so strained a character as in former years. There were still some outstanding differences, however, which were amicably discussed by his Holiness and his illustrious visitor. Between 1884 and 1887 the Prince took part in many public functions in the German capital, and also in various parts of the empire. It was, however, in June 1887, and in England, that he made his last important appearance in public, when he rode in his white cuirassier's uniform by the side of the Prince of Wales at the head of the *cortège* of Princes which preceded the Queen's carriage on the celebration of her jubilee. Amid all that brilliant galaxy there was no figure more noble or more striking than that of Frederick William of Germany.

But even then he was suffering from the malady to which he was ultimately to succumb. Since the month of January there had been a local inflammation, accompanied by a slight cough and much hoarseness, and these symptoms refused to yield to the ordinary treatment, until suspicion was at length aroused that they indicated disease of a malignant type. A prolonged stay at Ems did nothing to abate the more persistent symptoms, and in May the German physicians, suspecting cancer, proposed the partial extirpation of the larynx, an operation attended, as was admitted, by the gravest danger. However, it was determined that, before this extreme step was resorted to, some other specialist should be called in, and Dr. Morell Mackenzie was summoned from London for a consultation. His strong objections to a dangerous operation were at once made known. On May 22 he successfully removed a portion of the diseased tissue from the Crown Prince's throat. This was examined microscopically by Professor Virchow, with what was for the time a reassuring

result, and all idea of the serious operation that had been contemplated was abandoned. But the progress of the disease was not arrested, and a prolonged stay in this country after the jubilee celebrations, first at Norwood, and then in the Isle of Wight and the Scottish Highlands, though benefiting the general health of the patient, left the local malady very much as before. On leaving England the Prince went to Baveno, attended by Mr. Mark Hovell.

In the autumn the Crown Prince removed with his family to San Remo for the winter, and Sir Morell Mackenzie was summoned thither early in November. At San Remo the disease assumed a more serious shape. On Nov. 11 a bulletin was issued by Sir Morell Mackenzie, Professors Schroetter and Krause, and Drs. Schmidt and Hovell, announcing the existence of a swelling in the Crown Prince's throat, which there was reason to hope would disappear under suitable treatment. It was determined to watch the growth carefully, but to postpone an operation until a new tumour which suddenly sprung up either disappeared or became small. Sir Morell Mackenzie was able to leave his patient for several weeks, but he returned at the close of last January. Early in February the condition of the Crown Prince became most alarming. On the 9th the symptoms were so serious that the medical authorities decided it was no longer safe to postpone the operation of tracheotomy. The cause of the obstruction to respiration—an increased thickening of the mucous membrane in the front of the lower part of the larynx, under the right vocal chord—threatened at any moment to close the orifice of the windpipe. The danger of suffocation rendered an immediate operation necessary, and this was performed by Dr. Bramann, in the presence of Sir Morell Mackenzie and the other doctors. Time did not permit Dr. Bergmann to be sent for. The operation was successfully performed. No chloroform was administered, and the Prince bore the ordeal with characteristic fortitude. The beneficial effects of the operation became immediately apparent in the great relief afforded the sufferer. Breathing was effected by means of a curved silver tube or cannula introduced into the throat as an artificial respiratory organ. In the course of a fortnight or three weeks, however, distressing symptoms again presented themselves, though they were somewhat relieved by the specialists in attendance, but Prince William of Prussia was hastily summoned

to San Remo by the news of his father's relapse.

The Crown Prince, however, recovered from the attack, and although unable to reach Berlin in time to see his father alive, the newly proclaimed Emperor Frederick determined at all hazards to return to his capital to take up the responsibilities of his position. Accompanied by the Empress Victoria, he left San Remo by special train on the morrow of his father's death. They met the King of Italy on the journey, and on the evening of the following day (Sunday) they arrived at the Palace of Charlottenburg. To outward seeming the Emperor was almost as strong and stalwart as ever, as he walked into the vestibule with a firm step that resounded through the lofty hall, lifted his hand to his throat, undid the clasp of his furlined military cloak, and shook it from his shoulders before assistance could be rendered to him.

But barely a fortnight had elapsed after the Emperor's accession before his illness again took an unfavourable turn. Consequently an Imperial decree, dated March 21, was addressed to the Crown Prince and published, expressing the wish of the Emperor that the Prince should make himself conversant with the affairs of State by immediate participation therein. His Imperial Highness was accordingly entrusted with the preparation and discharge of such State business as the Emperor should assign to him, and he was empowered in the performance of this duty to affix all necessary signatures, as the representative of the Emperor, without obtaining an especial authorisation on each occasion. This step, though a natural one to take in view of the Emperor's condition, gave rise to the most gloomy anticipations. The Emperor's health, however, temporarily improved, and on March 22 he was present at the memorial service in the chapel of Charlottenburg, held in commemoration of his august father's birthday. He likewise attended to the major portion of his State duties, and among other things issued an interesting Imperial rescript upon the condition of the army and the new drill regulations.

About this time a difference of opinion arose between the Emperor and Empress and Prince Bismarck on the subject of the contemplated betrothal of the Emperor's eldest unmarried daughter to Prince Alexander of Battenberg, the late Prince of Bulgaria. The young couple were understood to be much attached to one another, but their

union was opposed by Prince Bismarck for reasons of State policy, and because of the effect it would have upon Russia. Matters went so far that Prince Bismarck threatened to resign, but the projected marriage was ultimately abandoned. One marriage in his family the Emperor was permitted to witness, that of his second son, Prince Henry, to Princess Irene of Hesse, which took place only three weeks before his death.

A semi-official announcement appeared in the *North German Gazette* on April 13 to the effect that, in consequence of a contraction which had taken place in the Emperor's throat, a new cannula had become necessary. This change was accordingly effected, and his Majesty's general condition was not thereby affected. But on the 14th the Emperor was not so well, and on the following day bronchitis supervened. A medical bulletin stated that the bronchitis was attended with high fever and quickened breathing; and it was evident that the Kaiser was once more in a critical state. Consultations were held on the 16th, and the members of the Imperial family were summoned. But the worst symptoms passed away again, and the Emperor temporarily rallied. It was after this, on April 24, that Queen Victoria visited Charlottenburg, and conveyed to the sick chamber of her son-in-law, amid the grateful appreciation of his subjects, the sympathy of an entire nation. This was not the only visit paid to the dying Emperor by a European monarch, for only two days before his death he dressed in uniform to receive the King of Sweden, who had travelled to Berlin to make his inquiries in person.

The insidious malady from which the Emperor suffered exhibited many fluctuations, but towards the close of May the illustrious patient seemed so much better that he was able to be moved to the Friedrichskron Palace at Potsdam, and the hope was indulged of a considerable prolongation of his life. Early in June, however, his Majesty began to experience difficulty in swallowing, and he also suffered a gradual diminution in weight. There was a marked loss of appetite, the Emperor grew weaker, and liquid nourishment had mainly to be relied upon. The bulletins issued on the 12th were of a very disturbing character. The local malady had begun to affect the wall of the food-duct, and as the area of the disease had rapidly extended the physicians took a very serious view of the case. It became apparent that the long-

suffering monarch would not long be able to cope with the complications which had attacked him. Three more days of brave battling with death, and at last, on the 15th inst., the end came; and for the second time within a very brief period the German people was called upon to mourn the death of its leader and its head.

A week later, in accordance with his expressed wish, he was buried quite simply in the family vault at Charlottenburg, but sincerely mourned by the

nation which had hoped so much for his reign.

Of the children born to the Emperor and Empress the following survive:— Prince William, born in 1859 (married to the Princess Augusta Victoria); Princess Charlotte, born in 1860 (married to the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen); Prince Henry, born in 1862 (married May 24, 1888, to his cousin, Princess Irene of Hesse); Princess Victoria, born in 1866; Princess Sophia Dorothea, born in 1870; and Princess Marguerite, born in 1872.

The following deaths also occurred during the same month:—On the 1st, at Brighton, aged 69, the **Ven. Dr. John Hannah**, Archdeacon of Lewes, and many years Vicar of Brighton, in which place he had effected great clerical changes. He had previously been Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond. On the same date, aged 68, **Alexander James Johnston**, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand. On the 2nd, in Sloane Street, aged 78, **General George Alexander Malcolm, C.B.**, who had served in the Chinese war of 1842. He was a son of the late General Sir John Malcolm. On the 5th, aged 71, the **Right Hon. James Grant, Earl of Seafield**, formerly M.P. for the counties of Elgin and Nairn. He succeeded his nephew as ninth earl in 1884. On the same date, in Cornwall Gardens, aged 62, **Sir Philip John William Miles**, of Leigh Court, Bristol, formerly M.P. for East Somerset, and a partner in the Bristol banking firm. In early life he had been in the 17th Lancers, and he succeeded his father, the late Sir William Miles, as second baronet in 1878. On the 6th, in Bedford Place, Russell Square, aged 85, **General Sir James Alexander, K.C.B.** He entered the Bengal service; was present at the capture of Bhurtapore, and at the forcing of the Khyber Pass in 1842; and subsequently served in the Sutlej campaign. On the 9th, at the Manor House, Chiswick, aged 62, **Thomas Harrington Tuke, M.D.**, an eminent authority upon diseases of the brain. On the same date, at Brighton, aged 85, **Henry William Field**, Queen's Assay Master until the office was abolished in 1871. He was descended from Oliver Cromwell. On the 12th, in Upper Belgrave Street, aged 78, **Robert Pulsford**, of Pitt, Devonshire, formerly M.P. for Hereford. He was the son of the late W. Pulsford, of Linslade, Bucks, and of Wimpole Street, and was the brother-in-law of the late Sir W. Goodenough Hayter. On the 13th, in Cadogan Place, aged 81, **Admiral Sir Alexander Leslie Montgomery**, who succeeded his brother as third baronet in 1878. On the 15th, **Monsignor Cecconi**, Archbishop of Florence, the author of the "History of the Vatican Council of 1869." On the 17th, at The Terrace, Kennington Park, aged 75, **William Creswick**, a well-known Shakesperian actor. On the 18th, in Paris, aged 70, **Comte de Maupas**, who, as Prefect of Police at Paris in 1851, undertook the nocturnal arrest of the principal Deputies at the time of the *coup d'état* of December 2. On the 18th, aged 79, the **Rev. George Trevor**, Canon of York, and Rector of Beeford; prominent as a writer, preacher, and public speaker, and for the active part he took in promoting the revival of Convocation in the Northern Province. In early life he had been for ten years in the home service of the East India Company; he was then ordained, and for ten years was a chaplain on the Madras establishment. On the 20th, aged 88, **Princess Marie of Saxe-Altenburg**, daughter of the late Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia. She was first married to the late Prince Henry of the Netherlands, and secondly to Prince Albert of Saxe-Altenburg. On the same date, in London, aged 46, **Dr. T. H. Zukertort**, a distinguished chess-player, remarkable for his powers of memory, and a great linguist. On the 28th, in Beaufort Gardens, aged 69, **General John Hamilton Elphinstone Dalrymple, C.B.**, Colonel 1st Battalion Highland Light Infantry. He served in the Crimea, and held a command in the expedition across New Brunswick in the winter of 1861-62. On the 29th, in New Cavendish Street, aged 79, the **Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell**, for thirty years vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, the son of first Lord Ravensworth, and formerly Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

JULY.

General James Farrell Pennycuik, C.B., R.A., who died at Bedford on the 6th inst., aged 59, was the eldest son of the late Brigadier-General John Pennycuik, C.B., K.H., who commanded a brigade in the Sikh war of 1849, and fell, with his youngest son, in the battle of Chillianwallah. James F. Pennycuik was born in 1829, and entered the army in 1847, and after attaining the rank of captain served in the Crimean campaign, including the battle of Inkerman, where he commanded his battery, which was in the front throughout the day. On the fall of Sebastopol he received the brevet rank of major, medal with two clasps, the Sardinian and Turkish medals, and the 5th class of the Medjidie. He next served in the Indian campaign of 1857-58, and was present at the relief of Lucknow by Lord Clyde, the battle of Cawnpore on Dec. 6, the actions of Serai Ghaut, Chanda, Sultanpore, the siege and capture of Lucknow, and the action of Barree, for which services he received a medal with two clasps. He next served with the expedition to China in 1860, and was present at Tangku, the capture of the Taku forts, and the surrender of Peking. On the close of this war he was made a C.B., and received a medal with two clasps and the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. A good-service pension was subsequently awarded to him. He married a daughter of the late Mr. W. Rutledge, of Farnham Park, Victoria, Australia.

The Rev. George Robert Gleig, for nearly thirty years Chaplain-General of the Forces, was born in 1796. The son of a Scotch bishop, he was educated for a few years at Glasgow, and at the early age of fifteen was sent to Balliol College, Oxford. He left the University on this occasion without taking his degree, and in 1812 entered the army, and joined the forces of the Duke of Wellington in Spain in 1813. Many years afterwards he published his experiences of the campaign under the title of "The Subaltern." Mr. Gleig served in the campaigns in the Peninsula of 1813 and 1814 in the 85th Light Infantry, including the siege of San Sebastian, the passage of the Bidassoa, the battle of the Nivelle (where he was wounded twice), the battle of the Nive (where he

was again wounded), and the investment of Bayonne. For his services in the war he received the medal with three clasps. He afterwards served in the American war at Bladensburg, Baltimore, New Orleans, the capture of Washington, and Fort Bowyer, and was thrice wounded in the course of his service. He afterwards returned to keep his terms at Oxford, where he took his degree in 1819. In the following year he was ordained by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Manners Sutton), and shortly afterwards was presented by the same prelate to the perpetual curacy of Ash, and then to the rectory of Ivy Church, in Kent. In 1844 Mr. Gleig was made Chaplain of Chelsea, an appointment which he held for only two years, when he was promoted to the position of Chaplain-General of the Forces, which he held till 1875, when he resigned the office in consequence of a severe illness. Soon after his becoming Chaplain-General he was appointed Inspector-General of Military Schools, this office being given him in consequence of a scheme devised by him for the education of soldiers. He was also nominated in 1848 to the Prebendal Stall of Willesden in the Cathedral of St. Paul's. Among the many literary works written by Mr. Gleig in the course of his long life and varied experience, may be mentioned the following:—"Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans," "The Lives of Military Commanders," "The History of India," "The History of the Bible," "The Story of the Battle of Waterloo," "The Lives of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Duke of Wellington," "Memoirs of Sir Thomas Munro," "Traditions of Chelsea Hospital," "Chronicles of Waltham," "Country Curate," "A Military History of Great Britain," "The Soldier's Help to Divine Truth," and his last work was "The Great Problem," written in 1874, after his retirement into the country. It was Mr. Gleig's "Life of Warren Hastings" that formed the subject of Lord Macaulay's most popular essay. In spite of his advanced age, Mr. Gleig retained his faculties and interest in public affairs unimpaired to the last. He died almost suddenly on the 9th inst., at Streatfield Turgis, near Winchfield, Hants, aged 92 years.

Hiram Sibley, the founder of the

Sibley College of Mechanical Arts, died at Rochester, N.Y., on the 12th inst., from apoplexy, in his 82nd year. The history of his life is a remarkable one, and shows him to have been the typical self-made American. He began life as a shoemaker at the age of 16; this being distasteful to him, he entered a cotton factory, and subsequently tried wool-carding and machine work, so that when he was 21 years of age he knew five trades. After a number of successful business ventures, Hiram Sibley assisted Professor Morse and Ezra Cornell in establishing the first telegraphic line between Washington and Baltimore. Other inventors were stimulated by Morse's success, and soon many telegraph companies were established all over the United States. Mr. Sibley gradually succeeded in buying up their stock, and ultimately founded the Western Union Telegraph Company, acting as its president for sixteen years. The company started with 132 offices and a capital of \$220,000. When Sibley left it 4,000 offices were in operation and the property of the company was worth \$40,000,000. His next great achievement was the erection of a telegraph line from the Eastern States to San Francisco. But for the successful laying of the Atlantic cable, he would have united the Eastern and Western hemispheres by a land line by way of Alaska and Siberia. As it was, the undertaking was abandoned, at a loss of \$3,000,000. His other business ventures were of much importance also, and prosperous. When he retired from the Western Union he settled permanently at Rochester, New York, where the last forty-five years of his life were chiefly spent. He was one of the incorporators of Cornell University, and was one of the benefactors of that institution by founding Sibley College, now under the management of Professor Robert H. Thurston. His other benefactions were numerous, but he died a very wealthy man.

Frank Holl was a son of an eminent engraver, Francis Holl, A.R.A., and was born on July 4, 1845, at St. James's Terrace, Kentish Town. As a boy he went to University College School, but his inherited love for art soon asserted itself, and at fifteen he was entered as a probationer in the Royal Academy Schools. There he soon made his mark, obtaining a silver medal in 1862, and the gold medal and a scholarship in the following year. In 1864 he began to exhibit, and from that time contributed regularly to the exhibitions. In 1868 he

gained the Two Years' Travelling Studentship, and a little later he may be said to have decided upon the style of subject and treatment by which, for the next ten years, he was almost exclusively known. He devoted himself to subject pictures, generally of a pathetic and melancholy cast, such as are indicated by the titles "No Tidings from the Sea" (1871), "Leaving Home" (1873), "Deserted" (1874), "Want," and "The Emigrant's Departure." Pictures of this kind, treated with undeniable power and vigour, gained him his associateship in 1878, and about the same time he made his first essay in the field in which he was to acquire fame by a portrait of the engraver, Mr. S. Cousins, R.A. Strange to say, the one person who disliked it was Mr. Cousins himself, who declared that the painter had added to his years, and had made him appear too old. What the public thought of the picture was very soon apparent, for Mr. Holl was at once overwhelmed with commissions, so that from that time to the day of his death he may be said to have scarcely had a single day, except during his annual holiday, free from sitters. A list of them would include a very large number of the most eminent contemporary Englishmen, while not a few Americans took advantage of a visit to London to have themselves painted by Mr. Holl. Among the most successful of his pictures—of which he completed at least twenty during each of the last eight or nine years of his life—we may mention portraits of Signor Piatti, Major Graham, the late Registrar-General; Captain Sim, a naval veteran 90 years old; Dr. Cradock, the late Principal of Brasenose; Dr. Bellamy, President of St. John's; Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Frederick Roberts, Vice-Chancellor Bacon, Lord Wolseley, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Overstone, Mr. Bright, and the Duke of Cleveland—the last a particularly brilliant work, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1886. To these should be added those of the present year, especially the picture of Lord Spencer, which will probably be reckoned by posterity as the painter's masterpiece, and the picture of Mr. Gladstone, which was given to its subject as a golden wedding present. Besides these half-lengths, we may mention the two full-lengths of the Prince of Wales, painted for the Middle Temple and for the Trinity House, and that of the Duke of Cambridge in the uniform of a Field-Marshal. Mr. Holl, who was made an R.A. in 1884, did not live to realise two of the great objects of his

ambition—to paint the portraits of some beautiful women, and to paint a great group of portraits in costume, such as the Bench of Judges. His numerous commissions, however, left him no time for the indulgence of his fancy, nor, perhaps for requisite rest. As soon as the pictures of the present year had been sent in to Burlington House, he started for a holiday in Spain, in order

“to pass a few days with Velasquez;” but he was back again and at work in less than a fortnight. His physicians warned him of the danger of this overstrain, but he worked on, and succeeded in finishing a portrait of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt. On the morning of the 31st inst. he was seized with cardiac disease, and in a moment he was dead.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at New-castle, aged 57, **Henry Alexander Watt**, chief engineer of the steamer *Cagliari*, which in 1857 sailed from Genoa to the aid of the political prisoners of King Bomba. On its return the vessel was captured by a Neapolitan war vessel, and its occupants imprisoned. Watts temporarily lost his reason, and was never able to work again, but was subsequently pensioned by the Italian Government. On the 2nd, at Combe Wood, aged 27, **Henry Richard**, third Baron Wolverton, who succeeded his uncle in 1887. He was the son of the late Vice-Admiral the Hon. Henry Carr Glyn, C.B. On the same date, at Ham House, Petersham, aged 84, the Hon. **Frederick James Tollemache**, M.P. for Grantham, 1826–31, 1857–65, 1868–74. He was fifth son of the late Sir William Talmaash, Lord Huntingtower, and the brother of seventh Earl of Dysart. He married, first, in 1831, Sarah Maria, daughter of Robert Bomford, of Rahinstown, co. Meath; and secondly, in 1842, Isabella Anne, daughter of Gordon Forbes, Esq., of Ham, Surrey. On the 5th, in Grosvenor Square, aged 79, **General Sir Charles Trollope, K.C.B.**, who during the Crimean war had served as a Brigadier-General, and subsequently commanded the forces in Lower Canada. He was the son of Sir J. Trollope, Bart., and the brother of Lord Kesteven, and married, first, Frances, only child of John Lord, Esq.; and, secondly, Cordelia Maria, daughter of Major-General James Patrick Murray, C.B. On the 7th, in Cavendish Square, aged 60, **Sir William Wellington Cairns, K.C.M.G.** He was the fifth son of William Cairns, of Parkmount, co. Antrim, and half-brother of first Earl Cairns. He entered the Civil Service of Ceylon in 1852; Postmaster-General of Ceylon, 1864; Lieutenant-Governor of Malacca, 1867–68; St. Kitts, 1869–70; Honduras, 1870–3; Trinidad, 1873–4; Governor of Queensland, 1874–6; and of South Australia, 1876–7. On the 8th, at Paignton, Devon, aged 69, **Henry James Domville, C.B., M.D.**, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, and Honorary Physician to the Queen. Son of the late James Domville, M.D., R.N. On the 9th, in South Street, Park Lane, aged 79, **Sir John Hardy**, first baronet (1876), son of John Hardy, of Dunstall Hall, Staffordshire. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford; M.P. for Midhurst, 1859; Dartmouth, 1860–68; and South Warwickshire, 1868–74. On the 10th, at St. Gluvias Vicarage, Penryn, aged 81, the **Ven. William John Phillpotts**, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter. Eldest son of the famous Bishop Phillpotts, of Exeter. On the 11th, at Queenstown, aged 89, **Sir Charles Denham Orlando Jephson-Norreys, Bart.**, of Mallow Castle, Cork, formerly M.P. for Mallow, 1826–59. He was the son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel William Jephson, and assumed the additional name of Norreys upon being created a baronet in 1838. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford. Married, 1821, Katherine, daughter of Wm. Franks, Esq., of Carrig, co. Cork. On the 14th, aged 65, **Sir John Henry Brand, G.C.M.G.**, President of the Orange Free State. Son of the late Sir C. Brand, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cape of Good Hope, and was educated at the South African College, and called to the Bar at the Inner Temple. On the 17th, at Sandling Park, Hythe, aged 80, **Admiral the Hon. Sir Edward Alfred John Harris, K.C.B.**, second son of second Earl of Malmesbury. He, after serving some years in the Navy, sat for Christchurch, 1844–52; became *Chargé d’Affaires*, Peru, 1852–53; Chili, 1853–58; Switzerland, 1859–67; and Minister to the Netherlands, 1876–77. Married Emma Coyte, the daughter of Captain S. Chambers, R.N. On the 19th, assassinated in Central Africa, aged 29, **Major Edmund Musgrave Barttelot**, of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, second son of Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Bart., C.B., M.P., of Stopham, Sussex. On the 23rd, aged 51, **Sir John Swale, Bart.**, of Knaresborough, where he was proprietor of the Royal Oak Hotel. The baronetcy was a creation of Charles II., given to the then M.P. for Aldborough for proposing the restoration of the King. After the death of fourth baronet in 1773, the title remained dormant, until reassumed in 1877 by the late Sir John Swale, O.S.B., of Pertley, Durham who claimed

descent from Robert, second son of Sir Solomon Swale, of Swale Hall, and South Staines, co. York. On the 28th, aged 74, **Sydney Howard Gay**, joint author with the late William Cullen Bryant of the "History of the United States;" and an adherent to the Abolitionist party of William Lloyd Garrison. On the same date, at Blidworth, Nottinghamshire, aged 69, **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arthur Need**, Lieutenant of her Majesty's Yeomen of the Guard, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Need. He entered the 14th Hussars, and served in the Punjab campaign and in the Persian expedition. On the 29th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 56, **Rear-Admiral William Codrington, C.B.**, for some time Junior Naval Lord, and Naval Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. On the 31st, at Mildenhall, Suffolk, aged 58, **Sir William Charles Sargeant, K.C.M.G.** He entered the Colonial Office as a clerk in 1848; was sent out as Colonial Secretary to Natal, and afterwards to St. Vincent, and was subsequently appointed one of the Crown Agents of the Colonies.

AUGUST.

General Sir James Brind, B.A., G.C.B., died on the 3rd inst., after a short illness, aged 80. General Brind entered the Royal (Bengal) Artillery in 1827. Throughout this long period he evinced an earnestness of purpose, a devotion to duty, and a regard for the interests of all who served under him that gained for him the warm and undeviating respect of the army. Conspicuously at the memorable siege of Delhi in 1857, where he commanded for a great part of the time the besieging batteries, he animated all under him by a noble example and an almost reckless exposure of himself to danger. It was indeed said of "Brind of the Batteries" that he never slept. "We talk of Victoria crosses," wrote a distinguished officer to one of the historians of the Indian Mutiny, "but Brind is a man who should be covered with them from head to foot." "On all occasions," wrote another of the foremost of our Delhi heroes, "the exertions of this noble officer were indefatigable. He was always to be found where his presence was most required; and the example he set to his officers and men was beyond all praise. A finer soldier I never met." It can easily be imagined that under a leader of this character men worked prodigies of valour, unshaken and undismayed by the trials and hardships of a protracted siege. In the earlier part of his career Sir James Brind was employed under Sir Sydney Cotton against the tribes on the North-West Frontier; and he took a leading part, after the siege of Delhi, in the active operations which took place in Oude and Rohilkund, and in the pursuit of the noted Feroze Shah towards Central India. Here his services gained for him repeated mention in despatches and the thanks of Government. For

some years after this he held the post of Inspector-General of Artillery in India, and commanded a division of the army in Bengal from 1873 to 1878, when he retired from active military life. He was created a K.C.B. in 1869, and a G.C.B. in 1884.

Dean Burgon.—John William Burgon, the son of a merchant in the city of London, was born about the year 1819 or 1820. He received, as a boy, an education fitting him for a mercantile career, and on reaching manhood he was engaged in the City. While there he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the chief incidents in the life of Sir Thomas Gresham, whose personal history he disinterred from the treasures of the State Paper Office, which were not then very accessible to the public. While writing this book, he became so thoroughly absorbed in his subject that he threw aside his mercantile studies for that of English literature, and resolved to enter himself at one of the colleges at Oxford. He was accordingly matriculated, at a somewhat advanced age, as a Commoner at Worcester College, where he carried off the Newdegate Prize Poem in 1845, the subject being "Petra," and took his Bachelor's Degree in 1848 in Classical Honours. He was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel College in the same year; and it was often said by his friends that he was elected to fill the vacancy caused by Cardinal Newman's secession to Rome. For a long time he resided in Oxford, where he obtained the Ellerton Theological Prize, and afterwards (in 1851) the Denyer Theological Prize. He was one of the Select Preachers before the University in 1860 and the following year, and again in 1878-79. From 1863 down to 1875 he held the

living of St. Mary's (the University Church), Oxford, which Mr. Newman had held before him. He also held for some years the Divinity Lectureship in Gresham College, London. In 1875, on the death of Dr. Hook, he was appointed to the Deanery of Chichester, which he held down to his death. He was a staunch Conservative and a strong High Churchman, and he proved himself an able writer, especially as a pamphleteer, on controversial subjects connected with the doctrines of the Anglican Church. Among his works should be mentioned his "Oxford Reformers" (1854), a "Century of Verses" in memory of the Rev. Dr. Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen College (1855); "A Plain Commentary on the Four Gospels," "Ninety Short Sermons for Family Reading," "The History of our Lord," with engravings (1855); "Historical Notices of the Oxford Colleges," "The Lambeth Conference and the Pope's Encyclical," "The Revision Revised" (being three articles republished from the *Quarterly Review*, and a serious onslaught on the Revised Edition of the Bible). He was a genuine Anglican, of the type which was common in the earlier days of Dr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, and from this creed he never swerved. As a resident Fellow of Oriel College he used to entertain select bodies of undergraduates on Sunday evenings, thus endeavouring to carry on the influence which had been exerted by Dr. Newman, by Mr. Charles Marriott, and others of the High Church clergy. For some months before his death he had been in ill-health, but had returned to the Deanery somewhat restored. On July 22 he appeared at the Cathedral for the last time and took leave of the members of the choir, and on the 4th inst. he expired.

Philip Henry Sheridan, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, and the last and most brilliant of the great generals of the North, was born at Somerset, Ohio, March 6, 1831. He had few advantages of early education and training, but in 1848 he obtained a cadetship at West Point. Sheridan's hot blood and impulsive temperament were manifested even in his student days, and a quarrel with a comrade resulted in his suspension for a year. He was consequently unable to graduate in 1852 as he should have done, but in the following year he concluded his studies and was appointed a brevet second lieutenant of infantry. In 1854

he was assigned to the 1st Infantry in Texas, and the same year he received his commission as second lieutenant of the 4th Infantry. With the latter regiment he served during the next six years in Washington Territory and Oregon. In the attack upon the Indians at the Cascades, Washington Territory, in April 1856, the United States troops landed under fire, and routed and dispersed the enemy at every point. General Scott drew special attention to Sheridan's bravery on this occasion.

But it was the great Civil War which developed Sheridan's talents, as in the case of many other distinguished officers, and made promotion rapid. The resignation of commanders with Southern sympathies and the creation of new regiments secured Sheridan a first lieutenantancy in the 4th Infantry in March 1861, and a captaincy in the 13th Infantry in the following May. Yet that memorable year in the history of the United States "brought him little employment and no laurels." After various minor services he was commissioned as colonel of the 2nd Michigan Cavalry, on May 25, 1862. He at once engaged with the regiment in Elliot's raid against the railroad, which was destroyed at Booneville. During the month of June he commanded the 2nd Cavalry Brigade in several skirmishes, and on July 1 gained a brilliant victory at Booneville over a superior cavalry force. His appointment as brigadier-general of Volunteers dated from this action. In the autumn of 1862 Sheridan received the command of the 11th Division of the Army of the Ohio, under General Buell. Moving out of Louisville with Buell against Bragg, he took part, on October 8, in the stoutly-contested battle of Perryville, where he manœuvred his division with conspicuous skill and effect, holding the key of the Northern position, and using the point to its utmost advantage. At the famous battle of Murfreesboro, which was one of the bloodiest and most prolonged of the campaign, Sheridan held the key-point for several hours in the first day's fighting, "displaying superb tactical skill and the greatest gallantry." Sheridan's commission as major-general followed upon these services. From this time little of interest occurred until September 19-20, 1863, when Sheridan again distinguished himself at the battle of Chickamauga, rescuing his division from a perilous position. General Thomas was transferred to the command of Rosencranz's besieged army at Chattanooga, and thither General Grant

arrived with reinforcements from Vicksburg. Grant was determined to dislodge the Southern commander, Bragg, who was posted on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Hooker carried Lookout Mountain, and Thomas captured the Ridge on Nov. 25. In the latter operation Sheridan's division was the first to cross the crest, and it pressed the enemy's rearguard until long after dark, seizing waggons and artillery.

Grant, who had now become lieutenant-general, established his headquarters in Virginia in March 1864. He was very badly off for an energetic commander of cavalry there, and discussed the matter with General Halleck. The latter at once suggested Sheridan, remembering his splendid dash and bravery at Missionary Ridge. "The very man!" exclaimed the laconic Grant, and Sheridan accordingly became commander of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Sheridan's progress during the campaign of 1864 was like a whirlwind. His troops covered the front and flanks of the infantry through the battles of the Wilderness until May 8, when the greater part of the force was withdrawn, and next morning Sheridan started on a raid against the enemy's points of communication with Richmond. Getting within the Confederate lines, he dashed upon the outworks of Richmond itself, where he took 100 prisoners, and thence moved to Haxall's Landing, from which point he returned to the Northern army, having destroyed many miles of railroad track, besides trains and a great quantity of rations, and liberated 375 Union soldiers. This expedition included repulses of the enemy at Beaver Dam and Meadow Bridge, and the defeat of the enemy's cavalry at Yellow Tavern, where their best cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, was killed. From May 27 to June 24 Sheridan was engaged in almost daily engagements and skirmishes, harassing the enemy, and resisting all attempts to defeat or capture him.

The Middle Department and the departments of West Virginia, Washington, and Susquehanna were constituted the "Middle Military Division" in Aug. 1864, and of this General Grant put Sheridan in command. He chafed for opportunities of further distinguishing himself and justifying his appointment; but the enemy, under General Early, had been reinforced, and for six weeks Sheridan was kept on the defensive near Harper's Ferry. At length, when Early's forces had been diminished,

Sheridan expressed such confidence of success if he were allowed to attack that Grant gave him permission in only two words of instruction, "Go in!" Sheridan went in, attacking Early with great vigour on Sept. 19 at the crossing of the Opequan. After a severe battle the enemy was routed; Sheridan captured 3,000 prisoners and five guns, and sent Early, as he expressed it, "whirling through Winchester." Next day, President Lincoln, on Grant's recommendation, appointed the victorious soldier a brigadier-general in the regular army. Taking up the pursuit of Early in the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan found him on the 20th strongly posted on Fisher's Hill, just beyond Strasburg. Quietly moving Cook's command through the wood, he turned the enemy's left on the 22nd, and drove him from his stronghold, capturing sixteen guns. The losses of Sheridan and those of Early in these two battles were almost precisely equal, being about 5,400 men each; but the Northern general had captured many guns and small arms. Sheridan continued the pursuit up the Valley, but finding it impracticable to proceed either to Lynchburg or Charlottesville, he returned through the Valley, devastating it on his way and rendering it untenable for an enemy's army. By Sheridan's successes Grant obtained the unobstructed use of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, whereas his defeat would have exposed Maryland and Pennsylvania to invasion.

Sheridan's next operations, however, were the most important, as they have become the most renowned, in his career. Passing through Strasburg, he posted his troops on the further bank of Cedar Creek, while he himself, on Oct. 16, went to Washington in response to a request from Secretary Stanton for consultation. Before the sun rose on the morning of the 19th, Early, who had been reinforced, surprised during a fog the left of the Union army, and uncovered the position also of the 19th Corps, capturing twenty-four guns and about 1,400 prisoners. General Wright succeeded in retaining his grasp on the turnpike by moving the 6th Corps to its western side and the cavalry to its eastern; but the whole army in the process had been driven back beyond Middletown. Sheridan was at Winchester at this time, on his return from Washington. Hearing the noise of battle, he dashed up the turnpike with an escort of twenty men, rallying the fugitives on his way, and after a ride of a dozen

miles reached the army, where he was received with indescribable enthusiasm. After the lapse of a few hours spent in preparing his forces, Sheridan ordered an advance, and literally swept the enemy from the field in one of the most overwhelming and decisive engagements of the war. All the lost Union guns were retaken, and twenty-four Confederate guns and many waggons and stores were captured. Congress passed a vote of thanks to Sheridan and his troops for the "brilliant series of victories in the Valley," and especially the one at Cedar Creek. Sheridan was appointed by the President a major-general in the regular army, "for the personal gallantry, military skill, and just confidence in the courage and patriotism of your troops," as the order expressed it, "displayed by you on Oct. 19." On Feb. 27, 1865, Sheridan, with his cavalry, 10,000 strong, moved up the Valley, destroying the Virginia Central Railroad, the James River Canal, and immense quantities of supplies, and defeating Early again at Waynesboro. He then made his way towards Grant's army, and arrived at White House on March 19. In subsequent operations he acted immediately under General Grant. The final campaign of the war began, and on March 31 Sheridan was attacked by a heavy force of Lee's infantry under Pickett and Johnson; but on the following day, being reinforced by Warren, he entrapped and completely routed Pickett and Johnson's forces at Five Forks, taking thousands of prisoners. Sheridan displayed great tactical skill and generalship on this occasion, and the decisive battle of Five Forks compelled General Lee to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond. Lee was soon in flight, but Sheridan was speedily on his trail, and, far away in the Northern van, he constantly harassed the enemy. Overtaking the flying army at Sailor's Creek, he captured sixteen guns and 400 waggons, and detained the enemy until the 6th Corps could come up, when a combined attack resulted in the capture of more than 6,000 prisoners. On April 8 Sheridan again engaged the Confederates at Appomattox Station. Early on the morning of the 9th the enemy endeavoured to break through, but abandoned the attempt when Sheridan, moving aside, disclosed the infantry behind. Sheridan mounted his men and was about to charge, when the white flag betokening surrender was displayed in his front. This brought the war in Virginia to a close, though in Alabama and other dis-

tricts the conflict continued to a somewhat later period. The Confederate power, however, was broken by the surrender at Appomattox Court-house, which practically ended the Civil War.

Sheridan subsequently conducted an expedition into North Carolina. On June 3, 1865, he took command of the military division of the South-west, at New Orleans, and was appointed to the Fifth Military District (Louisiana and Texas) in March, 1867. President Johnson, being dissatisfied with his administration, relieved him of his appointment during the reconstruction troubles in Louisiana, and transferred him to the department of the Missouri. He continued in command until March 4, 1869, when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and assigned the command of the division of the Missouri, with head-quarters at Chicago.

During the Franco-German war of 1870-71 General Sheridan visited Europe, and was present as a spectator with the German forces at several celebrated engagements. He was held in high esteem by Prince Bismarck and Count von Moltke.

In 1875, during the political disturbances in Louisiana, General Sheridan was sent to New Orleans, returning to Chicago on quiet being restored. On the retirement of General Sherman, in March 1884, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, and he held the post until his sudden death, owing to failure of the heart's action, on the 5th inst., at Nonquit, Mass., aged 57 years.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P. — Mr. Richard was a son of the late Rev. Ebenezer Richard, of Tregaron, Cardiganshire, a distinguished Welsh Calvinistic Methodist minister. He was born in 1812, and, after studying for some time at the Llangeitho Grammar School, removed to London in 1830, and entered the Highbury Independent College. On leaving college he joined the Independent Church, and became the minister of Marlborough Chapel, in the Old Kent Road. At the time of the Rebecca Riots, in 1843, Mr. Richard championed the cause of his countrymen; and a Government Commission was subsequently sent to Wales to inquire into the educational condition of the people. The report was unfavourable to the Welsh population; and, strongly dissatisfied with it, Mr. Richard delivered a series of lectures at Crosby Hall in 1848, in which he maintained that the evils from which Wales was suffering

had been greatly exaggerated, while the good features of the Welsh character had been kept out of sight. Many years later he published a series of letters on the "Social and Political Condition of Wales," which attracted much attention and drew forth the thanks of numerous religious bodies. Mr. Gladstone, speaking at the Mold Eisteddfod in 1873, stated that his own prejudices respecting Wales had been removed by Mr. Richard's letters.

Mr. Richard was appointed secretary to the Peace Society in 1848, and three years later he gave up the ministry. He then began to advocate international arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations, and he laboured earnestly for this object until his death. In conjunction with Elihu Burritt, he organised an International Peace Congress at Brussels, which was held in the autumn of 1848. Similar congresses were subsequently held at Paris, Frankfurt, London, Manchester, Edinburgh, &c. During the Crimean war the fortunes of the Peace Society were at a low ebb, but on the conclusion of the war in 1856 Mr. Richard and his friends presented a memorial to Lord Clarendon, the British representative in Paris, praying that the principle of arbitration might be recognised in the new treaty. Lord Clarendon brought forward and advocated the memorial, and the representatives of the Powers were authorised to accept the proposal that, on the recurrence of any serious misunderstanding between States, recourse should be had to the good offices of a friendly Power before appealing to arms. The principle was afterwards admitted by several English statesmen, and by forty-six foreign Governments. The *Alabama* arbitration was the first great practical example of this mode of settling international difficulties.

In 1868 Mr. Richard was returned as an advanced Liberal for Merthyr Tydvil, and in the session of 1873 he brought forward in an able speech his motion in favour of arbitration. Mr. Gladstone replied, but the motion was carried by a majority of ten in a House of nearly 200 members. Mr. Richard was congratulated on his success by Garibaldi, Senator Sumner, and others, and he afterwards travelled on the Continent to secure support for his views. A banquet was held in his honour at Rome. In the House of Commons, Mr. Richard delivered vigorous speeches against the evictions by Welsh landlords, and in favour of national education, the ballot, &c. He made strenuous but unsuccessful

efforts to alter the character of Mr. Forster's Education Act, and with other Nonconformists took an active part in opposing Sir James Graham's Factories' Education Bill. He was one of the first members of the Congregational Board of Education, and his efforts led to the earliest organised effort to promote the establishment of day schools on liberal principles in Wales. A conference was held at Llandovery, resulting in the formation of Normal schools at Brecon and Swansea, and of hundreds of day schools in all parts of South Wales. In 1876 he was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union, this being the first occasion on which the highest honour which the Independent body can bestow had been conferred upon a layman. During the session of 1883 Mr. Richard severely denounced the Egyptian war. He was the author of numerous pamphlets and lectures, and was extremely popular among the Welsh Liberals and Dissenters. His death took place quite suddenly on the 21st inst., whilst staying as a guest of Mr. R. Davies, the Lord-Lieutenant of Anglesey, at Treborth, near Bangor.

Mr. Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S., died at his residence, St. Marychurch, Torquay, on the 23rd inst. This distinguished zoologist was born at Worcester in 1810, and early removed with his parents to Poole, Dorset, where he displayed a strong taste for natural history. In 1827 he went out in a mercantile capacity to Newfoundland, where he occupied his leisure in collecting insects and making coloured drawings of them and their transformations. After a residence of eight years in Newfoundland Mr. Gosse visited Lower Canada, where for three years he specially devoted himself to the study of zoology and entomology. He afterwards travelled through the United States, and resided for about a year in Alabama, making a large collection of drawings of insects, especially the fine lepidoptera of that region. The literary results of this stay appeared in his "Letters from Alabama, chiefly relating to Natural History." After his return to England in 1839, Mr. Gosse published a general synopsis of his investigations, under the title of "The Canadian Naturalist" (1840). In 1844 he visited Jamaica, and spent eighteen months in the study of zoology, and issued on his return the result of his researches in "The Birds of Jamaica," followed by an "Atlas of Illustrations," and "A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica." During the next few years he published an

"Introduction to Zoology," and prepared many works for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He then devoted himself especially to the microscopic study of the British rotifera, and took a prominent part in the formation of public and private collections of marine animals. In 1856 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Among Mr. Gosse's subsequent works were:—"The Aquarium" (1854); "A Manual of Marine Zoology" (1855); "Tenby: a Seaside Holiday" (1856); "Life in its Lower, Intermediate, and Higher Forms" (1857); "Actinologia Britannica: a History of the British Sea Anemones and Corals" (1860); "The Romance of Natural History" (1860-62); "A Year at the Shore" and "Land and Sea" (1865). He likewise pursued a series of microscopical investigations into the character of the family Papilionidæ; and the first fruit of these studies appeared in the Transactions of the Linnean Society. In 1874 he published at Philadelphia his "Wonders of the Great Deep; or, the Physical, Animal, Geological, and Vegetable Curiosities of the Ocean." Mr. Gosse was also the author of a number of works of a sacred and historical character, including the following:—"The Monuments of Ancient Egypt and their Relation to the Word of God" (1847); "Sacred Streams; or, the Ancient and Modern History of the Rivers in the Bible" (1850); "History of the Jews from the Christian Era to the Dawn of the Reformation" (1851); and "Assyria; her Manners and Customs, Arts, and Arms, restored from the Monuments" (1852). This voluminous author's latest work was entitled "The Mysteries of God: a Series of Expositions of Holy Scripture," published in 1884.

Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G., born August 2, 1820, was the only son of William Rose, of Huntingdon, Canada, and grandson of John Rose, of Edengight, co. Banff. After spending his youth in this country he returned in 1836 to Canada, and made that country his home for the next two-and-thirty years. He arrived in the colony at a stirring time, when Lord Durham was confronted with a formidable rebellion, and was embarking upon his judicious policy of combined conciliation and repression. Rose served as a volunteer upon the Loyalist side, and would seem to have early developed a judicial talent, for he was Assistant Recorder of the court-martial established to deal with offences committed during the insurrection. He

presently settled down as a law student, and in 1842 was called to the Bar of Lower Canada, as the present province of Quebec was then called. Five years later Mr. Rose became a Queen's Counsel. In 1857 he took office as Solicitor-General, and entered Parliament as a member for Montreal. In 1859 he became Minister of Public Works, and in that capacity it fell to his lot to conduct the arrangements for the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada. It was on this occasion that his acquaintance with the Prince was formed—an acquaintance which in after life was destined to ripen into friendship. He took a leading part in the deliberations which led up to Canadian Confederation, and at the Canadian Conference, held in London, he represented the Protestants of Lower Canada. In the new Dominion Government he held the important post of Finance Minister, and during his three years' tenure of office he had the satisfaction of passing a series of measures designed to consolidate the new order of things, to provide for the defence of the Dominion, and to assimilate its fiscal laws. In nearly every controversy which arose between Canada and the United States from 1860 to 1870 he was intrusted with some mission more or less diplomatic in character—such as the settlement of the Oregon Treaty, the reciprocity question, the Fisheries or the question of international copyright, and the extradition dispute. In 1870 he resigned his control of the Dominion finances, and returned to England, with the object of passing the remainder of his life in comparative retirement from public affairs, and occupying himself with business matters. His retirement was short-lived, however, for almost immediately after his return to the Old Country he was chosen to proceed upon a confidential mission to Washington with a view to negotiate upon the *Alabama* and the Fisheries disputes. His efforts produced the Washington Treaty, signed in 1871, and for his services he was created a baronet, under the title of Sir John Rose of Montreal, and received the thanks of her Majesty's Government. He subsequently served upon various Royal Commissions upon North American affairs, and has been the unofficial adviser of many Colonial Ministers in regard to Canada. The various exhibitions at South Kensington have also benefited materially by his co-operation, and in connection with them he was brought much into contact with the Prince of Wales, by whom he was appointed Receiver-General of the Duchy

of Cornwall in 1888. He was created G.C.M.G., and a Privy Councillor in 1886. Upon his return to England he became a partner in the banking firm of Morton, Rose, & Co., but his connection with the firm ceased some years before his death; and more latterly he was most closely identified with several financial undertakings, including the London and Westminster Bank and the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation. In society Sir J. Rose was remarkable for his charm of manner; he was a delightful companion.

His first wife was Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Robert Emmett Temple, of Rutland, United States. She died in 1863; and in 1887 he married Julia, Marchioness of Tweeddale, widow of the late Marquess, and a descendant of the Mackenzies of Senforth. At the time of his death he was staying at Langwell, Caithness, and had gone out deer-stalking on the morning of the 25th inst. He had already fired at a stag once, and was in the act of firing again when he fell, and died almost immediately from heart disease.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Bagshot, aged 71, **Henry Cadogan Rothery**, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and bracketed 15th Wrangler in 1840. He practised first in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts. He was appointed Registrar of the Admiralty Court in 1853, next in 1860 Legal Adviser to the Treasury in Slave-Trade matters, and in 1876 Wreck Commissioner, a post which he held up to within a few weeks of his death. On the 4th, in Green Park Chambers, Piccadilly, aged 36, **Lord Douglas William Cope Gordon**, third son of tenth Marquess of Huntly, Lieutenant and Captain of Coldstream Guards 1874–80, M.P. for West Aberdeenshire 1876–80, Hunts 1880–84; heir presumptive to the marquise. On the 5th, at The Friars, near Newport, Monmouthshire, aged 85, **Charles Octavius Swinnerton Morgan, F.R.S., F.S.A.**, formerly M.P. for Monmouthshire, 1841–74. He was fourth son of Sir Charles Morgan, second baronet, and the brother of first Lord Tredegar. On the same date, at Carlsbad, aged 58, **John Joseph Jones, D.L.**, of Abberley Hall and Pensa Court, Worcestershire, in which county he was one of the largest landowners. On the 6th, in Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, aged 94, **Sir William Westbrooke Burton, K.C.B.**, formerly President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. The son of the late Edmund Burton, of Daventry, he commenced life as a midshipman in the Royal Navy. He was afterwards called to the Bar of the Inner Temple, and filled many important offices in England and the Colonies. On the 7th, at The Residence, York, aged 78, the **Hon. and Rev. John Baillie**; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, senior Residentiary Canon of York Minster, and Incumbent of St. James's, Cupar, Fife. He was fourth son of the ninth Earl of Haddington. On the 10th, at Lee, Kent, aged 85, the **Rev. Henry Bristow Wilson**, Vicar of Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire; educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. He was Professor of Anglo-Saxon and Bampton Lecturer. He contributed an article on "The National Church" to the volume of "Essays and Reviews," for which he was condemned by the Court of Arches, but the judgment was reversed on appeal. On the 11th, at The Mythe, Tewkesbury, aged 44, **Sir George Edward Holyoake Goodricke**, second son of Sir Francis Holyoake Goodricke, first baronet. He succeeded his brother as third baronet in 1888, and with him the title became extinct. On the 12th, at Brussels, aged 70, **Theodore Juste**, an eminent Belgian historian, and a member of the Royal Academy of Brussels. On the 13th, at the Military Academy of Wiener Neustadt, aged 19, **Prince Joseph of Saxe-Coburg Gotha**, the grandson of the son of Prince Augustus and the Princess Leopoldine, daughter of the Emperor of Brazil. On the 14th, at Swallowfield Park, Reading, **Adelaide Constance**, daughter of Colonel John Campbell, and widow of Lord Arthur Lennox, the son of fourth Duke of Richmond. On the 15th, at Eastney Barracks, Portsmouth, aged 43, **Lady Harriet Elisabeth Poore**, a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Edinburgh, daughter of second Earl of Verulam and wife of Major Harwood Poore, R.H.A. On the 16th, near Nantes, aged 65, **Bisson Billault**, who was for a few months President of the Corps Législatif in 1870. He was son-in-law of Napoleon III.'s Minister. On the 16th, at South Hampstead, aged 56, **William Eassie, C.E., F.L.S., &c.**, honorary secretary of the Cremation Society, of which he was one of the founders. The establishment of the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain was greatly due to him, and during the Crimean war he superintended the sanitary arrangements of one of the hospitals. On the 20th, in Upper Brook Street, aged 78, **William Chappell, F.S.A.**, who was widely known for his efforts to popularise old English music. He projected the Musical Antiquarian Society, and published and edited a great many works on old music. On the 21st, aged 61, the **Hon. James Squire Farnell**, ex-Premier of New South Wales, and first Grand Master of New South Wales Consti-

tution of Freemasons. On the 24th, at St. Clare, Walmer, aged 61, **Sackville George Lane Fox, Lord Conyers**, the son of the late Sackville Walter Lane Fox by the daughter of the sixth Duke of Leeds. On the death of his maternal uncle, the seventh duke, he succeeded as twelfth baron to the ancient Barony of Conyers, which now falls into abeyance between his two daughters. In early life he was in the army, and was present at the siege of Sebastopol. On the 24th, on board his yacht, near Inverness, aged 73, **Lord Alfred Henry Paget, C.B.**, third son of first Marquess of Anglesey; educated at Westminster; entered the Royal Horse Guards 1832, retired General 1881; Chief Equerry to the Queen and an officer of the Queen's Household, and Clerk Marshal 1846-65, 1868-1888; M.P. for Lichfield 1837-65. In 1847 he married Cecilia, daughter of G. T. Wyndham, Esq., of Cromer Hall, Norfolk. On the 27th, in Dover Street, aged 61, **George Lennox Rawdon, seventh Earl of Berkeley**, the son of the late Sir George Henry Frederick Berkeley, K.C.B., and succeeded in 1882, as descendant of the second son of the fourth earl, his kinsman, Sir Thomas Moreton Fitzhardinge, who never assumed the title as seventh earl. He married Cicely, daughter of Comte Edouard de Melfort-Drummond. On the 28th, at Rydal, aged 67, **Fanny**, the widow of **William Wordsworth, J.P., D.L.**, the son of the poet, and the last member of the Rydal Mount household. On the 29th, aged 69, **Gustave Masson**, an assistant master at Harrow School, and its librarian. The author of many valuable educational and other works. The deaths are also recorded this month of **Edward James**, aged 67, Professor of Latin and English Literature at the University of Brussels. At Dumfries, aged 78, **Jean Aitken**, the sister of Thomas Carlyle, and herself a woman of great intellectual power. At New York, aged 74, **William Pleater Davidge**, a popular American actor, who had played upwards of 1,000 parts during his career. He was born in London, and made his first appearance on the stage at Drury Lane. **Isaac Strauss**, a well-known musician and composer, who was director of Court balls under the Second Empire. He came of Jewish parentage and was born at Strasburg.

SEPTEMBER.

Richard Anthony Proctor was born in Chelsea, March 23, 1834. His father, William Proctor, was a gentleman of ample means, who was called to the Bar, but never practised. Proctor was a weak boy physically, and was educated at private schools. His father died in 1850, and a protracted lawsuit so impoverished the family that in 1854 he entered the London Joint Stock Bank as a clerk. The family position, however, soon improved, and Richard entered King's College, London, in 1855, and almost a year later King's College, Cambridge, where, though he seems to have worked little, he came out twenty-third Wrangler. In 1860 he graduated B.A. It was only in 1863 that Mr. Proctor took to the serious study of mathematics and astronomy, as a distraction from grief at the death of his firstborn. His first production seems to have been a paper on Double Stars, in the *Cornhill Magazine* for 1863; and next year he began a series of investigations which ultimately were embodied in his first important work, "Saturn and his System" (1865). Up to 1866 Mr. Proctor worked simply because he liked it; but the failure of Overend, Gurney, & Co. that year deprived him of his all, and compelled him to use his talent and

knowledge to earn a living for himself and his growing family. Though his articles were readily accepted by magazines, he for some time found it difficult to persuade publishers to undertake his works. But his popularity soon grew, and with unusual rapidity his name soon became a familiar and favourite one with English readers all the world over. His earlier works were more ambitious than his later ones, and aimed, to some extent, at original speculation. In "Other Worlds than Ours," for example, he endeavoured to prove the habitability of other planets besides our own, though his theories and his reasonings were not received with the approval of scientific astronomers. His works on the Sun and the Moon, on the Transits of Venus, on the Cycloid and Cycloidal Curves, on Probabilities, and other similar subjects, were intended for other than merely popular audiences, and are studied and referred to by students in their various departments of science. The same may be said of his work on "Saturn and his System," and of his writings on solar spectroscopy, in which he aimed at original investigation. Mr. Proctor was intensely devoted to mathematical astronomy, in which he was a master; and as early as 1869

he was bold enough to attack Sir George Airy's proposed method of observing the approaching transit of Venus (1874), and his position was ultimately supported by the Visitors of the Royal Observatory. Nor must we omit to mention his revised edition of Argelander's and the B.A. Catalogue, in which he classified no less than 324,800 stars. It was in connection with this great undertaking that he published his new theory of the stellar universe. Among his more popular works were "The Borderland of Science," "Light Science for Leisure Hours," "Constellation Seasons," "Sun Views of the Earth," "Planetary Orbits," "Half-Hours with the Stars," "Orbs Around Us," and many others which followed in rapid succession. His last, and in his own estimation his great life work, was his "Old and New Astronomy," which was in course of publication at the time of his death, in which he embodied the gist of all he had written. It was in order to be able to finish this that he retired to Oak Lawn, Florida, where he had bought an orange estate, and where he hoped to be free from distraction. He was here seized with yellow fever, and although promptly removed to a colder climate, he was so prostrated that three days later, Sept. 12, he died at the William Parker Hospital, New York. He was elected a Fellow of the Astronomical Society in 1866, and was for some time one of its secretaries and editor of its Proceedings, and was the founder and editor of the scientific journal *Knowledge*.

Prince John Adolphus Schwarzenberg, who died on the 15th inst., at his palace of Frauenberg, near Budweis, aged 89, was chief of his house, Landgrave of Kleggat and Duke of Krumau, and the son of Princess Pauline Schwarzenberg, who perished in the fire in the Austrian Embassy in Paris during the ball given on the occasion of the marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Marie Louise in 1810. His brothers were Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, the statesman, and the late Cardinal Frederick Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, who died in 1885. Prince John was married in 1830 to Princess Eleonora von Lichtenstein, a lady of great beauty, who died in 1873, leaving two children, Prince Adolphus Joseph, born in 1832, and a daughter, Marie Leopoldine, married to Count Waldstein. The Prince was the richest landowner in Austria, his fortune being reckoned at nearly ten millions sterling. His estates in Lower Austria, Bohemia,

Styria, and Salzburg covered more than fifty English square miles, and at the Exhibition of 1873 a special section was devoted to the products of these estates. Prince John was the first Austrian nobleman who undertook manufacturing on a large scale with the produce of his lands. Spirits, champagne, sugar, woolens, and metal goods were all made upon his lands in factories of his own, which he kept under his direct personal supervision. His servants and dependents were numbered by thousands, and he had established a training college for young men who wished to enter his service as clerks or overseers. All his retainers, including every servant in his household, were born on his lands. Prince John never took any prominent part in politics. He was, however, a member of the Czech party and a stubborn foe to all the Liberal ideas. He thought the introduction of constitutionalism into Austria a mistake, and never retracted that opinion. On his lands he was master, and he brooked no trifling in the relations between himself and his dependents. He expected them to be Catholics like himself, and to abstain from politics of every kind. At the same time the Prince was a just and intelligent master. Few men in Europe understood the management of land as he did, and his advice was always being consulted by other landowners in his country. When young, he perceived that Austria was backward in agriculture and in general economy of landlordship, so he went to England, and remained there two or three years to study how English estates were managed. During this visit he contracted a taste for the English mode of living, which never left him. His castle at Frauenberg was built on the plan of Windsor, and he lived a great deal there. He was proud of being a prince; but he was extremely simple and even parsimonious in his own person; he dressed so shabbily that no stranger would have taken him for a man whose income was reckoned in millions of florins. Prince John was for many years very intimate with Prince William of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor William I. This intimacy was broken off by the events of 1866. Prince John represented Austria as special Ambassador at the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838, and he accepted a few other special missions of an ornamental nature, always at his own expense. He was made a Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1836, a Privy Councillor in 1838, and became a member of the first Austrian

House of Lords in 1861. He was President of the Association of Landowners of Austria, Chairman of the Board of the Austrian Credit Anstalt, and head of a large number of agricultural, manufacturing, and scientific societies.

François-Achille Bazaine, French General, ex-Marshal of France, and Senator of the Empire, came from a family well known in the military annals of France, and was born at Versailles on Feb. 13, 1811. He went through a course of study in the Ecole Polytechnique, entered the army in 1831, and in the following year served in Africa. In 1836 he was advanced to the grade of lieutenant, having won the Cross of the Legion of Honour on the field of battle. In 1837 he accompanied the Foreign Legion into Spain, and after two vigorous campaigns against the Carlists he returned to Algeria in 1839 with the rank of captain. During the next nine years Captain Bazaine saw much active service. On the outbreak of the war in the East in 1854 he was chosen to command the brigade of infantry formed out of the Foreign Legion. During the siege of Sebastopol the bulletins of Generals Canrobert and Pélissier bore frequent testimony to the bravery of Bazaine and his power of organisation; and on the retreat of the Russians he was named governor of the place, and promoted to the rank of General of Division. He next commanded the French portion of the expedition against Kinburn, which surrendered to the Allies, with 1,420 prisoners and 174 cannon. In the Italian campaign Bazaine was wounded on June 8, 1859, while commanding a division, in the attack upon Melegnano; and he also took a conspicuous part in the battle of Solferino.

When the French expedition against Mexico was despatched in July 1862, Bazaine was intrusted with a distinguished command. He exhibited his accustomed dash and energy, and owing to the success of his tactics he succeeded to the supreme command in 1863, on the retirement of Marshal Forey. Bazaine, who had been nominated Commander of the Legion of Honour in 1856 and Grand Cross in 1863, received his marshal's bâton in September 1864. Pursuing the war in Mexico at first with great vigour, he drove back President Juárez to the furthestmost frontiers of the country; made himself master of the fortified city of Oajaca, the garrison of which (consisting of 7,000 men) surrendered to him unconditionally in Feb. 1865; and further organised against

the soldiers of the Republic a system of guerilla warfare which was carried into effect with considerable bravery, but at the same time with great barbarity, by Colonel Dupin. Even at this stage of his career, however, there were not wanting those who accused Marshal Bazaine of treachery. It was said that though he persuaded Maximilian to issue the most rigorous decrees against the Juarists, and himself relentlessly executed them, he was engaged in secret plottings with the enemies of the unfortunate and ill-starred Emperor, in pursuance of personal ambitious schemes, having meanwhile married a rich Mexican lady whose family were supporters of Juárez. What is certain is that serious misunderstandings arose between the Emperor Maximilian and the leader of the French expedition, the latter alleging that he was greatly embarrassed by the obstinate resistance of the natives and the policy pursued by the United States. At a final council of Mexican notables held by Maximilian, Marshal Bazaine declared the maintenance of the Empire to be impossible, and the prolongation of the struggle against Juárez utterly hopeless. Accordingly he commenced preparations for conducting his troops back to France. Concentrating them on Vera Cruz, he prepared for a general embarkation, defending himself meanwhile against the attacks of the natives. He left Vera Cruz on March 12, 1867, with the whole of the expeditionary forces. Marshal Bazaine's conduct in the Mexican campaign gave rise to severe criticism, and on his arrival in France he was made the object of violent public denunciations. Nevertheless, he took his seat in the Senate, and shortly afterwards was appointed to the command of the Third Army Corps, stationed at Nancy. In October 1869, after the death of St. Jean d'Angély, he was nominated Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Guard at Paris.

In the great war of 1870 Bazaine was destined to bear a conspicuous but unenviable part. After the reverse which culminated in the surrender at Sedan, the only compact force that remained of the mass which had moved against the Prussians was that of Bazaine, held fast in Metz. At Paris many believed that the beleaguered Marshal would force his way through his enemies, but it soon began to be reported that famine had begun to tell seriously upon the army, and that the Marshal himself, after the proclamation of the Republic, had conceived the possibility of playing an imperial restora-

tion game. After fruitless efforts to secure favourable terms, the Commandant of Metz signed a capitulation on Oct. 27. Three marshals of the empire—Bazaine, Lebœuf, and Canrobert—more than 6,000 officers, 173,000 subalterns and private soldiers, 3,000 guns, 53 eagles, and 40,000,000fr. in treasure, fell into the grasp of the victors. A capture of such magnitude was hitherto unparalleled in the annals of war. The terrible news caused the profoundest indignation all over France. "Such a crime," Gambetta said, "is beyond even the chastisements of justice."

The prosecution of the war in the French provinces and the siege of Paris diverted for a time the public attention from Marshal Bazaine. But in August 1871 he was summoned to Versailles by the Military Commission of the National Assembly. The disasters of the war were passed in review by a Council of Inquiry, with Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers at its head. Bazaine, instead of waiting for the decision, offered himself as an accused man for trial by court-martial. The trial was postponed from time to time, while legal investigations continued to be made, but at length, on Oct. 6, 1873, it came on at the Grand Trianon of Versailles. The court-martial of general officers was presided over by General the Duc d'Aumale. The whole scene was one of painful interest. The Marshal was defended by M^r Lachaud. When the Duke ordered the accused to be brought in, the Marshal entered in full costume, wearing the red cordon of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and the star. In the act of accusation he was charged, not only with military incapacity in allowing himself to be blockaded by a nearly equal force in Metz and in his ultimate capitulation, but also with a treasonable design of making himself, by the aid of his army, and with the connivance of the enemy, independent of the Government of National Defence, which had been universally acknowledged by France. After the evidence had been heard, and Maître Lachaud had delivered his speech for the defence, the Duc d'Aumale asked the Marshal whether he had anything to add to what had already been urged. In the midst of profound silence the Marshal stood up and said:—"I bear on my breast two words, 'Honour and Country.' They have been my motto for the forty years during which I have served France, alike at Metz and elsewhere. I swear it before Christ." While uttering this the prisoner ap-

peared deeply moved; but his voice was clear and sonorous. He was nevertheless found guilty on four counts, and was condemned to death, with military degradation and expulsion from the Legion of Honour, and was condemned to pay the expense of the trial. The judges, however, unanimously agreed that a recommendation for mercy should be addressed to Marshal MacMahon; consequently the Chief of the Republic commuted the punishment into one of twenty years' seclusion. The military degradation was also allowed to be divested of the humiliating ceremonies usually attending it. The place chosen for Bazaine's incarceration was the Isle Ste. Marguerite, whence, by the assistance of his wife and two ladies, said to be English, he effected his escape in 1874.

Bazaine, who was taken on board a yacht lying off the island, escaped into Italy. He afterwards proceeded to Cologne, then visited England for a short time, and finally took up his abode in Madrid. On two occasions he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct when in command of the French army within Metz. The first of these occasions was in September 1874, when he addressed an elaborate apologetic statement to the *New York Herald*; and the second in April 1883, when he published a volume of the same exculpatory character, dedicated to Queen Isabella II. The last years of his career were embittered by privation, and he was altogether dependent on the assistance he received from his family. He finally succumbed to heart disease on the 23rd inst., after a short illness.

Thomas Gambier Parry, who died at Highnam Court, Gloucester, on the 23th inst., was born in London on Feb. 22, 1816, his father, Richard Parry, of Banstead, Surrey, a Director of the East India Company, dying in 1817. His early years were spent chiefly with his maternal uncle, Admiral Lord Gambier, passing successively through Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1837; M.A., 1848). He married (1), in 1839, Anna Maria Isabella, daughter of Henry Fynes Clinton, Esq.; and (2), in 1851, Ethelinda, daughter of the Very Rev. F. Lear, Dean of Sarum. In 1838 he purchased the estates at Highnam, which he subsequently formed into a separate parish, and, during a period of fifty years, laboured unremittingly for the good of those about him. He was eminent as an antiquarian, an ecclesiologist, a musician, and a man of letters, and as a

landscape gardener he had few equals. The surroundings of Highnam testify at once to his taste and the extent of his botanical knowledge. He will, however, be remembered more particularly as a philanthropist and an artist. His charity was boundless, and besides building and endowing the church at Highnam, and providing vicarage and schools, he founded, in 1864, St. Lucy's Home of Charity, in Gloucester, for orphans and aged persons, and, two years later, the Free Hospital for Children. An artist in water-colours, it was not until 1857 that he turned his attention to figure painting, and made the art of fresco his special study. After a series of careful experiments, extending over several years, he invented a process, or medium, which he termed "spirit fresco." In 1860-61 he painted his first great fresco in his church at Highnam; his frescoes in the north aisle of the same building being executed some years later, and completed in 1880. Between these dates he, in 1863-64, painted the easternmost half of the nave roof of Ely Cathedral. Six bays, each of nearly 1,000 superficial feet, were thus decorated by him, the work being carried out in a great part while lying in a chair slung at a height of over 80 feet above the pavement. The decoration of St. Andrew's Chapel, in Gloucester Cathedral, followed, during the years 1866-67, and in 1879 he was employed upon the roof of Tewkesbury Abbey. All his frescoes were from his own drawings; all were executed, except in the mere mechanical parts, by his own hand; and the cost was in all cases defrayed almost entirely by his private purse. He was appointed one of the original committee for the completion of St. Paul's Cathedral. He was the founder of the Gloucester School of Art, and its president; and in 1887 he published some of his essays on various arts under the title of "The Ministry of Fine Art to the Happiness of Life" (Murray).

William Gifford Palgrave, the second son of Sir Francis Palgrave, the historian and Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, was born in Westminster on Jan. 24, 1826. He was, like his eldest brother Francis, educated at the Charterhouse, and left that school with all the honours which a schoolboy can gain on entering on a University career. He obtained a scholarship at Trinity College, Oxford, his eldest brother having already entered at Balliol. At the early age of 20 he took his First Class in Classics and a Second Class in Mathematics. He left

the University without seeking any further distinction, but entered the army and served as a lieutenant in a regiment of Bombay Native Infantry. His service lasted but a short time, and within a very few years he had become connected with the Jesuits, in which Order he in due time became a priest. In this capacity he was engaged for nearly twenty years in various parts of the world—in Southern India, at Rome, and, finally, in Syria and Palestine. It was in Syria that he made himself master of the Arabic language, religion, manners, and customs, which mastery enabled him on one memorable occasion to pass himself off as a genuine son of Islam in face of the jealous scrutiny of the most fanatical and exclusive of Mahomedans. In 1860 Mr. Palgrave was summoned to France by the late Emperor Napoleon to give an account of the Syrian massacres, and he then returned to Syria charged by the Emperor with the task of penetrating into Central Arabia. Palgrave fulfilled his mission in 1863, but his "Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862-63" did not appear till 1865. Except for Mehemet Ali's invasion some fifty years before, nothing had been heard of the interior of the Arabian peninsula for years, and there was only a vague idea that the country was inhabited by the Wahabis, notorious as being the most fanatical and exclusive even among Mahomedans. Palgrave was thoroughly fitted to assume any Moslem disguise, but in his narrative he stated that his conscience would not allow him to assume any religious garb, and he started from Petra in the dress of a doctor. His familiarity with the language and habits was perfect, but nevertheless he carried his life in his hand, and he nearly lost it. He had penetrated as far as Heyel, when his fame as a learned stranger brought him a summons to Court. In the course of an interview with one of the Princes, the latter exclaimed, "By God, you are an Englishman." Palgrave managed to evade the suspicion for the time; but when he boldly went on into the interior of the peninsula, he carried with him a letter addressed to the authorities at Riad—the head-quarters of the strictest and gloomiest fanaticism—urging that he should be put to death. Of course he destroyed the letter, and passed without harm, though in much danger, right through Arabia to the kingdom of Muscat, at the south-eastern corner of the country. After returning to England in 1865, Mr. Palgrave was employed on

special work by the English Government—whose diplomatic service he now entered for the first time at the age of 40—in negotiating for the release of Consul Cameron and other prisoners in Abyssinia. From that time his history is contained in the records of the diplomatic and foreign service of this country. He was successively appointed Consul at Soukhoum Kalé, 1866; Consul at Trebizond, 1867; at St. Thomas, 1873; at Manila, 1876; and Consul-General in Bulgaria in 1878. Thence he was transferred to Bangkok in 1879, and in 1884

he was promoted to be Minister Resident and Consul-General to the Republic of Uruguay, in the capital of which State he died on the 30th inst. Besides the work which made him famous, he was also the author of "Essays on Eastern Questions" (1872); "Hermann Agha: an Eastern Narrative" (1872); and "Dutch Guiana" (1876). Mr. Palgrave was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and on his return to Europe after his journey through Arabia he received the gold medal of the French Geographical Society.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 6th, at Ormesby House, Great Yarmouth, aged 81, **Sir Edmund Henry Knowles Lacon**, third baronet, M.P. for Yarmouth 1852–57, and for North Norfolk 1859–68; High Steward of Yarmouth, and head of a banking firm and of a large brewery. Also on the same date, at Buckden, aged 52, **Major-General William Henry Crompton-Stansfield**, of Esholt Park, Yorkshire, eldest son of Joshua Samuel Crompton, of Azerley Hall; he assumed the additional name of Stansfield in 1872 on succeeding to the estates of his uncle, Mr. W. B. Crompton-Stansfield of Esholt. He married (1858) Frances Elizabeth, fifth daughter of John Dalton, of Fillingham Castle, co. York. On the 8th, at Tendring Hall, Suffolk, aged 88, **Sir Charles Robert Rowley**, fourth baronet, fourth son of Sir William Rowley; married, 1830, Hon. Marie Louise, daughter of Joshua, second Lord Huntingfield. On the 13th, at St. Sampson's Rectory, Guernsey, aged 70, the **Rev. Frederick H. S. Pendleton**. Whilst chaplain at Montevideo he was instrumental in establishing a colony of Vaudois emigrants from Italy in the Argentine Republic. On the 16th, at Alloa House, N.B., aged 49, the **Earl of Mar and Kellie**, a representative peer for Scotland. He was eldest son of the twelfth Earl of Kellie, was born in India, was educated at Radley and Brasenose College, Oxford, and married in 1863 Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Mr. William Fowley, of Medcoyn. After a long contest he was recognised in 1875 by the House of Lords Earl of Mar (1865 creation); and in 1876 was elected a representative peer for Scotland. On the same date, at Bournemouth, aged 64, **George William Petter**, of the firm of Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. He began life as a printer, and subsequently entered into a partnership with John Cassell, and established the well-known firm of publishers. On the 18th, at Tübingen, **Baron Carl von Cotta**, the head of the well-known publishing house of Cotta, which was founded in 1640. On the 22nd, in Edinburgh, aged 71, the **Hon. Lord Craighill**, the son of John Hepburn Millar, a Glasgow merchant; on being made a judge he took the courtesy title of Craighill. On the 30th, aged 71, **Antonia, Countess Louis Batthyany**, the widow of the Hungarian patriot who was shot in 1849. A daughter of Count Zichy, she was remarkable for her beauty and enthusiastic patriotism. Failing to obtain her husband's pardon, she carried a dagger to him in prison, with which he inflicted on himself such wounds as rendered it impossible to hang him as intended.

OCTOBER.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Keating, who died on the 1st inst., at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, aged 84, was the third son of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Sheehy Keating, by the eldest daughter of the late Mr. James Singer, of Annadale, county Dublin. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1832, and went the Oxford Circuit; was appointed Queen's Counsel in 1849, and elected a Bencher of the Inner Temple in May the same year. He represented

Reading in the House of Commons from 1852 to 1859, and was appointed Solicitor-General in 1857, and again for a short time in 1859, when he was appointed a Judge of the Common Pleas, a position which he held to 1875. He was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1875, and enjoyed a pension of 3,500*l.* per annum. He married in 1843 the third daughter of the late Major-General Evans, B.A.

Professor John Ella, who died in

Victoria Square, Pimlico, on the 2nd inst., was born in Dec. 1802. For some years he spent a good deal of time abroad. He was a pupil of the Belgian theorist Fétis, and began his artistic life as a violin and viola player. In 1842 he founded the Musical Union, which he directed with judgment and success until his retirement only a few years back. The famous *matinees* of the Musical Union made chamber music fashionable in England, and prepared the way for the establishment of the Monday and Saturday Popular Concerts. Professor Ella was the first to introduce the analytical programme. His title of Professor was given in connection with his position as Lecturer to the London Institution. He was the personal friend of almost every great composer of every nationality from Weber to Wagner, and counted among his acquaintance all the eminent people of a remarkable musical age, and established a reputation not only as a director of concerts, but also as a musician and critic and a lecturer. One volume of musical anecdotes, entitled "Musical Sketches," attained a wide popularity. Professor Ella, who was a member of several learned and musical English and foreign societies, collected a valuable library, much of which he presented to the Kensington Museum.

The Right Hon. William Francis Cowper-Temple, Baron Mount-Temple, county Sligo, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, was the second son of the fifth Earl Cowper. He was born on December 13, 1811. After serving for some years in the army he entered upon a political career, and became secretary to Lord Melbourne, when that nobleman was Prime Minister. Mr. Cowper was elected for Hertford in the Liberal interest in 1834, and continued to sit for that borough until 1868. After holding some inferior posts he was appointed Lord of the Admiralty in Lord John Russell's Administration of 1846, and this office he held until the fall of the Government in 1852. He resumed the position in 1853, and two years later was appointed President of the Board of Health. In February 1857 he was nominated to the newly-created office of Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education; and while holding this somewhat arduous appointment he also presided over the Board of Health until the resignation of the Ministry in 1858. Several measures affecting the interests of the lower classes, as well as Bills relating to the improvement of the public

health, were introduced by Mr. Cowper, who throughout life took much interest in all philanthropic and charitable undertakings. In August 1859 he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and in February 1860 First Commissioner of Public Works, which office he retained until the defeat and resignation of Earl Russell's Government in 1866. The most important measure introduced by Mr. Cowper as First Commissioner was the Thames Embankment Bill, brought forward in the session of 1862. Its introducer delivered a very interesting speech, in the course of which he reviewed the various schemes for embanking the Thames from the time of Sir Christopher Wren, and he then explained the details of the plan before the House. The scheme included a roadway by the side of the river to Blackfriars Bridge, and a new street crossing Thames Street and Cannon Street to the Mansion House. Pending inquiry nothing was to be done with the south side of the river. But although public opinion generally was strongly in favour of the scheme, a great controversy arose in consequence of the hostile attitude of certain owners of property on the north side of the river. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, whose report, however, caused great dissatisfaction, on the ground that it paid too much regard to private interests. Eventually the Bill, restored to its original shape, became law. In 1866 he introduced and carried through Parliament the Metropolitan Commons Act; in 1869 he acted as Chairman of Mr. Fawcett's Select Committee on the Inclosure Act, and in 1871 forced Mr. Gladstone's Government to take steps for the preservation of Epping Forest. During Mr. Cowper's tenure of the First Commissionership the parks were also greatly improved, while considerable attention was paid to public buildings. Mr. Cowper was elected for South Hampshire in 1868, and continued to represent that constituency until his elevation to the peerage in 1880, under the title of Lord Mount-Temple. He assumed the additional surname of Temple in 1869, upon inheriting the estate of Broadlands under the will of his step-father, Lord Palmerston. Mr. Cowper was sworn a Privy Councillor in 1855. He seldom spoke in the House of Lords except on measures dealing with the preservation of open spaces, and latterly devoted more attention to religious and philanthropic movements than to politics, in which, however, he

continued to take great interest up to the last. He died at his seat, Broadlands, near Romsey, Hants, on the 16th instant, after a short illness. Lord Mount-Temple married, in 1843, Harriet Alicia, daughter of Mr. Daniel Gurney, of North Runcton, Norfolk, but this lady died within two months of her marriage. In 1848 Lord Mount-Temple married, secondly, Georgiana, daughter of Admiral Tollemache, and sister to Lord Tollemache. As there was no issue by the marriage the peerage of Mount-Temple became extinct.

Count di Robilant, the Italian Ambassador, who had been only two months in this country, died at the Embassy, in Grosvenor Square, on the 17th instant, aged 62 years. Like many other prominent statesmen who had worked in the cause of Italian unity, Count di Robilant was a Piedmontese by birth and parentage. At an early age he entered the Royal Military College, and subsequently joined a Piedmontese regiment, serving through the Austrian war of 1848-49, and losing his left hand at the battle of Novara. He also saw service in the campaigns of Ancona and Central Italy, and again in the Austrian war of 1866, at the termination of which he was appointed head of the Delimitation Commission. Shortly after this, at a time of political disturbance, he was sent as Prefect to Ravenna, and he also held the post of Chief of the Superior Military College. In 1871 he was appointed Ambassador to Vienna. In spite of his having taken so prominent a part in the wars against Austria he was very well received by the Court at Vienna, and did much to cement the good relations which had then begun to exist between the two countries. Count di Robilant married an Austrian lady, a daughter of Prince Edmond Clary-Aldringen. He remained at Vienna until he was summoned to Rome in 1885 to assume the office of Foreign Secretary, which post he held for two years, but relinquished office on an adverse vote of the Chamber on the Massowah question.

Right Hon. William Bede Dalley,

M.L.C., who died in his native city on the 30th inst., was born in Sydney (New South Wales) in 1831, and after early distinguishing himself as a speaker, was called to the Bar in 1856. Shortly after that he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly for Sydney, where he delivered some of the most eloquent speeches ever heard in that Chamber. A native of the colony, he was the more readily hailed by older patriots as a young orator of promise. From Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Cowper he received the appointment of Solicitor-General in his Government. After this brilliant prelude, however, he retired from public life, and for some years devoted himself wholly to his profession, in which he acquired special distinction as an advocate in criminal cases. At length, in a crisis in the history of the colony, he re-entered public life, accepting office as Attorney-General in the Ministry of Sir John Robertson. This post he held from February 1876 to March 1877, and again for some months in the second Robertson Ministry at the end of 1877. During these years he occupied a seat in the Legislative Council, the nominated Chamber, or colonial House of Peers.

On the formation of the Government of Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Stuart in January 1883, Mr. Dalley accepted the office of Attorney-General. Mr. Stuart was struck with paralysis in the beginning of 1885, and Mr. Dalley became acting Colonial Secretary and Prime Minister, which office he held until October 1885. It was during this period—namely, on February 12, 1885—that Mr. Dalley offered England, on behalf of New South Wales, troops for service in the Soudan, and two days afterwards the offer was accepted, to the intense delight of the Australians. The enthusiasm exceeded anything that had ever before been experienced in Australia, and Mr. Dalley's action was endorsed by the Parliament, and also by the people, who subscribed tens of thousands of pounds for the Patriotic Fund. In 1886 Mr. Dalley was nominated a Privy Councillor, an honour never before conferred on an Australian colonist.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Knole Park, Sevenoaks, aged 68, **Mortimer Sackville West**, Lord Sackville. Second son of fifth Earl of Delaware, by a daughter of third Duke of Dorset, he was, in 1876, created Baron Sackville of Knole, with remainder to his two brothers. On the same date, at Berlin, aged 69, **Dr. Ludwig Halm**, for many years chief of the Prussian Press Bureau, and the author of numerous books on the modern history of Prussia and Germany. On the 6th, in Curzon Street, aged 78, **George Venables**, Q.C., of Llysdyman Hall, Brecon, a Benchet of the Inner Temple, and a contributor

to the *Saturday Review* since its establishment in 1856. On the 8th, aged 86, **Baron Jules d'Anéthan**, a distinguished Belgian statesman, for many years recognised as the head of the Catholic party in that country. On the 9th, at Brisbane, aged 60, **Sir Anthony Musgrave, G.C.M.G.**, Governor of Queensland, son of Anthony Musgrave, M.D., of Antigua. He entered as a student at the Inner Temple in 1851, and shortly afterwards obtained an appointment in the Colonial Service, in which he passed a long and distinguished career in various parts of the world. On the 11th, at Boulogne, aged 73, **James Colborne**, second Baron Seaton, eldest son of Field-Marshal first Lord Seaton. He was himself in the army, and served as aide-de-camp to his father during the rebellion in Canada, and also as his military secretary when Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. On the 12th, at Ramsgate, aged 76, **Joseph Moses Levy**, one of the chief proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, and also one of its most active directors. In early life he had been engaged in commerce, but during at least half a century he devoted himself to journalism. On the same date, aged 95, the **Rev. Alexander Fownes-Luttrell**, for seventy-one years Rector of East Quantoxhead, West Somerset. On the 14th, at the Grange, Edinburgh, aged 65, **Dr. Robert Young**, a distinguished Oriental scholar and Biblical specialist. He was a native of Haddingtonshire, and but for a few years spent as a missionary in the Bombay Presidency he resided in Edinburgh. On the 15th, in Paris, aged 87, **Madame Amet**, the daughter of Marshal Junot. On the 17th, at Baden-Baden, aged 71, the **Dowager Duchess of Hamilton and Princess Marie of Baden**. She was the daughter of the Grand Duke Charles of Baden, and of his wife Stéphanie Beauharnais, adopted daughter of Napoleon I. On the same date, at Elmore House, Newbury, aged 72, **Admiral the Hon. John Welbore Sunderland Spencer**, son of first Lord Churchill. On the 18th, at Plymouth, aged 73, **Vice-Admiral Peter Frederick Shortland, LL.D.**, barrister-at-law; son of Captain T. G. Shortland, R.N. He entered the navy in 1827, but in 1838 he matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he came out seventh Wrangler, and obtained a Fellowship. He then re-joined the navy, and was for many years employed in the survey branch, until placed on the retired list in 1870, when he received the degree of LL.D. from his University, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. On the same date, at Silchester House, Reading, aged 70, **General Sir Edmund Haythorne, K.C.B.**, son of John Haythorne, of Gloucester. He served in the Punjab campaign of 1848-49, in the Crimea, and in China. On the 24th, of wounds received whilst in command of the 4th column of the Black Mountain Expedition, aged 47, **Colonel Arthur Chichester Crookshank, C.B.**, son of Captain C. G. Crookshank, late of 51st Regiment. He had served in the Afghan war of 1878-80, and had been Assistant Military Secretary to the Government of India. On the 26th, at Arolsen, aged 57, **Princess Hélène**, the wife of the Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont, and daughter of the late Duke of Nassau and the mother of the Duchess of Albany. On the same date, at Chailey, Sussex, aged 66, **General Henry Poole Hepburn, C.B.**, late of the Scots Fusilier Guards, with whom he served in the Crimean war.

NOVEMBER.

General Prjevalsky.—Nicholas M. Prjevalsky was born in March 1839 on a small estate belonging to his family, and latterly to himself, in the district of Smolensk. After receiving his education at the school at Smolensk, and in the Academy of the Staff Corps, he entered the army, but his early military career presents no feature of interest. A love of natural science, combined with the possession of small independent means, is said to have induced him in 1867 to take the unusual step of volunteering for service in Eastern Siberia, where he remained for two years exploring the Ussuri Valley and indulging his

sporting and botanising tastes. On his return to St. Petersburg he published his "Notes on the Ussuri," which contained a good deal of useful information on the then new province of Russian Manchuria. In 1870 he left Russia, accompanied by Lieutenant Pyltseff, on his first and also his greatest journey in Western China. He remained absent for three years. The results of this tour are given in his "Travels in Mongolia," which is the standard work on the part of the Chinese Empire to which it relates. Although he was not inactive in 1874 and 1875, the want of sufficient funds prevented his accomplishing any-

thing of importance, but in the summer of 1876 he left Russia, strengthened by the aid of Government and the scientific societies, on a tour the main object of which was to fix the precise position of Lob Nor. He was absent exactly twelve months, during which he explored the Tarim Valley, discovered what seems, despite the subsequent criticism of Baron von Richthofen, to be the true Lake Lob, and reached the Altyn Tagh range, which forms one of the northern barriers of Tibet, although it is crossed annually by the Calmuck traders and pilgrims. The account of this tour is contained in his "From Kuldja across the Tian Shan to Lob Nor," translated, like the previous work on Mongolia, by Mr. Delmar Morgan. In April 1879 he left again on a journey to Tibet. Although he reached the Tsaidam steppe and the Kokonor district he was unable to penetrate any further, having suffered extreme hardships and being deserted by his guides. His death even was announced in an apparently authentic report, which reached Europe in April 1880. He, however, returned in safety to describe his own adventures. In 1885 he again renewed his oft-repeated design of visiting Lhasa. On his return from this journey he traversed the populated portion of Chinese Turkestan, visiting Khoten, Kashgar, and Yarkand; but, although he saw much of interest along this new route, it had brought him no nearer to his goal at Lhasa. At Tashkend he organised a strong party, and prepared to push forward to Lhasa, by way of Vernoy, on the shores of Lake Issik-Kul, which lake he reached about the middle of October. He was suddenly struck down by a severe attack of fever, and died on the 1st inst., without having come in sight of the object of his journeys.

The Earl of Lucan.—George Charles Bingham, third Earl of Lucan, and son of the second earl and of the daughter of the last Earl of Fauconberg, was born on April 16, 1800, and, after passing several years at Westminster School, entered the army in 1816 as an ensign in the 6th Foot. Two years later he exchanged into the Foot Guards, and in 1822 he joined the 1st Life Guards, of which at his death he was colonel. From that time his service was exclusively in the cavalry. When the war between Russia and Turkey broke out in 1828 he volunteered to serve on the staff of the Russian army, which, under the able leadership of General Diebitsch, invaded Turkey and overthrew the Sul-

tan's forces in several engagements, until Constantinople itself seemed to lie at its mercy. For the part he took in this war Lord Lucan received the Commandership of the Order of St. Anne of Russia. By this time he had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the English army, and, on his father's death in 1839, he succeeded to the family titles. He had previously been returned in the Conservative interest for Mayo in 1826; and on his accession to the earldom he was elected one of the representative peers of Ireland, which he continued to be until his death. When the war with Russia broke out in 1854, and it became necessary to send a large army to the Black Sea, Lord Lucan, who had reached the rank of major-general in 1851, was appointed to the command of the cavalry division with the local grade of lieutenant-general. In that capacity he was present at the battles of Alma and Inkerman, as well as throughout the covering operations intrusted to the cavalry during the siege of Sebastopol. But it was chiefly in relation to the events of the day on which Balaclava was fought, and the memorable charge of the Light Brigade was made, that Lord Lucan's name became historic. At the conclusion of peace he received the Commandership of the Bath, the Legion of Honour, and the Medjidie of the first class, besides the English and Turkish medals. He was also appointed colonel of the 8th Hussars, and in 1858 he became lieutenant-general. In 1865 he was nominated colonel of the 1st Life Guards, and a few months later attained the rank of full general. In 1869 he received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and in 1887 he was somewhat tardily awarded the much-coveted bâton of a field-marshal. After the Crimean war Lord Lucan devoted himself to politics, and became a regular attendant at the Upper House, taking, however, but little part in its debates. When, however, the two Houses came into collision on the subject of Lord John Russell's Bill for removing the Jews' disabilities in taking the oath, and there seemed no way out of the difficulty, Lord Lucan got up and proposed a very simple and, as it proved, practical compromise. This was merely to add a clause to Lord John's Bill allowing either House to modify the form of oath required of its members at its pleasure. This suggestion was favourably taken up by both sides as a happy way of getting out of the embarrassment into which the collision of the two Houses had involved

them. Lord Lucan married, in 1829, the sister of the Earl of Cardigan, and by her, who died in 1877, he had two sons and one daughter, Lady Alington. At the time of his death, on the 10th inst., in South Street, Park Lane, he was the oldest officer in the British Army.

Richard Baggallay, born on May 13, 1816, at Stockwell, was the eldest son of the late Richard Baggallay, of Kingthorpe House, Upper Tooting. He entered at Caius College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1839 as fourteenth Wrangler, and obtained in the same year a Frankland Fellowship of the same college, where he had among his younger contemporaries the present Master of the Rolls, Lord Esher. Two years earlier he had been entered at Lincoln's Inn; he was called in 1843, and next year took chambers at 11 New Square, where he began business as a conveyancer and equity draftsman. The combination of a wealthy City connection and fair University distinction brought clients, and in 1847 Mr. Baggallay married Marianne, the youngest daughter of the late Mr. Henry Charles Lacy, M.P., of Withdean Hall, Sussex. Eighteen years after his call (in 1861) he took "silk," and was made a Bencher of his Inn. Lord Romilly presided over the Rolls Court when Baggallay took his seat as Q.C., and there he practised side by side with Roundell Palmer, Selwyn, Jessel, and afterwards Fry. If Baggallay as an advocate was not of quite equal force to these great names, he was able, nevertheless, to take and retain possession of a good share of the work of the front row. In 1865 he found time to stand for Parliament, and was returned for Hereford at the general election of that year. He stood as a Conservative, but declared early in the day that, although opposed to the ballot, he was in favour of the extension of the suffrage to those whose position and intelligence guaranteed a proper use of the franchise. When, in February 1868, Mr. Disraeli's short-lived Ministry came into office, their first Solicitor-General was Sir W. B. Brett, Baggallay's junior by just a year in age and in seniority at college. But Sir W. Brett in August went to the Common Pleas as a puisne Judge, and Mr. Baggallay was selected to fill the vacant place; the Attorney-General being Sir John Karslake, a distinguished leader of the Common Law Bar. The Solicitor-General was knighted in due course and went out of office with his party in December of that year. At the general election of 1868, and again

on the vacancy on petition in 1869, he was defeated at Hereford, and remained out of Parliament till 1870, when he was elected for the county division of Mid-Surrey. In 1874 the Conservatives obtained a substantial majority at the ballot; a change of Ministry ensued, and Sir J. Karslake and Sir R. Baggallay succeeded Sir Henry James and Sir W. Harcourt as law officers. A few months later Sir J. Karslake's health and eyesight gave way, and Sir Richard Baggallay became Attorney-General in 1874, and, having taken part in the committee work connected with the Judicature Acts, which Conservative and Liberal lawyers had alike promoted, accepted a judgeship of the Court of Appeal in the autumn of 1875. In 1885 he retired from the Bench owing to ill-health, and died at Brighton on the 13th inst., after a protracted illness.

The Earl of Devon.—The Right Hon. William Reginald Courtenay, Earl of Devon, in the peerage of England, and a baronet (creation 1651), who died at Powderham Castle on the 18th inst., was the eldest son of William, tenth earl, and his wife, the Lady Harriet Leslie, daughter of Sir Lucas Pepys, and was born April 14, 1807. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1828. He obtained a Fellowship at All Souls, and was created D.C.L. in 1838. He was formerly Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st Devon Yeomanry Cavalry, and was made a Deputy-Lieutenant of Devon in 1845. As Lord Courtenay he sat in the House of Commons for South Devonshire from 1841 to 1849, first as a Conservative and then as a Peelite. As a Peelite he took office when Lord Aberdeen formed his Government; and was Secretary to the Poor Law Board from November 1852 to March 1858. He subsequently rejoined his old party and took office in Lord Derby's Government in 1866, being Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from July 1866 to May 1867, and President of the Poor Law Board from May 1867 to December 1868. Thenceforward he took no prominent part in politics, but devoted himself assiduously to his duties in the county. He married, Dec. 27, 1830, Lady Elizabeth Fortescue, seventh daughter of Hugh, first Earl Fortescue, and by her, who died Jan. 27, 1867, he leaves surviving issue a son and a daughter—Edward Baldwin, Lord Courtenay, and Lady Agnes, married to Viscount Halifax. As a magistrate, Lord Devon always took an active part in the business of the county, and for

many years was one of the chairmen of quarter sessions. For a long succession of years his lordship's name was associated with railway enterprise in Devon and in Ireland. He was earnest in the cause of education and religion, was a supporter of every religious society in the diocese, and a member of the governing bodies of Blundell's School, Exeter Grammar School, Newton College, Kelly College, the Exeter Diocesan Training College, and Christ's Hospital. The family estates both in Devonshire and Ireland were at one time very ex-

tensive, the rent-roll from the former being 25,000*l.* a year, and from the latter about 14,000*l.* No fewer than three earldoms of Devon have been successively created and extinguished in the Courtenay family. The last was granted by Queen Mary, and after the death of its first possessor remained dormant for 265 years. It was re-established by the House of Lords in 1831 in favour of Viscount Courtenay, at whose death, without issue, it devolved upon his cousin and male heir, the father of the deceased.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 1st, at Glynllifon Park, Carnarvonshire, aged 85, **Spencer Bulkeley Wynn**, third Baron Newborough. On the 2nd, at Broughton Tower, aged 72, **James Henry Sawrey Cookson**, of Neasham Hall, Darlington, and Broughton Tower in Furness, a well-known breeder of racehorses. On the 10th, at Brighton, aged 80, **Fanny Macaulay**, the last surviving sister of Lord Macaulay. On the 12th, at Brook House, near Bury St. Edmunds, aged 65, **General Sir Charles Hay Ellice**, G.C.B., Colonel of 24th Regiment, and one time Adjutant-General of the Forces, having held several other staff appointments. He had served in Canada, on the North-Western frontier of India, and in the Mutiny campaign. On the 13th, at Grimsthorpe, Lincolnshire, aged 79, **Clementina Elizabeth, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby**, to which barony she succeeded on the termination of its abeyance, assuming the names and arms of Willoughby and Drummond. She was the daughter of Peter, second Baron Gwydyr, and twenty-first Baron Willoughby d'Eresby. Married, 1827, first Lord Aveland, and was Joint Hereditary Great Chamberlain of England. On the 14th, at Barnes, aged 75, **Colonel William Henry Charles Wellesley**, of 7th Foot. He served in the Crimea and in the East and West Indies, and held for several years the appointment of Governor of Aldershot Military Prison. He was the son of the Hon. and Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, fourth son of first Earl of Mornington, and nephew of the first Duke of Wellington. He married Jane Malet, daughter of Thomas Hayden, Esq. On the 15th, at the Hall, Dulwich, aged 58, **Sir Ronald Ferguson Thomson**, G.C.M.G., C.I.E., LL.D., son of David Thomson, of Orkie, Fifeshire. He was, on entering the diplomatic service, appointed an Attaché at Teheran, and remained during the whole of his active life in Persia, where he became her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, and retired in 1887 on a pension. On the same date, at Tegernsee, aged 80, **Duke Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria**, the father of the Empress of Austria and of the ex-Queen of Naples. The family honours descended to his second son, an accomplished surgeon, Prince Charles Theodore, the elder son, Prince Ludwig, having renounced his rights in favour of his brother on contracting amorganatic marriage (1857) with the Baroness von Waldersee. On the 16th, on Woolwich Common, aged 52, **Colonel Francis Duncan**, C.B., B.A., LL.D., and M.P. for the Holborn Division of Finsbury, son of John Duncan, of Aberdeen. He was the author of some books, was one of the originators of the St. John's Ambulance Association, and during his military service had held several important appointments. On the 18th, at Bonn, aged 75, **Nikolaus Delius**, a celebrated German scholar, who had been since 1855 Professor of Sanscrit and of Provençal and English Literature at the University of Bonn; the editor and commentator of Shakespeare's works. On the 19th, at Bryanston, Dorset, aged 89, **Edward Berkeley, Viscount Portman**; the son of Edward B. Portman, of Bryanston and Orchard Portman. Educated at Eton and Oxford; sat in the House of Commons for Dorsetshire (1823–32) and for Marylebone (1833); created Baron Portman in 1837, and subsequently Viscount in 1873. He married Lady Emma Lascelles, third daughter of second Earl of Harewood. He was a member of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, a Commissioner of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. On the 21st, at Hildersham Hall, Cambridgeshire, aged 65, **General William Inglis**, C.B., Colonel 57th Foot; served through the Crimean war; married, 1860, Mary, daughter of H. B. Monro, of Edmondsham, co. Dorset, son of Colonel Sir William Inglis, K.C.B. On the 23rd, in Holland Road, Kensington, aged 84, **Sir David William Barclay**, of Pierston, Ayrshire, son of Sir Robert Barclay; he succeeded his nephew as ninth baronet in

1859. He was educated at Westminster; entered the army (56th and 99th Foot); appointed M.L.C. Mauritius (1846); and married, first, in 1829, Lise Joséphe, daughter of Charles Malo, Marquis de Reuse, of Warz, Picardy; and secondly, in 1872, Emily, daughter of J. E. Stacey, of Kingston, Surrey. On the 24th, at Springfield, co. Kilkenny, aged 69, Major Purcell O'Gorman, formerly M.P. for Waterford City; previously in 90th Foot. He had served in the Crimean campaign. On the 25th, at The Lodge, aged 90, the Rev. Richard Okes, D.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge. The son of a Cambridge surgeon, he went to Eton, where for nearly thirty years he held office as a master. In 1856 he was appointed Provost of King's in succession to Dr. Thackeray, where he introduced many important reforms, and threw open the endowments of the college to scholars in all classes of study. On the same date, at Stafford House, aged 59, Anne, Duchess of Sutherland, in her own right Countess of Cromartie, a dignity which was conferred upon her in 1861, with remainder to her second son. She was the only child and heiress of John Hay Mackenzie, of Newhall and Cromartie.

DECEMBER.

Richard Redgrave was born in 1804, and during his early youth he was employed under his father, William Redgrave, who was working with Bramah, the inventor of the hydraulic press. Richard was employed in designing and in the drawing of specification work. He had, however, long supplemented his business work with sketching from nature, and when he, at the age of 21, entered the Royal Academy as a student, he supported himself by giving instruction in landscape drawing. MacIise was one of his contemporaries during his student life, and in a contest for the gold medal MacIise was successful against Redgrave. It was not until about the year 1836 that he exhibited his first work, "Gulliver on the Farmer's Table," at the British Institution; and in 1838 a picture of his was hung on the line at the Academy—an illustration from one of Crabbe's poems—after it had been already rejected by the Institution. The picture was immediately sold, and from this time his success was assured. In 1839 he again exhibited at the Academy, and in 1840 he was elected an Associate. For several years he was a constant contributor to the annual collection at the Academy, and he by no means confined himself to landscape; and in 1851, when he produced his "Flight into Egypt," he was elected R.A. It was about this time that, with the help of Mr. H. Cole (afterwards Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B.), he formed the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House, the nucleus of the present Museum of Art at South Kensington. Both the fellow-workers rendered service to the nation in the carrying out of the scheme of the Great Exhibition in 1851. Cole was one of the

executive committee, while Redgrave was named one of the jurors in the fine art section, and he further wrote a report on design applied to manufacture as shown in the Exhibition. In 1855 the two were again employed together in representing Great Britain at the Paris Universal Exhibition. Cole was British Commissioner; to Redgrave were intrusted the arrangements of the British Art Section, and here he drew up a report similar to the former one. For his services in this connection Redgrave gained the cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1858 the Queen appointed him Surveyor of Crown Pictures, and for many years he was engaged in preparing a catalogue of all pictures belonging to the Crown. In 1866 he joined his brother Samuel (who died in 1876) in preparing a history of British art from the time of Hogarth, under the title of "A Century of Painters." For many years he kept up his connection with South Kensington, where he took the chief part in forming an historical collection of water-colours for the Museum. In 1880 he resigned both his appointment as Surveyor and Keeper of the Royal Pictures, and also his post in the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, and from that time he painted but little. Before this, however, from the age of 70 onwards, he had constantly contributed to the exhibition at the Royal Academy. In 1874 he exhibited "Sermons in Stones," "Startled Foresters," and "Tranquil Waters;" in each of the next three years three pictures were sent to the Academy, where in 1878 were hung his "Heir Come of Age," and "Friday Street, Wotton." From this time he ceased to exhibit. He died on the 14th inst., after a short illness, at

his residence, Hyde Park Gate, Kensington.

General Count Loris Melikoff.—Loris Melikoff, who died at Nice on the 22nd inst., aged 53, was one of the numerous Armenians who, in consequence of the brilliant campaigns of Paskievitch, enrolled themselves in the Czar's armies. He obtained his first commission in the year 1843. He served in several expeditions against the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, and gained his first decoration in battle in the year 1848. He had shown such attention to his duties that in 1856, or before his 30th year, he had attained the rank of major-general. During the Crimean war he served under General Mouravieff against Kars, and on the capture of that stronghold he was appointed its first Russian commandant. In 1865, when the pacification of the Caucasus was completed, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Emperor; and after ten years' further duty in the Caucasus he attained the rank of full general in 1875. When the Turkish war broke out two years later he was the trusted lieutenant of the Grand Duke Michael, Prince-Governor of the Caucasus, on all military matters, and at once assumed the supreme command, under him, of the large army which was to invade the Turkish dominions in Asia. More than 200,000 men were expected to be in readiness to take the field, but a very much smaller number actually crossed the frontier, and the Turks were able, thanks to their fortresses and to their greater activity, not merely to hold their own, but absolutely to obtain the first successes of the war. General Loris Melikoff assumed the personal command of the centre, which was intended, above everything else, to accomplish the capture of Kars. Although he performed no achievement so striking as Tergukasoff's forcing of the Soghanli Dag, and subsequent masterly retreat in face of the whole Turkish army, General Melikoff evinced sound military judgment and considerable energy during the first part of the campaign. Up to this point the honours of the struggle rested with the Turkish commander Mukhtar, who had the satisfaction of seeing the Russian armies first halt and then retire before his efforts. In this critical moment General Melikoff had the strength of will to order a retreat along his whole line and to retire within the Russian frontier, there to restore his troops and to receive the supplies necessary to enable him to resume the offensive.

Before the middle of August 1877 the Russian army had been reinforced and rendered capable of taking the field, while the Turkish forces were in a worse condition for either defence or attack than they had been a month before. On the advance of the Russian army across the frontier, Mukhtar Pasha forced on a general engagement on the Aladja Dag, which soon became a great battle. The Turks, perhaps, never fought with greater fury, but their ranks had been thinned by disease and Mukhtar's tactics were not the best adapted to the occasion. After eleven hours' desperate fighting, Mukhtar was compelled to make a retreat, leaving General Loris Melikoff the credit of his maiden victory. Up to this the fate of the campaign in Armenia might have been regarded as open to question, but, after General Melikoff's victory on the Aladja Dag, it was impossible to entertain any further serious doubt as to the result. After this battle a further period of inaction followed, until the insurrection in the Caucasus had been suppressed and a fresh corps of nearly 100,000 men had arrived from Alexandropol. Early in October General Melikoff resumed his advance, and, after some stubbornly-contested engagements, had the satisfaction of obliging Mukhtar to evacuate the first or advanced line of his position. The later operations, when the main Turkish position was turned by General Lazareff's masterly flank march on Ordok, were conducted under the personal direction of General Melikoff. After this battle, while the other generals pursued the shattered columns of Mukhtar, General Melikoff sat down before Kars, which he closely invested on all sides. The siege proved of unexpectedly short duration. A preliminary skirmish, when the Russian troops gained the interior of a portion of the works, pointed to the conclusion that the place might be captured by assault, and on Nov. 18 General Melikoff resolved to make the attempt. On that evening the Russians advanced to the attack. Three small forts were captured at once, two of the strongest fell a few hours later, and on the morning of the 19th the citadel and garrison of Kars surrendered. This was unquestionably the most striking and most cheaply-purchased achievement of the whole war. For this exploit General Melikoff was decorated with the Cross of St. George of the Second Class, and on the conclusion of peace he was further rewarded with elevation to the rank of Count.

When the Nihilists were at the height of their activity in 1879, General Melikoff was recalled from Tiflis to take a prominent place in the central government of the country. The murder of Prince Krapotkine, Solovief's attempt on the person of the Emperor, and many similar outrages had spread the feeling of panic, which had to be allayed by vigorous executive measures and by some political concessions in form, if not in reality. It was in Feb. 1880 that General Melikoff was summoned to St. Petersburg to assume the presidency of a supreme Executive Commission; and in the proclamation which he issued on his assumption of office he called upon all friends of order to support him in his efforts to preserve national security and tranquillity. For a moment General Melikoff's proceedings had a calming influence, and people began to hope that the worst was over and to breathe again. For twelve months there was a lull, and it really seemed as if General Melikoff was entitled to be regarded as a saviour of Russian society. From these expectations there was a sudden and sharp awakening. In March 1881 all the arrangements had been made for the assassination of Alexander II. Count Melikoff, who was head of the police department as well as Minister of the Interior, used every argument in his power to deter the Czar from going forth on the fatal 13th of March, but all his warnings proved of no avail. After this deplorable event General Melikoff, although retaining under the present Czar his place as member of the Council of the Empire, retired ostensibly into a position of less prominence than he had filled under his predecessor. So long as his health was preserved General Melikoff might be considered as a Minister kept in reserve; but during the six years of prolonged illness his name gradually faded out of sight, and the occasion of his services as a constitutional reformer never arose.

Laurence Oliphant was born in Scotland in 1829, where he remained until his twelfth year, when he was sent to live with his father, Sir Anthony Oliphant, Chief Justice of Ceylon. Five years later he returned to England with the intention of being entered at Cambridge, but he urged upon his father the superiority of travelling to book learning. Laurence Oliphant carried his point, and fell immediately among stimulating adventures. He made acquaintance with Italy at the outbreak of the

revolution. He helped to burn the Austrian arms in Rome, and was nearly shot by the Neapolitans when bombarding Messina. It was, however, his dash and not his politics that mixed him up in these scrapes. Having returned to Ceylon as private secretary to his father, he made the acquaintance of Jung Bahadoor at Government House, who, like every one else, took an immense fancy to him. The picturesque sights that impressed him seemed graven on his memory. He came back to write his "Katmandu," which proved both a literary and pecuniary success. Thenceforth, as he said himself, he was bitten with the mania for authorship. So much so that, after brief practice at the Ceylon Bar, he came back to take a holiday with definite literary views. His luck befriended him, as usual, and the difficulties thrown by the authorities in the way of Lapland exploration sent him southwards through Russia to the Crimea and shores of the Black Sea, of which he wrote an interesting account; and on his return he entered himself both at the Scotch and English Bars, probably without thinking seriously of settling down to either. On the eve of the Crimean war proposals were made to him by Lord Clarendon, on behalf of the Government, to accompany the army. It was, therefore, with some reluctance that he decided to go with Lord Elgin as private secretary on a special mission to Washington, and on the understanding that the mission was not likely to last long. He did not come back so speedily as he expected. Lord Elgin was unwilling to part with a secretary whose tact and social and diplomatic qualities he had found extremely serviceable; and Oliphant found himself on the St. Lawrence instead of the Bosphorus. In Canada his tact was to be exercised in a very different field, and as Civil Secretary and Superintendent of Indian Affairs he was sent on a roving diplomatic tour among the settlements of the Red River. The mission suited him in many ways, and he recorded his Canadian experiences in "Minnesota and the Far West." He left the Canadas with Lord Elgin, though Lord Elgin's successor was anxious to retain him. But he meant to claim the fulfilment of Lord Clarendon's promises, and, possibly by way of reminding his lordship of his own aptitudes, he published a pamphlet on the campaign. His favourite strategical idea was to create a diversion in the Caucasus, and he characteristically volunteered for a piece of exciting and desperate service.

It was no less than communicating personally with Schamyl in his remote stronghold in Daghestan. Lord Clarendon yielded so far as to give him a letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; but the Ambassador was charged to use his own discretion, and he did not choose to sacrifice his adventurous young friend. Oliphant accompanied Lord Stratford to Sebastopol, and subsequently went campaigning with Omar Pasha, sending home a series of letters which were republished in "The Transcaucasian Campaign of the Turkish Army."

Soon after his return from Turkey he was offered by Lord Elgin, just appointed Ambassador to China, the place of private secretary. As is well known, the former was stopped at Singapore and sent to India, where the Mutiny was at its height. Oliphant was thus able to take part in some of the stirring scenes of those eventful times. In due time the special mission to which he was attached travelled on to China, and was present at the taking of Canton by the English troops. His experiences and adventures were subsequently chronicled in three volumes—"Patriots and Filibusters," "Incidents of Travel," and "A Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan." He went to Japan in 1860 as Chargé d'Affaires, but his chief, Sir Rutherford Alcock, had returned before the desperate attack on the Embassy. Never had Oliphant so narrow an escape from death; as it was, he was dangerously and fearfully mangled in the nocturnal encounter with a Japanese swordsman, when he was only armed with a heavy hunting crop. He attributed his wonderful escape to the fact that the *Ronin* was hewing at a roof-beam under the impression that it was his enemy's head; but he carried to the last a disagreeable *souvenir* of the affair, from a sword-cut which had severed the muscles of one hand.

After one unsuccessful attempt to enter Parliament in 1865, he was brought in for the Stirling Burghs. But after two attempts to catch the ear of the House, in which he failed, in 1868 he resigned his seat. While a member of Parliament, with his head-quarters in London, he devoted much of his leisure to society and to literature. From time to time he wrote articles for *Blackwood*. His connection with his favourite periodical began in 1855, with an article entitled "A Sporting Settler in Ceylon," and ever afterwards he was a constant contributor, as he was the intimate friend of the successive editors. Living

much in society, Oliphant must necessarily write upon the subject, and in 1865 appeared his sparkling novel of "Piccadilly."

Previous to his entry into Parliament he had paid visits to Italy, where he met Cavour; and at a subsequent period he was invited by Garibaldi to accompany the Sicilian expedition—to Montenegro, Albania, and to the camps of the Polish insurgents while they were still holding their own in their forests against the Russians. It was some time after giving up his seat in Parliament that, seeking rest, as he said, from the strain and wear of the Old World, he sought a peaceful retreat in America. It was then he resigned himself passively to the influence of the prophet Harris, whose acquaintance he had previously made in England. Strange stories were told of their relations, and of Oliphant's absolute submission to one in whose Divine inspiration he implicitly believed. But he all the time showed himself clear and far-sighted in business, as was proved by the skilful way in which he promoted a great Transatlantic telegraph company. Versatile as ever, in 1870 he was in France and at Versailles, as one of our war correspondents. He saw most part of the southern campaign as the advance guard of the Duke of Mecklenburg's army, for he preferred to go ahead of the troops in his carriage, weighing the chances of being shot or taken prisoner against the certainty of finding food and comfortable quarters. He left Paris, where he had acted for some time as Correspondent of the *Times*, on a peremptory summons to America from Harris.

For many years of his life Oliphant had been interested in the future of the Jews, and had close relations with their leading men in Roumania and the Austrian provinces, to whom he had repeatedly rendered important services. He had much at heart a Jewish colonisation of Palestine. When the Treaty of Berlin permitted the interposition of the Christian Powers in Turkish affairs, which had been forbidden under the memorable Hatti Humayoun of Abdul Medjid, he went on a prospecting expedition in Gilead and the wild lands beyond Jordan, dispensing with the customary dragoman and suite. He came back with the conviction he expressed in his "Land of Gilead," that South Gilead and the rich Plain of Moab were eminently suited for successful settlement. He spent much time in Constantinople, dancing attendance upon corrupt or bigoted officials,

and vainly attempting to overcome their passive antagonism to his plans. For himself he did much subsequently to show what European influence might effect in Palestine and Syria. He made himself a home at Haifa, almost under the shadow of Carmel, and subsequently built a little summer residence on the mountain, looking down upon the rocky course of the Kishon, the scene of the slaughter of the priests of Baal. There he wrote regularly as ever; he rode about the surrounding districts, investigating sacred sights and the memorials of antiquity, many of which were far older than the days of the Crusaders; and when he was asked whether he was never in difficulties as to killing time, he answered that the days were only too short for him. In fact, he was a magistrate as well as a landowner. He was always ready to lend a helping hand to his poor neighbours, many of whom were Druses who had emigrated from the Lebanon, not only making advances on phenomenally moderate terms on mortgage, but saving them from Turkish oppression as well as from the usurers. He established such an ascendancy over the natives that they constituted him their unofficial arbiter and judge, and he sat daily deciding disputes and composing differences beneath the shade of his verandah. Going to Egypt with his wife, on the advice of the doctors, he wintered in the little-known oasis of the Fayoum, and "The Land of Khemi" was a lively narrative of archaeological research by an amateur in a little-known district. In 1882 he collected his "Traits and Travesties" into a volume, and in the following year wrote his clever novel, "Altiora Peto." He always delighted in satirising the foibles of American *parvenus*, and his "Irene M'Gillicuddy," a story which had appeared in *Blackwood*, gave for a short time serious offence to some of his friends in New York. In his novel of "Masollam," published in 1886, the mystical and spiritualistic elements are in the ascendent, though the transcendental interest was freely relieved by gleams of his old social brightness. His last work, "Scientific Religion," will probably be the least read, although he considered it infinitely the most important. From the personal point of view, its chief interest is in the frank revelation of his profound belief in spiritual influences.

His first wife, Alice, daughter of H. L. Styleman Le Strange, of Hunstanton, co. Norfolk, whom he married in 1872, adopted his religious views, and

accompanied him first to America, and subsequently to Mount Carmel, whereshe died, Jan. 2, 1886. A very few months before his death Mr. Oliphant married the granddaughter of Mr. Robert Dale-Owen, a well-known spiritualist and social reformer, and by her he was nursed through his long and painful illness, which terminated on the 23rd inst., at Sion House, Twickenham, the residence of his friend Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff.

Sir William Frederick Pollock, who died in Montagu Square, London, on the 24th inst., was the eldest son of Lord Chief Baron Pollock. He was born in 1815, and after being privately educated was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a scholarship. He took his B.A. degree in 1836, but though studious at Cambridge, and the associate of studious and cultivated men, he had not qualified for a Fellowship, and never seems to have contemplated an academic life. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1836, and went the Northern Circuit for several years. At one time he held the appointment of Revising Barrister in some of the northern counties, and in 1846 he was appointed a Master in the Court of Exchequer. In 1874 he was nominated by Mr. Disraeli to the office of Queen's Remembrancer, a very ancient office of State, which by a recent statute had been annexed to that of a Mastership of the Exchequer. When the Court of Exchequer underwent extinction through the operation of the Judicature Acts it was provided that the office of Queen's Remembrancer should be held by the senior Master for the time being, and by this tenure Sir Frederick Pollock continued to hold it until his resignation in 1886.

Such literary work as Sir Frederick Pollock undertook was of a serious and scholarly kind. He was an earnest and enthusiastic student of Dante, whose "Divine Comedy" he translated in 1854 into blank verse, which ran line for line with the original. For the rest, he contributed occasionally to the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*, to the extinct *Fraser's Magazine*, and latterly to the *Fortnightly* and *Nineteenth Century Reviews*. His interest in science was shown by his innumerable scientific friendships and by the active part which he took for many years in the management of the Royal Institution. His interest in art and antiquity and his rare social qualities were asserted by his selection for the post of secretary of the

celebrated and venerable Society of Dilettanti. He was a keen lover of the drama all his life, and an acute judge of actors and of acting. From Macready to Henry Irving, most of the leading actors of his time had been among his personal friends. He edited "Macready's Reminiscences" in 1874, and after his retirement published two pleasant volumes of "Personal Remembrances."

Sir Frederick Pollock was married, in 1844, to Juliet, daughter of the Rev. H. Creed, Vicar of Corse, Gloucestershire, and niece of the Right Hon. J. C. Herries.

Viscount Eversley.—Charles Shaw-Lefevre was the eldest son of Charles Shaw, a barrister of Yorkshire descent, and Miss Helena Lefevre, an heiress of Huguenot descent, who had represented Reading for Parliament from 1802 to 1820, and had taken his wife's name in addition to his own. Charles, the eldest son, was born in February 1794, and was educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1815. Four years later he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, having in the interval (in 1817) married Emma Laura, the daughter of Samuel Whitbread, the Whig statesman. In 1830, by the help of Lord Radnor, he entered Parliament for Downton, Wilts, a borough having 60 electors, in connection with Mr. James Brougham, a brother of the then Lord Chancellor; but in the following year he was, with Sir James McDonald, returned for Hampshire after a severe contest. After the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 the representation of the county was divided, and he sat uninterruptedly for the northern division until 1857. He had entered Parliament in the midst of the struggle over the first Reform Bill, and steadily supported Lord Althorp, Lord John Russell, and the Ministry of Lord Grey in the contest. He, however, rarely showed himself as a speaker—although he moved the Address in 1834—devoting his time and attention to committee work and the study of the rules of the House. In all ways he acquired a high reputation for judicial fairness, tact and courtesy, and the position he had gained in the House was acknowledged when he came forward to propose, in 1837, Mr. Abercromby for re-election to the Speakership. Two years later Mr. Abercromby suddenly retired, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was practically forced by public

opinion on the Government, who had intended to propose Mr. Spring-Rice for the vacant chair. The Conservative candidate was Mr. Goulbourn, the friend and former colleague of Sir Robert Peel, but the result (May 27) gave 317 votes to Mr. Shaw-Lefevre and 295 to Mr. Goulbourn. Party spirit, heightened by O'Connell and the Repealers, rose high at the time Mr. Shaw-Lefevre took the Chair, but his dignity and firmness, his tact and temper, were never at fault, and his skill as a sportsman proved of invaluable use in "marking" the right member. He promptly addressed himself to reforming the rules of procedure in debate, and many unnecessary formalities were by his advice discontinued. In 1841 Sir Robert Peel returned to power with a Conservative majority of 91, but instead of reversing the choice of the previous Parliament, he himself proposed for the post Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, "who by his ability, impartiality, and integrity had secured the confidence of the House." No other candidate being proposed, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was unanimously elected. In 1847, and again in 1852, the like distinction was conferred upon him, and he was on each occasion elected by acclamation. In the spring of 1857 Lord Palmerston, having dissolved on the adverse vote given on his policy in China, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who had presided through four Parliaments and seen the fate of four Administrations, decided to seek retirement, and after a vote of thanks, moved by Lord Palmerston and seconded by Mr. Disraeli (March 11, 1857), he withdrew from the Chair and was created Viscount Eversley, of Heckfield. Although a frequent attendant in the House of Lords, he took little part in its debates. His own county became the principal scene of his activity. He was appointed High Steward of the city of Winchester, Governor and Lord-Lieutenant of the Isle of Wight, Colonel of the Hampshire Yeomanry, and Chairman of Quarter Sessions, holding this last post until 1879. He was, moreover, a practical farmer, an enthusiastic gardener, and a keen sportsman. Up to the close of his long life he preserved not only clearness of mind but activity of body to an extent which surprised all who knew him, and permitted him to continue his occupations—even shooting—until within a few months of his death, which took place on the 28th inst., within a few weeks of his completing his 95th year.

On the 1st, at Plaistow Lodge, Bromley, aged 72, Mary Jane, widow of tenth

Baron Kinnaird, and daughter of W. H. Hoare, of Mitcham Grove, Surrey. On the same date, in Portman Square, aged 86, **Sir Walter G. Stirling**, of Faskine, Lanarkshire, second baronet; educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, and married (1835) Lady Caroline F. Byng, daughter of the first Earl of Strafford. On the 3rd, in Upper Berkeley Street, aged 59, **Alexander Ross**, son of Charles Ross and Lady Mary, daughter of Marquess Cornwallis. Sat as M.P. for Maidstone since 1880. On the same date, in New Zealand, where he had resided for many years, aged 41, the Earl of Seafield, who succeeded his father as tenth earl early in the year. On the 4th, at Hanworth, Middlesex, aged 67, **Major-General Harry Rivers**, late of the Royal Engineers, Bombay Presidency. On the 6th, at Langton Grange, Durham, aged 48, **Henry John Trotter**, son of Colonel William Trotter, educated at Oriel College, Oxford. Was called to the Bar, and was in 1887 appointed Lieutenant-Colonel commanding 2nd Battalion Durham Rifle Volunteers. Sat as M.P. for Colchester since 1885. On the 9th, aged 72, the **Duchess of Galliera**, well known for her extensive charities in France and Italy. She was the daughter of the Marquis di Brignola, a Sardinian, and the widow of the Duke of Galliera, an Italian railway contractor. On the 10th, at Brighton, aged 87, **Laurence Peel**, the last surviving brother of the statesman Sir Robert Peel. Sat as M.P. for Cokermonth 1827-30; married (1822) Lady Jane Lennox, daughter of fourth Duke of Richmond. On the 11th, at Bournemouth, aged 72, **Professor Frederick Apthorpe Paley**, a grandson of the famous Dr. Paley. He was the editor and annotator of numerous classics; one of the original members of the Camden Society. On the same date, at Longford Hall, near Manchester, aged 87, **John Rylands**, the head of the manufacturing and mercantile house of Rylands & Sons, of Manchester, Liverpool, and London. On the 13th, in Russell Square, aged 76, **George Routledge**, of Stone House, Carlisle, and late of Ludgate Hill, the founder of the publishing firm of Routledge & Sons. On the 14th, at Eton, aged 76, **Colonel the Hon. George Augustus F. Liddell**, Deputy Ranger of Windsor and Richmond Parks, third son of first Lord Ravensworth; educated at Eton, and afterwards entered the Scots Fusilier Guards; held offices in the households of the Queen, the Duke of Edinburgh, and the late Duchess of Gloucester. On the 15th, at Darmstadt, aged 65, **Prince Alexander Louis George Frederick Emile of Hesse**, the father of Prince Henry of Battenberg. On the 17th, at St. Petersburg, aged 73, **Baron Jomini**, First Councillor of the Russian Foreign Office, for many years the confidential secretary of Prince Gortschakoff, and the instructor in Russian foreign policy to two heirs to the imperial throne. On the 18th, in Piccadilly, aged 55, **Sir William Pearce**, M.P. for Govan Division of Lancashire, founder of the firm of John Elder & Co., the famous Clyde shipbuilders; created a baronet in 1887. On the 23rd, at Ashe Park, Hants, aged 68, **Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Portal**, who had fought as a captain in the Balaclava charge. He was the son of the late John Portal, of Freefold Priors. On the 24th, at Ovingdean, aged 81, **Elliot Macnaghten**, who was one of the last survivors of the old body of the East India Company's Directorate. On the 25th, at Leamington, aged 77, **Philip Henry Muntz**, M.P. for Birmingham (1868-85), having for over fifty years been connected with its commercial and political life. On the 28th, at Tullyallan, Kincardine-on-Forth, aged 84, **Lord William Godolphin Osborne-Elphinstone**, the son of first Lord Godolphin, and grandson of fifth Duke of Leeds. On his cousin's succession to the dukedom, he was raised to the rank of a duke's son, and on his second marriage (1870) with the daughter of first Viscount Keith he assumed the additional name of Elphinstone; having previously married, in 1843, Hon. Caroline Montagu, daughter of fourth Baron Rokeby. He had been Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to Lord Auckland when Governor-General of India; had seen much service in India and China. On the 31st, at Cockfield Hall, Suffolk, aged 58, **Sir John Ralph Blois**, son of Captain John Blois, who succeeded his uncle as eighth baronet in 1855.

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